THE PERPETVAL GOVERNEMENT OF CHRISTES CHVRCH.

Wherein are handled;

The fatherly superioritie which God first established in the Patriarkes for the guiding of his Church, and after continued in the Tribe of Leui and the Prophetes; and lastlie confirmed in the New Testament to the Apostles and their successours:

As also the points in question at this day;

Touching the *Iewish Synedrion:* the *true kingdome* of Christ: the *Apostles commission:* the *Laie Presbyterie:* the *Distinction* of *Bishops* from *Presbyters*, and *their succession* from the Apostles times and hands: the calling and moderating of *Prouinciall Synodes* by *Primates* and *Metropolitanes:* the allotting of *Dioceses*, and the *Popular electing* of such as must feed and watch the flocke:
And diuers other points concerning the Pastorall regiment of the house of God; By

THO. BILSON Warden of Winchester Colledge.

Perused and allowed by publike authoritie.

1. Cor. 14.
Came the word of God first from you? or did it spread to you alone?

Iren. lib. 3. ca. 3.
We can reckon those that were ordained Bishops by the Apostles in the Churches, and their successours to this present, which neuer taught nor knew any such thing, as these dreame.

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TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

I Haue bene very vnwilling (good Christian Reader) to enter into theſe controuerſies of Diſcipline, that haue now ſome ſpace troubled the Church of England. I remembred the wordes of *Abraham* to *Lot*; [1] *Let there I pray thee, be no ſtrife betwixt thee and me, nor betwixt my men and thine, for we be brethren*; and did thereby learne that all ſtrife betwixt brethren, was vnnaturall. I could not forget the ſaying of our Sauiour; [2] *Peace I leaue with you, my peace I giue you*; and ſo collected how *carefull* we ſhould be to [3] *keepe the vnitie of the ſpirite in the band of peace.* Prophane writers could tell me; *by concord, the weakeſt things growe ſtrong; by diſcord, the mightieſt ſtates are ouerthrowen:* and that made me loath to increaſe or nouriſh the diſlikes and quarels that haue lately fallen out in this Realme, betwixt the Profeſſours and Teachers of one and the ſame Religion: yet when I ſawe the peace of Gods Church violated by the ſharpneſſe of ſome mens humours; and their tongues ſo intemperate, that they could not bee diſcerned from open enemies, I thought as in a common danger, not to ſit looking till all were on fire, but rather by all meanes to trie what kind of liquor would reſtinguiſh this flame.

[1] Gen. 13.

[2] Iohn 14.

[3] Ephes. 4.

Another reaſon leading mee to this enterpriſe, was the diſcharge of my duetie to God and her Maieſtie. for finding that ſome men broched their diſciplinarie deuiſes vnder the title of Gods eternall trueth, and profeſſed they could no more for-

sake the defence thereof then of the Christian faith; and others defaced and reproched the gouernement of the Church heere receiued and established, as *vnlawfull, irreligious* and *Antichristian*; (for what lees are so sower, that some hedge wines wil not yeelde?) I was mooued in conscience, not to suffer the sacred Scriptures to be so violently arrested, and ouer-ruled by the summons and censures of their newe Consistories; as also to cleere this state of that iniurious slander, as if not knowing or neglecting the manifest voyce of Christes spirite, we had entertained and preferred the dregges of Antichrists pride and tyrannie.

These causes of great and good regard led mee to examine the chiefe groundes of both Disciplines, theirs and ours; and to peruse the prooses and authorities of either parte; that by comparing it might appeare, which side came neereſt to the synceritie of the Scriptures, and societie of the auncient and vncorrupte Church of Christ. The which wholie to propose by way of Preface woulde bee exceeding tedious; shortely to capitulate, that the Reader may knowe what to looke for, will not altogether bee superfluous.

The maine supportes of their newe deuised Discipline are; *the generall equalitie of all Pastours and Teachers; and the ioyning of Lay Elders with them to make vp the Presbyterie, that shall gouerne the Church.* On this foundation they build the power of their Consistorie, that must admonish and punish all offences, heare and determine all doubts, appeale and ende all strifes, that anie waie touch the state and welfare of the Church. Against these false groundes, I shewe the Church of God from *Adam* to *Moses*, from *Moses* to Christ, and so downeward vnder Patriarkes, Prophetes, and Apostles, hath beene alwayes gouerned by an inequalitie and superioritie of Pastours and Teachers amongst themselues; and somuch the very name and nature of gouernement do inforce. for if amongst equals none may chalenge to rule the rest; there must of necessitie be superiours, before there can bee Gouernours. It was therefore a ridiculous ouersight in our new platformers,

fourmers, to ſettle an eccleſiaſticall gouernment amongſt the Paſtours and Teachers of the Church, and yet to baniſh all ſuperioritie from them.

Some finding that abſurditie, and perceiuing confuſion of force muſt follow where all are equall, and no Gouernour endured; confeſſe it to bee *an eſſentiall and perpetuall part of Gods ordinance, for each Preſbyterie to haue a chiefe* amongſt them; and yet leaſt they ſhould ſeeme to agniſe or admit the auncient and approued maner of the Primitiue Church retained amongſt vs, which is, to appoint a fitte man to gouerne each Diœceſe; they haue framed a *Running regencie*, that ſhall goe round to all the Presbyters of each place by courſe, and dure for a *weeke*, or ſome ſuch ſpace; for the deuiſe is ſo newe, that they are not yet reſolued what time this changeable ſuperioritie ſhall continue. With this conceite they maruelouſlie pleaſe themſelues, in ſo much that they pronounce this onely to be Gods inſtitution, and this ouerſeer or Biſhop to be Apoſtolike; all others they reiect as humane; that is, as inuented and eſtabliſhed by man againſt the firſt and authentike order of the holie Ghoſt.

Thus farre wee ioyne, that to preuent diſſention and auoid confuſion there muſt needes, euen by Gods ordinaunce, bee a Preſident or Ruler of euerie Presbyterie; which concluſion, becauſe it is warranted by the groundes of nature, reaſon, and trueth, and hath the example of the Church of God *before, vnder, and after the Lawe* to confirme it, wee accept as irrefutable; and laie it as the ground-worke of all that enſueth. But whether this Preſidentſhip did in the Apoſtles times, and by their appointment, goe round by courſe to all the Paſtours and Teachers of euerie Presbyterie, or were by election committed to one choſen as the fitteſt to ſupplie that place, ſo long as hee diſcharged his duetie without blame; that is a maine point in queſtion betwixt vs. Into which I may not enter, vntill we haue ſeene what the Apoſtolike Preſbyteries were, and of what perſons they did conſiſt at the firſt erecting of the Church.

Certaine late writers, men otherwiſe learned and wiſe, greatlie miſliking in the gouernement of the Church the Romiſh

kind of Monarchie, and on the other ſide ſhunning as much popular tumult and Anarchie, preferred a middle courſe betwixt them of Ariſtocracie; thinking the Church would then bee beſt guided, when neither *one, for danger of tyrannie*; nor *all, for feare of mutinie* did beare the ſwaie; but *a number of the graueſt* and ſincereſt, vndertooke the managing of all matters incident to the Eccleſiaſticall Regiment. And for that there was no poſſibilitie in euerie Church and pariſh to finde a full and ſufficient companie of Paſtours and Teachers, to conſider and diſpoſe of all cauſes occurrent; and the people (as they thought) would the better endure the proceedings and cenſures of their Conſiſtories, if ſome of themſelues were admitted to bee Iudges in thoſe caſes as well as the Preachers; they compounded their Presbyteries partlie of Paſtors, and partly of Laie Elders, whome they named GOVERNING PRESBYTERS; and by this meanes they ſuppoſed the gouernement of the Church would bee both permanent and indifferent.

To proclaime this as a freſh deuiſe of their owne, would be ſomewhat odious, and therefore they ſought by all meanes as well with examples, as authorities, to make it ſeeme auncient. for the better accompliſhing of their deſire; firſt, they tooke hold of the Iewiſh Synedrion, which had Laie Elders mixed with Leuites in euery Citie to determine the peoples cauſes, and that order being eſtabliſhed by *Moſes*, they enforced it as a perpetuall paterne for the Church of Chriſt to follow. To that end they bring the wordes of our Sauiour, [1] *Tell it the Church, if he heare not the Church, let him be to thee as an Ethnike and Publicane.*

[1] Math.18.

Next, they peruſed the Apoſtles writings, to ſee what mention might bee there found of *Elders* and *Gouernours*, and lighting on this ſentence of Saint *Paul*; [2] *The Elders which rule well, are woorthie of double honour; ſpecialle, they that labour in the worde and doctrine*; they reſolutelie concluded, there were ſome Elders in the Church that *gouerned*, and yet *laboured not in the worde and doctrine*; and thoſe were Laie Presbyters. After this place they made no doubt, but Laie Elders were Gouernours of the Church in the Apoſtles times, and ſo ſetled

[2] 1.Tim.4.

their

their iudgements in that behalf, that they would heare nothing that might be ſaid to the contrary.

Thirdlie, becauſe it would bee ſtrange that Laie Elders euerie where gouerning the Church vnder the Apoſtles, no Councill, ſtorie, nor Father, did euer ſo much as name them, or remember them, or ſo conceiue the wordes and meaning of Saint *Paul* vntill our age; they thought it needefull to make ſome ſhewe of them in the Fathers writings; leaſt otherwiſe, playne and ſimple men ſhould maruell to ſee a new ſort of gouernours wrenched and forced out of S. *Pauls* wordes, whome the Church of Chriſt in fifteene hundred yeeres neuer heard of before. And therefore certaine doubtfull ſpeaches of the Fathers were drawen to that intent; as where they ſaie, [1] *The Church at firſt was gouerned by the common aduiſe of Preſbyters*; and [2] *the Church had her Elders, without whoſe counſell nothing was done*; yea, ſome of them were ſo forward and willing to heare of their laie Presbyters, that whereſoeuer anie Councill or Father mentioned Presbyters, they ſtraightway skored vp the place for laie Elders.

[1] *Hiero. in epiſtolam ad Titum, ca. 1.*
[2] *Ambroſ. in 1. ad Tim. ca. 5.*

This is the warpe and webbe of the laie Presbyterie, that hath ſo enfolded ſome mens wits, that they cannot vnreaue their cogitations from admiring their newe founde Conſiſtories. And in deede the credite of their firſt deuiſers did ſomewhat amuſe mee, as I thinke it doeth others, till partlie enclined for the cauſes aforeſayd, and partlie required, where I might not refuſe, I began more ſeriouſlie to rip vp the whole; and then I found both the ſlenderneſſe of the ſtuffe, and looſeneſſe of the worke, that had deceiued ſo many mens eies.

As firſt, for the Iewiſh Synedrion; I ſawe it might by no meanes bee obtruded on the Church of Chriſt. for the Iudiciall part of *Moſes* law being aboliſhed by the death of Chriſt, as well as the ceremoniall; the Tribunals of *Moſes* muſt no more remaine, then the Prieſthood doth. *Moſes* Iudges were appointed to execute *Moſes* lawe. the puniſhments therefore and iudgements of *Moſes* law ceaſing, as vnder the Goſpel there can be no queſtiō but they do; all ſuch Conſiſtories as *Moſes* erected muſt needs be therewith ended & determined. Again they were

ciuill Magistrates, that *Moses* placed in euery Citie to iudge the people, and had the sword to punish as the lawe did limite; Leuites being admixed with them to direct them in the doubts and difficulties of the lawe. Such Presbyteries if they frame vs in euery parish without the magistrates power and leaue; they make a taire entrie vpon the Princes sword and scepter, vnder the colour of their Consistories, which I hope they will be well aduised before they aduenture. Lastlie, that laie Elders in *Moses* lawe did meddle with discerning or iudging *betwixt trueth* and *falsehood*, things *holy* and *vnholy*, persons *cleane and vncleane*, or did intermeddle with the *sacrifices or seruices of the Tabernacle*, I doe not read; but rather the execution and superuision of sacred things and dueties belonged to the Prophetes, Priests and Leuites. So that laie Presbyteries vnder the Gospell can haue no agreement with the Synedricall Courtes of Moses, much lesse anie deriuement from them; vnlesse they will tye all Christian kingdomes to the Tribunals and Iudicials of *Moses* lawe, and giue their Elders the sworde in steade of the word, which God hath assigned to Princes, and not to Presbyters.

The wordes of Christ in the 18. of *Mathew*, *Tell it to the Church*, which they vrge to that ende; if they were spoken of such Magistrates as *Moses* appointed, and to whome the Iewes by the prescript of his Lawe, were to make their complaints; then pertaine they nothing at all to the Church of Christ; but were a speciall direction for those times, wherein our Sauiour liued, and those persons, that were vnder the Law. If they be taken as a perpetuall rule to strengthen the iudgement of Christes Church, then touch they no way the Synedrions of the Iewes, or any other Courts established by *Moses*. Let them choose which they will; neither hurteth vs, nor helpeth them.

The place of Saint *Paul* at a glimce seemed to make for them; but when I aduisedly looked into it, I found the text so little fauouring them, that in precise termes it excluded Lay Elders as no Gouernours of the Church. for the Apostle there chargeth, that all *Presbyters* which rule well, should haue double honor. His wordes be plaine. [1] *The Presbyters, that rule well,*

[1] 1. Tim. 5.

well, διπλῆς τιμῆς ἀξιούσθωσαν, *Let them bee thought worthie of double honour*. Honour in this place is apparantly taken for maintenance; as the proofes following doe import. [1] *Thou ſhalt not muſle the oxe that treadeth out thy corne*, and *the workeman is worthy of his wages*. Now by no precept, nor example, will it euer be prooued, that Lay *Presbyters* had in the Apoſtles times, or ſhoulde haue by the word of God at any time, double honour and maintenance from the Church of Christ. Wherefore they muſt either giue all Lay Elders double maintenance, as Saint *Paul* willeth, which they doe not; or ſhut them cleane from theſe wordes, which yeelde double maintenance by Gods law to *Presbyters* that rule well. What the meaning of Saint *Paul* is in this place, though much might bee ſaide, and is ſaide of others, which I haue omitted; yet to ſatisfie the Reader, I haue laide downe foure ſeuerall expoſitions too long to bee heere inſerted, which I willingly permit to the cenſure of the wiſe, whether euerie one of them be not more conſonant to the true intent of Saint *Paul* then theirs is, and as anſwerable to his wordes.

[1] 1. Timoth. 5.

If *Paul* in plaine words did not diſclaime Lay Elders, as hauing no right to chalenge double maintenãce from the church, nor other places contradict them; yet were there no reaſon vpon the needleſſe and iointleſſe conſtruction of this one ſentence to receiue them, for by what logicke prooue they out of this place, there were ſome *Presbyters* that *gouerned well, and laboured not* at all in the worde μάλιστα, which is as much as *ſpecially* or *chiefly*, doth diſtinguiſh (as they thinke) the one ſort from the other by a ſuperior degree. doth it not diſtinguiſh as wel things as perſons? and note ſo well diuers reſpects as diuers ſubiects? for example if we ſhould ſay, *Magiſtrates that gouerne well, are worthy of double honor, ſpecially they that heare the complaints of the poore*. Were he not very fanſiful that would hence cõclude, there are *ergo* two ſorts of magiſtrats, one that *gouerneth wel*, another that *heareth the complaints of the poore*? Againe, out of theſe ſpeches *Counſellors that be wiſe are acceptable to their Princes, ſpecially ſuch as are faithfull; workemen are rewarded for their skill, but ſpecially for their paines*; *Paſtors* that be *vertuous* are to be *wiſhed for*, but *ſpecially if they be learned*: wil any ſober man inferre that

fidelity

fidelitie and *wisedome*, *skil* and *industrie*, *learning* and *vertue*, do not meet in one subiect, because *specially* goeth betwene them? Nothing is more common, then by this kind of speach to note as well two diuers qualities in one man, as two sundrie sortes of men; yea thereby to preferre a part before the general comprising that part. As *Teachers are to be liked for their learning, specially for their knowledge in the Scriptures; good men are to bee loued for their vertues, specially if they be liberall.*

In these speeches, they will say, *the persons be diuers, as well as the things for some* Counsellors *be wise, that be not faithfull; some workemen expert, that be not painefull; some Pastours learned, that be not vertuous.*] That prooueth true, not by any force of these speeches, but by the defect of the persons that want fidelitie, industrie and integritie. for the words rather imploy that both parts should be, and therefore may be found in one man before he deserueth this adiection of *specially*. As a Counseller must be wise, and specially faithfull, before he can be acceptable to his Prince. A workeman must be painefull, as well as skilfull, before he deserue his wages. A Pastour must not only be honest, but also able to discharge his duetie, before he should be greatly esteemed. And so by Saint *Pauls* words they may conclude, a Presbyter must not only gouerne well, but also labour in the word, before he may be counted to be *specially*, or *most woorthie of double honour*: other collection out of the Apostles wordes they can make none.

And that shall wee soone finde, if wee resolue the Apostles wordes in such sort, as the nature of the Greeke tongue permitteth vs. The words stand precisely thus; οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι, *Presbyters* GOVERNING WEL *let them be counted worthie of double honour*; μάλιστα οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ, SPECIALLY LABOVRING *in the word and doctrine*. The participles, as euerie meane scholer knoweth, may be resolued not onely by the Relatiue and his verb, but by many other parts of speech and their verbs; which oftentimes expresse the sense better then the Relatiue. As, [1] βοῦν ἀλοῶντα οὐ φιμώσεις. *Thou shalt not muzle* (thine) *oxe treading* (out thy corne,) that is, *whiles he treadeth* out thy corne, for after thou art not prohibited to muzle him. So in the sentence which we speake of, *Presbyters gouerning well are woorthy*

[1] 1. Timoth. 5.

of

of double honor; well gouerning is the cauſe of double honour, neither is double honor due to *Presbyters*, but with this condition, if they *gouerne well*. Then reſolue the Apoſtles wordes either with a cauſall or conditionall adiunction, which is plainly the ſpeakers intent, and we ſhall ſee howe little they make for two ſortes of *Presbyters*. *Presbyters, if they rule well, are worthie of double honour, ſpecially, if they labour in the word; or Presbyters for ruling well are worthie of double honour; ſpecially, for labouring in the word*. Here are not two ſortes of Elders, (as they conceiue) the one to gouerne, the other to teach; but two duties of eche *Presbyter*; namely to teach and gouerne, before hee can be moſt worthie of double honour.

Their owne rules confirme the ſame. Thoſe whome they cal *Teachers* or *Doctours* muſt they not *labor in the word*? There can be no doubt they muſt. Are they then *moſt woorthie*, or ſo *worthie* as Paſtors be of double honour, who not onely *labour* in the word, but alſo *watch* and *attend* the flocke to rule it well? I truſt not. Then Paſtors are moſt worthie, and conſequentlie more worthie then Doctors of double honor, becauſe they not only watch to gouerne wel, but alſo labour in the word.

If any man ſtriue for two ſorts of perſons to be contained in theſe wordes, though there be vtterly no reaſon to force that collection, we can admit that alſo without any mention of Lay Elders. I haue ſhewed two interpretations, how diuers ſorts of *Presbyters* may be noted by theſe wordes, and neither of them Lay, to which I refer ỳ Reader that is willing to ſee more; I may not here offer a freſh diſcourſe of things elſe-where handled.

The briefe is, *Presbyters* we reade, and *Presbyteries* in the Apoſtolike writings; but none Lay, that were admitted to gouerne the Church. *Presbyters* did [1] *attend* and [1] *feede* the flocke, as [2] *Gods Stewards* and were to [3] *exhort with wholſome doctrine, and conuince the gainſayers*; and *Presbyteries*, (as themſelues vrge,) *did* [4] *impoſe hands*. Theſe be the dueties which the holy Ghoſt elſe-where appointeth for the preſident, and the reſt of the *Presbyterie*; other then theſe (except this place of which wee reaſon) the Scriptures name none; and theſe be no dueties for Laie Elders: vnleſſe they make all partes of Paſtourall chage common to Lay *Presbyters*, and diſtinguiſh them

[1] Act. 20.
[1] 1. Pet. 5.
[2] 1. Corinth. 4.
[3] Tit. 1.
[4] 1. Timoth. 4.

them only by the place; as if Paſtors were to *ouerſee and feede* the flocke *in the pulpite*, and *Laie Presbyters in the Conſiſtorie*. Which if they doe, they allow onely wordes to Paſtours, and yeeld to laie Presbyrers, both Paſtorall words and deedes; giuing them authoritie *to feede* & *watch* the flocke of Chriſt more particularly and effectually then Paſtours doe, or may by their doctrine. Such labyrinths they leape into, when they ſeeke for thoſe things in ỹ ſacred Scriptures, which were neuer intended.

But were the word of God in this point indifferent, which for ought I yet ſee, is very reſolute againſt them; the generall conſent of al antiquitie that neuer ſo expounded S. *Pauls* words, nor euer mentioned any laie Presbyters to gouern the Church, is to me a ſtrong rampire againſt all theſe new deuiſes. I like not to raiſe vp that diſcipline from the dead, which hath lien ſo long buried in ſilence, which no father euer witneſſed, no councill euer fauoured, no Church euer followed ſince the Apoſtles times, till this our age. I can be forward in things that be good, but not ſo fooliſh, as to thinke the church of Chriſt neuer knew what belonged to the gouernment of her ſelfe, till now of late; & that the ſonne of God hath bin ſpoiled of halfe his kingdome by his owne ſeruants and Citizens for theſe 1500. yeeres, without remorſe or remembrance of any man, that ſo great wrong was offered him. I can yeelde to much for quietnes ſake; to this I can not yeelde. They muſt ſhewe mee their Lay *Presbyteries* in ſome ancient Writer; or elſe I muſt plainly auouch their Conſiſtories (as they preſſe them) to be a notorious, if not a pernicious nouelty.

Ierome, *Ambroſe* and others, are brought to depoſe, that the firſt Church had her Senate and Elders, without whoſe aduiſe nothing was done. but how wrongfully the deuiſe of Lay Elders is fathered on them, I haue declared in a ſpecial diſcourſe, I wil not heere repeate it; onely this I ſay, if any of them affirme, that in the Primitiue or Apoſtolike Church Lay *Presbyters* did gouerne Eccleſiaſticall affaires, I am content to recall all that I haue written of this preſent matter; if not, it is no great praiſe, nor good policie for them to abuſe the names and wordes of ſo many learned Fathers, to the vtter diſcredite of themſelues and their cauſe in the end.

Since

Since then the Church of Christ, in, and after the Apostles times was not gouerned by Lay *Presbyters*, as this newe discipline pretendeth; it resteth that we declare by whom both the Apostolike church and the Primitiue afrer that were directed & ruled; which I haue not failed to performe in many chapters, as farre foorth as the Scriptures doe warrant, and the vndoubted Stories of Christs Church do leade.

In the Apostles I obserue foure things, needefull for the first founding and erecting of the Church, though not so for the preseruing and maintening thereof; and foure other points that must be perpetuall in the Church of Christ. The foure extraordinary priuiledges of the Apostolike function were: Their vocation immediate from Christ, not from men, nor by men; Their commission extending ouer all the earth, not limited to anie place; Their direction infallible, the holie Ghost guiding them whether they wrate or spake; and Their operation wonderful, as wel to conuert and confirme beleeuers, as to chastice and reuenge disobeyers. Without these things the Church could not beginne, as is easily perceiued; but it may well continue without them. for now God calleth labourers into his harueſt by others, not by himselfe; Pastors take charge of those Churches that are already planted, they seeke not places where to plant new Churches. The Scriptures once written serue all ages for instruction of faith; and the myracles then wrought witnesse the power and trueth of the Gospell vnto the worldes ende. Wherefore those thinges had their necessary force and vse to lay the first foundations of the gospel before Christ was knowen; but the wisedome of God will not haue his Church still depend on those miraculous meanes, which serue rather to conquere incredulitie then to edifie the faithfull; [1] *signes being* (as the Apostle saith) *not for such as beleeue, but for such as doe not beleeue.*

[1] 1. Corinth. 14 verse 22.

The other foure points of the Apostolike delegation, which must haue their permanence and perpetuitie in the Church of Christ, are the *Dispencing the word*, *Administring the sacraments*, *Imposing of hands*, and *Guiding the keys* to shut or open the kingdome of heauen. The first two, by reason they be the ordinary meanes and instruments by which the spirite of God worketh

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ech mans ſaluation, muſt be general to al Paſtors and *Presbyters* of Chriſts Church: the other two, by which meete men are called to the miniſterie of the word, and obſtinate perſons not only repelled from the ſocietie of the ſaints, but alſo from the promiſe and hope of eternall life, reſpect rather the cleanſing and gouerning of Chriſtes Church, and therefore no cauſe they ſhould be committed to the power of euery *Presbyter*, as the word and ſacraments are. for as there can be no order, but confuſion in a common wealth where euery man ruleth, ſo woulde there be no peace, but a peſtilent perturbation of all thinges in the Church of Chriſt, if euery *Presbyter* might impoſe handes, and vſe the keyes at his pleaſure.

How the Apoſtles impoſed hands, and deliuered vnto Satan, and who ioyned with them in thoſe actions I haue handled in places appointed for that purpoſe; whereby we ſhal perceiue, that though the *Presbyters* of eache Church had charge of the worde and Sacraments euen in the Apoſtles times; yet might they not impoſe handes, nor vſe the keys, without the Apoſtles, or ſuch as the Apoſtles departing or dying left to be their ſubſtitutes and ſucceſſors in the Churches which they had planted.

[1] Act.8.verſe 5.&12. At *Samaria Philip* [1] *preached* and *baptized*; and albeit he diſpenced the word and ſacraments, yet could hee not impoſe handes

[2] Act.8.ver.17. on them, but *Peter* and *Iohn* came from Ieruſalem, and [2] *laide their hands on them, and (ſo) they receiued the holie Ghoſt*. The

[3] Act.14.ver.21 Churches of [3] *Lyſtra*, *Iconium* and *Antioch*, were planted before, yet were *Paul* and *Barnabas* at their returne forced to increaſe the number of *Presbyters* in each of thoſe places by impo-

[4] Act.14.ve.23 ſition of their handes: for ſo the worde [4] χειροτονησαντες ſignifieth with al Greeke Diuines and Stories, as I haue ſufficiently proued; and not to ordaine by election of the people, as ſome men of late had new framed the Text. The churches of *Epheſus* and *Creete* were erected by *Paul* & had their *Presbyteries*, yet could they not create others, but *Timothie* and *Tite* were left there to

[5] 1. Timoth. 5. [6] Tit.1. [5] *impoſe handes*, and [6] *ordaine Elders* in euerie Citie as occaſion required.

Herein who ſucceeded the Apoſtles, whether all *Presbyters* equally or certaine chiefe and choſen men, one in euerie Church and City truſted with the gouernment both of people

and

and *Presbyters*, I haue largely debated, and made it plaine, as well by the Scriptures, as by other ancient Writers past all exception, that from the Apostles to the first Nicene Councill, and so along to this our age, there haue alwayes bene selected some of greater gifts then the residue, to succeede in the Apostles places, to whom it belonged, both to moderate the *Presbyters* of ech Church, and to take the speciall charge of imposition of hands; and this their singularitie in succeeding, and superioritie in ordaining, haue bene obserued from the Apostles times, as the peculiar and substantial markes of Episcopal power and calling.

I knowe some late Writers vehemently spurne at this; and hardly endure any difference betwixt Bishops and *Presbyters*, vnlesse it be by custome and consent of men, but in no case by any order or institution of the Apostles; whose opinions together with the authorities on which they builde, I haue according to my small skill examined, and find them no way able to rebate the full and sound euidence that is for the contrarie. for what more pregnant probation can be required, then that the same power and precepts, which *Paul* gaue to *Timothie*, when hee had the charge of Ephesus, remained in all the Churches throughout the worlde, to certaine speciall and tried persons authorized by the Apostles themselues, and from them deriued to their after-commers by a generall and perpetuall succession in euery church and citie without conference to enlarge it, or Councill to decree it; the continuing whereof for three discents the Apostles saw with their eyes, confirmed with their handes, and Saint *Iohn* amongst others witnessed with his pen, as an order of ruling the Church approoued by the expresse voyce of the Sonne of God. When the originall proceeded from the Apostles mouth, and was obserued in all the famous places and Churches of Christendome, where the Apostles taught, and whiles they liued; can any man doubt whether that course of gouerning the Church were Apostolike? for my part, I confesse I am neither so wise, as to ouer-reach it with policie; nor so wayward as to withstand it with obstinacie.

Against so maine and cleere proofes, as I dare vndertake will

content

content euen a contentious minde, when hee readeth them, are pretended two poore places, the one of *Ambrose*, the other of *Ierome*: the first auouching, that in the beginning the Episcopall prerogatiue went *by* [1] *order* before it came by way of *election vnto desert*; the other resoluing that *Bishops are* [2] *greater then Presbyters rather by the custome of the Church, then by the trueth of the Lords disposition.* Both these authorities I haue throughly discussed, and laide forth the right intent of those Fathers, not onely by comparison of other Writers, but euen by their owne confession, lest any shoulde thinke I drawe them to a forraine sense besides their true meaning. for when *Ierome* and *Austen* alleage *the vse* and *custome of the Church*, for the distinction betwixt Bishops and *Presbyters*; if it be vnderstoode of the names and [3] *titles of honor*, which at first were common to both, and after diuided *by the* [3] *vse of the Church*, as *Austen* expresseth; we can absolutely grant the places without any preiudice to the cause, if it be applied to their power and function in the church; it is most true, that *Ierome* saith, *Presbyters were subiect* (in such sort as the Primitiue Church obserued) *rather by custome then by the trueth of the Lords ordinance.* For *Presbyters* in the Primitiue Church, as appeareth by *Tertullian, Ierome, Possidonius* and others, *might neither* [4] *baptize,* [5] *preach, nor* [6] *administer the Lords supper without the Bishops leaue*, especially in his presence; which indeede grewe rather by custome for the preseruation of order, then by any rule or commandement of the Lord. By the word of God, *a Bishop did nothing, which a Presbyter might not do, saue imposing of hands to ordaine.* That is the onely distinction in the Scriptures betwixt a Bishop and a *Presbyter*, as [7] *Ierome* and [8] *Chrysostome* affirme; other differences which the church kept many, as to impose hands on the baptized and conuerted, to reconcile penitents, and such like, were rather peculiar to the Bishop for the honour of his calling, then for any necessitie of Gods Law.

If any man vrge further out of *Ierome*, that there was no Bishop at all, nor chiefe Ruler ouer the Church and *Presbyterie* of each place in the Apostles times; I answere him with the resolution of one of the greatest patrones of their newe discipline, [9] *Non ita desipuisse existimandus est, vt somniaret neminem illi cœtui præfuisse*

[1] *Ambros. in Ephes. ca. 4.*
[2] *Hiero. in epistol. ad Titum.*
[3] *August. epist. 19 secundum honoru vocabula, quæ iam ecclesiæ vsus obtinuit.*
[4] *Tertul. de Baptismo.*
[4] *Hiero. aduersus Luciferianos.*
[5] *Possidonius de vita Augustini.*
[4] *Leo epist 88.*
[6] *Concil. Carthaginens. 2. ca. 9.*
[7] *Hiero. ad Euagr.*
[8] *Chrysost. homil. 11. in 1. ad Timotheum.*
[9] *De Ministrorum euangelii gradibus ca. 23.*

præfuiſſe. Ierome is not to bee thought to haue beene ſo vnwiſe, as to dreame the Presbyterie had no chiefe Ruler, or Preſident. [1] *It is a perpetuall and eſſentiall part of Gods ordinance,* that *in the Presbyterie one chiefe in place and dignitie ſhoulde gouerne* eache action or meeting. And againe; [2] *Tales Epiſcopos diuinitùs, & quaſi ipſius Chriſti voce conſtitutos abſit vt vnquam ſimus inficiati*; that ſuch Biſhops (as were Paſtours in euerie Citie, and chiefe of their Presbyteries) *were appointed from heauen, and as it were by the voyce of Chriſt himſelfe, God forbid wee ſhoulde euer denie*. This ſaieth hee on the behalfe of the newe Diſcipline. On the other ſide I ſay, God forbid I ſhoulde vrge any other, but ſuch as were Paſtours ouer their Churches, and Gouernours of the Presbyteries vnder them. If wee thus farre agree, what cauſe then had thoſe turbulent heades (I ſpeake not of them all) which to eaſe their ſtomackes, or to pleaſe their maintainers, ieſted and railed rather like Stageplayers, then Diuines, on thoſe whome the wiſer ſorte amongſt them can not denie were ordained by God, and appointed by the voyce of Chriſt himſelfe? If their reaſons bee not the ſtronger and weightier, howſoeuer they flatter themſelues in fluaries, let them remember who ſaide, [3] *hee that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me; and he that deſpiſeth me, deſpiſeth him that ſent me.*

[1] *Ibidem.*

[2] *Ibidem ca.* 21.

[3] Luc. 10.

They will haply ſaue themſelues, for that our Biſhops differ from the Apoſtolike Biſhops in manie thinges; as namelie theirs [4] *ſucceeded in order*, ours *by election*; the dignitie was in the Apoſtles times [4] *common to euerie Presbyter in his courſe*, nowe it is *proper to one*; with them it [4] *dured for a ſeaſon*, as a weeke or a moneth; with vs *for life*, except by iuſt cauſe any deſerue to bee remooued; laſtly, they had but [4] *prioritie of place* and *authoritie to moderate* the meetings and conſultings of the reſt; ours haue a *kinde of imperie ouer their fellow-Presbyters*. Theſe bee preciſely the points, wherein one of the beſt learned of that ſide contendeth the ancient and Apoſtolike inſtitution of Biſhops was *changed* by proceſſe of time into an other fourme eſtabliſhed by cuſtome, and confirmed by conſent of men: theſe be his own words, I haue not altered or inuerted the ſenſe or ſentence. If any of theſe differences were true,

[4] *De Miniſt. verum Euangelii gradibus ca.* 23. *fol.* 156.

content euen a contentious minde, when hee readeth them, are pretended two poore places, the one of *Ambrose*, the other of *Ierome*: the first auouching, that in the beginning the Episcopall prerogatiue went *by* [1] *order* before it came by way of *election vnto desert*; the other resoluing that *Bishops are* [2] *greater then Presbyters rather by the custome of the Church, then by the trueth of the Lords disposition.* Both these authorities I haue throughly discussed, and laide forth the right intent of those Fathers, not onely by comparison of other Writers, but euen by their owne confession, lest any shoulde thinke I drawe them to a forraine sense besides their true meaning. for when *Ierome* and *Austen* alleage *the vse* and *custome of the Church*, for the distinction betwixt Bishops and *Presbyters*; if it be vnderstoode of the names and [3] *titles of honor*, which at first were common to both, and after diuided *by the* [3] *vse of the Church*, as *Austen* expresseth; we can absolutely grant the places without any preiudice to the cause, if it be applied to their power and function in the church; it is most true, that *Ierome* saith, *Presbyters were subiect* (in such sort as the Primitiue Church obserued) *rather by custome then by the trueth of the Lords ordinance.* For *Presbyters* in the Primitiue Church, as appeareth by *Tertullian, Ierome, Possidonius* and others, *might neither* [4] *baptize*, [5] *preach, nor* [6] *administer the Lords supper without the Bishops leaue*, especially in his presence; which indeede grewe rather by custome for the preseruation of order, then by any rule or commandement of the Lord. By the word of God, *a Bishop did nothing, which a Presbyter might not do, saue imposing of hands to ordaine.* That is the onely distinction in the Scriptures betwixt a Bishop and a *Presbyter*, as [7] *Ierome* and [8] *Chrysostome* affirme; other differences which the church kept many, as to impose hands on the baptized and conuerted, to reconcile penitents, and such like, were rather peculiar to the Bishop for the honour of his calling, then for any necessitie of Gods Law.

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præfuisse

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[1] *Ibidem.*

[2] *Ibidem ca.21.*

[3] Luc.10.

They will haply saue themselues, for that our Bishops differ from the Apostolike Bishops in manie thinges; as namelie theirs [4] *succeeded in order*, ours *by election*; the dignitie was in the Apostles times [4] *common to euerie Presbyter in his course*, nowe it is *proper to one*; with them it [4] *dured for a season*, as a weeke or a moneth; with vs *for life*, except by iust cause any deserue to bee remooued; lastly, they had but [4] *prioritie of place* and *authoritie to moderate* the meetings and consultings of the rest; ours haue a *kinde of imperie ouer their fellow-Presbyters.* These bee precisely the points, wherein one of the best learned of that side contendeth the ancient and Apostolike institution of Bishops was *changed* by processe of time into an other fourme established by custome, and confirmed by consent of men: these be his own words, I haue not altered or inuerted the sense or sentence. If any of these differences were true,

[4] *De Ministrorum euangelii gradibus ca.23. fol.156.*

yet are they no cauſes to diſcredit the cuſtome of the Primitiue Church in electing her Biſhops to hold their places, ſo long as they gouerned well. for the ſame writer pronounceth of theſe very things, (ſetting the laſt aſide;) [1] *neque in iſtis quicquam eſt quod reprehendi poſſit*, neither in theſe things is there ought that can be miſliked. but in deede there is not one of al theſe diuerſities that can bee iuſtly prooued either by Scripture or Father. They are the conceits of ſome late Writers, that as touching the office and function of Biſhops would faine finde a difference betwixt the Apoſtles times, and the next ages enſuing, leſt they ſhould be conuinced to haue reiected the vniuerſal order of the ancient and Primitiue Church of Chriſt, without any good and ſufficient warrant. The conſent of all ages and Churches is ſo ſtrōg againſt them, that they are hard driuen to hunt after euerie ſyllable that ſoundeth any thing that way, & yet can they light on no ſure ground to builde their late deuiſes on, or to weaken the generall and perpetuall courſe which the Church of Chriſt hath in all places kept inuiolable euen from the Apoſtles times.

[1] *De Miniſtrorum euangelii gradibus ca. 23. fol. 156. vt ſupra.*

A few wordes of *Ambroſe* are ſet downe to beare all this burden: but they are ſo inſufficient and impertinent to this purpoſe, that they bewray the weakenеſſe of their newe frame. for *Ambroſe* ſpeaketh not one word either of *going by courſe*, or of *changing after a time*; only he ſaith, Biſhops at firſt were placed by order, and not by election, that is, the eldeſt or worthieſt had the place whiles he liued; and after him the next in order without any further choice. for that order which he ſpeaketh of, (if any ſuch were,) proceeded from the firſt planters of the Churches, and went either by ſenioritie of time, or prioritie of place allotted euerie man according to the gifts and graces which he had receiued of the holie Ghoſt. This wee may freely grant without any repugnance, or annoyance to the vocation or function of Biſhops; let the Diſciplinists confeſſe there was a ſuperiour and diſtinct charge of the Preſident or chiefe from the reſt of the Presbyters, as well in guiding the keyes as impoſing hands; and whether they were taken to the office by election or by order, to vs it is all one; I hope the placing of the Presbyters in order according to their gifts in the Churches where the Apoſtles preached, could not be without the Apoſtles ouerſight and

and direction. and ſo long, whether they ſet ſuch in order as were fitteſt for the place; or whether they left it to the diſcretion and election of the reſt, we greatly force not. Howbeit the wordes of *Ierome* are ſo expreſſe that Biſhops were made by election euen in the Apoſtles times, that I ſee not howe they ſhould be reconciled with their collection out of *Ambroſe*.[1] *Alexandriæ à Marco Euangeliſta, Preſbyteri vnum ſemper ex ſe electum, in celſiore gradu collocatum, Epiſcopum nominabant.* At Alexandria, euen from *Marke* the Euangeliſt, the Presbyters alwayes chooſing one of themſelues, and placing him in an higher degree, called him a Biſhop. *Marke* died ſixe yeeres before *Peter* and *Paul*, as the Eccleſiaſticall ſtorie witneſſeth, & conſequently the firſt Biſhop of Alexandria *was elected in the Apoſtles times*; yea that Church (as *Ierome* ſaieth) *did alwayes elect*, there neuer ſucceeded any by order.

[1] *Hiero. in epiſt. ad Euagrium.*

For the manner of their ſucceeding whether by order or by choice, I make not ſo great account, as for their continuance. The Patrones of the late Diſcipline would make vs beleeue, that in the Apoſtles times the Epiſcopall dignitie or regiment of the Presbyterie went round by courſe to all the Presbyters, and dured a weeke or ſome ſuch time, (for gheſſes muſt ſerue them when other prooſes faile them;) which aſſertion of theirs I knowe not whether I ſhould thinke it proceeded of too much ignorance, or too little conſcience. If the men were not well learned, I ſhould ſuſpect ignorance; if the caſe were not more then cleere, I woulde not chalenge their conſcience. But being as they are, and the caſe ſo cleere, that in my ſimple reading I neuer ſawe cleerer, nor plainer, (excepting alwayes the certaintie of the ſacred Scriptures) let the Chriſtian Reader iudge, for I dare not pronounce, with what intent a manifeſt trueth is not onely diſſembled, but ſtoutly contradicted, and an euident falſhoode auouched and aduanced to the height of an Apoſtolike and diuine ordinance, by the chiefeſt pillars of theſe newe found Conſiſtories.

It is lately deliuered as an Oracle, that vnder the Apoſtles there were no Gouernors of the Presbyteries, (whom they and we call Biſhops) but ſuch as *dured for a ſhort time*, and *changed roundly by courſe*; and this is called *the Apoſtolike and diuine inſti-*

tution. How palpable an vntruth this is, it is no hard matter for meane ſcholers to diſcerne. The firſt Biſhop of Alexandria after *Marke* was *Anianus* made the [1] *eight yeere* of *Neroes* raigne, and he continued [2] *two and twentie yeeres* before *Abilius* ſucceeded him. *Abilius* ſate [3] *thirteene yeeres*, and dying, left the place to *Cerdo*. Theſe three ſucceeded one an other, Saint *Iohn* yet liuing; neither had Alexandria any moe then two Biſhops in 35. yeeres after the death of *Marke*. [4] *Euodius* made Biſhop of *Antioch* fiue and twentie yeeres before the death of *Peter* and *Paul*, ſuruiued them one yeere; and after him ſucceeded [5] *Ignatius*, who outliued Saint *Iohn*, and *died* in the [6] eleuenth yeere of *Traiane*, leauing the place to *Heron*, after he had kept it *fourtie yeeres*; ſo that in 66. yeeres the Church of Antioch had but two Biſhops. At *Ieruſalem* [7] *Iames* called the Lordes brother ſate Biſhop *thirtie yeeres*, and [8] *Simeon* that ſucceeded him kept the place *eight and thirtie yeeres*; the Church of Ieruſalem hauing in threeſcore and eight yeeres but two Biſhops. At *Rome* whiles Saint *Iohn* liued there were but three Biſhops, *Linus*, *Anacletus*, and *Clemens*, which three continued two and thirtie yeres.

If this be not ſufficient, let them take the example of *Polycarpe*, *made Biſhop of Smyrna by the Apoſtles themſelues*, and continuing a long time Biſhop of that Church, and [9] *departing this life a verie aged man, with a moſt glorious and moſt noble kind of Martyrdome*. The ſpace he ſate Biſhop of *Smyrna*, if it were not [10] *foureſcore and ſixe yeres*, (for ſo long he had *ſerued Chriſt*, as his anſwere ſheweth to the Proconſul of *Aſia*,) yet it muſt needes be aboue *threeſcore and tenne yeeres*. for hee liued ſo many yeeres after Saint *Iohn*, whoſe ſcholler hee was, and by whome he was made Biſhop of *Smyrna*; and died, as the whole Church of *Smyrna* in their letters entitled him at the time of his death, ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας *Biſhop of the Catholike Church at Smyrna*. This one inſtance is able to marre the whole plot of their ſuppoſed Apoſtolicall & changeable regencie; for no part of this Storie can be doubted. Was he not made biſhop of *Smyrna* by the Apoſtles? [11] *Ierom*, [12] *Euſebius*, [13] *Tertullian*, and [14] *Irenæus* that liued with him, and learned ſo much of him, affirme it. Liued he not Biſhop of Smyrna ſo long time? The whole Church of *Smyrna* gaue him that title at his death: their letters

[1] Euſeb. lib. 2. ca. 24.
[2] Idem li. 3. ca. 13.
[3] Idem li. 3. ca. 21.
[4] Euſeb. Chronicon. in anno 45.
[5] Idem in anno 71
[6] Ibid. in an. 111.
[7] Ibidem in annis 33. & 63.
[8] Ibidem in annis 63. & 111.
[9] Iren. li. 3 ca. 3.
[10] Euſeb. li. 4. ca. 15.
[11] Hiero. de ſcriptoribus eccleſiaſticis in Polycarpo.
[12] Euſeb. li. 3. ca. 35.
[13] Tertull. de præſcript. aduerſ. hæreticos.
[14] Iren. lib. 3. ca. 3.

letters be yet extant in *Euſebius*. The Emperours vnder whom he died were [1] *Marcus Antoninus*, and *Lucius Aurelius Commodus* (as *Euſebius* and *Ierome* do witneſſe) who beganne their raigne [2] 64. after the death of Saint *Iohn*, *Polycarpe* ſuffering the [3] ſeuenth yeere of their Empire; and *Irenæus* teſtifieth that he came to Rome vnder [4] *Anicetus* the tenth Biſhop there, & *declared the trueth which he had receiued from the Apoſtles*. Did he through ambition retaine the place to which the Apoſtles called him longer then he ſhoulde; and ſo altered the Apoſtolicall kinde of gouernement? I had rather chalenge the Conſiſtorians for miſtaking *Ambroſe*; then *Polycarpe* for inuerting the Apoſtolike Diſcipline. The Church of *Smyrna* called him [5] διδάσκαλον ἀποστολικὸν καὶ προφητικὸν, *the Apoſtolicall and Prophetical Teacher of their times*. *Irenæus* ſaith of him, [6] *Hic docuit ſemper, quæ ab Apoſtolis didicerat, quæ & eccleſiæ tradidit, & ſola ſunt vera*; hee alwayes taught thoſe things which he learned of the Apoſtles, which he deliuered vnto the Church, and they onely are true.

1. Euſeb. li. 4. ca. 1.
2 Hiero. vt ſupra, in Polycarpo.
2 Euſeb Chronicon in anno 164.
3 Ibid. in anno 170
4 Iren. lib. 3. ca. 3.
5 Euſeb. lib 4. ca. 15.
6 Iren. lib. 3. ca. 3.

And if he were not a man of farre more authoritie, and certainer fidelitie, then any that contradict him, yet haue we al the Churches of Chriſtendome, & their ſucceſſions of Biſhops from the Apoſtles, and all hiſtories and monuments of antiquitie to concurre with him, that Biſhops liuing in the Apoſtles daies, & made by the Apoſtles hands, continued their places til they died, neither is there any man liuing that is able to ſhewe one example to the contrary. Let the Chriſtian Reader then ſay, whether it be not a vaine and falſe ſurmiſe which ſome in our age ſo mightily maintaine, that the Biſhops which the Apoſtles ordained to rule the Presbyteries, *dured* for ſome *ſhort ſpace*, & *changed by courſe*, that ſuperioritie going round in order to euerie Presbyter; & the election of Biſhops to gouerne the Churches and Presbyters committed to their charge, ſo long as they did it carefully, was mans inuention, and no Apoſtolike inſtitution.

The domination of biſhops wil be their laſt refuge; otherwiſe, in elections of Biſhops to continue whiles they do their duties, the beſt learned of them confeſſe, there is nothing *that can or ſhould be reprehended*, onely they repine that a Biſhop ſhoulde haue iuriſdiction ouer his Copresbyters. And heere they are

plentiful with places of Scripture, as if we went about to make Bishops, Lords and Masters ouer the Church, and all the rest to be their seruants. They alleage the words of Christ; [1] *Great men exercise authoritie, you shall not doe so*; and of *Peter*, [2] *Feede the flocke, not as Lords* (or commanders) *ouer Gods inheritance*; but to what purpose, I see not. Meane they by these places to proue, that the Apostles had no superioritie nor authoritie in the Church of God, or that Pastours haue no power ouer their flockes? It were more then childish to impugne one trueth by another. They themselues do agnise that the Apostles had superioritie and [3] authoritie by Christs owne commission, aboue and [3] ouer all other degrees to erect and order the Churches where they preached; and they yeelde, [4] *Pastours authoritie ouer their flockes to commaund in the name of the Lord*. Then, neither these places, nor any other in the Scriptures doe barre Pastoral power ouer the flocke, nor distinction of degrees betwixt the Teachers. Superior and inferior degrees, if Christs wordes did exclude, no man might admit them or defend them as lawfull. If the Apostles to whom, and of whom Christ there spake, did notwithstanding his speech, retaine diuersities of degrees in the Church; it is euident our Sauiour did not forbid *Superiority*, but *Imperie*; not *Pastorall*, but *Regall* authoritie; not *Fatherly*, but *Masterly* preeminence; and that in respect aswell of the people, as of the Presbyters; *Peter* calling the people *Gods heritage*, and before and after naming them, *the Lords flocke*.

[1] Math 20.
[2] 1. Pet. 5.
[3] *De Ministrorum euangelii gradibus ca. 6. & 15.*
[4] *Ibidem ca. 20.*

And how should it possibly be otherwise? for since the holy Ghost requireth the faithfull to [5] *obey their Leaders, and to bee subiect to them*, no Scriptures do crosse the authoritie and inspection which the guiders of Christes Church shoulde haue ouer their flockes; and God by his eternall Lawe comprising Pastours vnder the name of Fathers, and assigning them the honour due vnto Parents, we may not by colour of any wordes bereaue them of obedience and reuerence, no more then of maintenance, which are the parts and effects of Fatherly power and honour. So long then as wee giue Bishops *no charge but Pastorall, no power but paternall*, wee are not in danger of violating either our Sauiours, or his Apostles precept; and consequently this kinde of superioritie, may not bee called or supposed

[5] Hebr. 13.

poſed to be Dominion nor Imperie; without wrong to the ſpirite of trueth that hath confirmed it as needefull and healthfull for the houſe of God, euen from the firſt foundation of the worlde.

They will eaſily grant fatherly moderation and Paſtorall power vnto Biſhops ouer the people, but not ouer the Preſbyters; on this they ſet vp their reſt, that no Paſtour ſhoulde haue power ouer others of the ſame calling, and hope aſſuredly to haue the victorie. But they muſt firſt reconcile their owne contrarieties, they will triumph elſe before the conqueſt for ech Presbyterie, as themſelues confeſſe, muſt haue a Preſident by Gods eſſentiall and perpetuall ordinance. I aske now, whether God giue any man a bare title without any trueth, and a Regiment without all authoritie; or whether in Gods Lawe deedes and wordes concurre, and he be called προεδρος, a Preſident; that is appointed and authorized by God to execute that office. The mouth of God intendeth not for mockeries as mans doth, and therefore the name neuer goeth without the thing. he is iuſt in his ſpeach, and wil not vtter the worde that ſhall delude the hearer. If then by Gods Law there muſt be Preſidents ouer Presbyteries, ineuitably there muſt be Gouernours and Superiours ouer them. If ſome muſt moderate the meetings of Presbyters and execute their decrees, of force they muſt haue power and authoritie ouer Presbyters; and ſo it is mainly conſequent out of their owne poſitions, which they moſt refuſe.

Againe, when *Paul* left *Timothie* at Epheſus to [1] *impoſe hands*, to [1] *receiue accuſations againſt Presbyters*, and [1] *openly to rebuke ſuch as ſinned*; did hee not giue him power ouer Presbyters; and euen the ſelfe ſame that is challenged at this day to belong to Biſhops? if it were lawful and needful at Epheſus for *Timothy* to haue that right and authority ouer the Presbyters, that were ioynt-Paſtors with him, how commeth it now to be a tyrannical and Antichriſtian power in his ſucceſſours? [1] 1. Timoth. 5.

Timothie, they will ſay was an Euangeliſt; and coulde haue no ſucceſſours. If none could ſucceede him in that power, how come their Presbyteries to haue it? will they be Euangeliſts? what, Lay Elders and all? and ſhall the Presbyteries of the whole world ſucceede *Timothie* in his charge at Epheſus? That

were newes in deede, if this authority to *impoſe hands*, to *receiue accuſations*, and *rebuke ſinnes* muſt remaine in the Church for euer, as it is euident it muſt; then was it no Euangeliſticall authoritie, but a generall and perpetuall function in the Church of Chriſt; that might, and did admit others to ſucceede *Timothie* in the ſame place and power; and the reſt of the Apoſtolike Churches had the like order, as appeareth by their ſucceſſions of Biſhops fet euen from the Apoſtles and their followers.

Of *Timothies* ſucceſſours if any man doubt, the Councill of Chalcedon will tell him the number of them. [1] *A ſancto Timotheo vſq; nunc 27. Epiſcopi facti, omnes in Epheſo ſunt ordinati.* from bleſſed *Timothie* vnto this preſent, the 27. Biſhops that haue bin made, haue bin al ordained at Epheſus. Other [2] *Apoſtolike Churches* (as *Tertullian* ſaith) had the like *order of Biſhops, ſo deriued by ſucceſſion from the beginning, that the firſt Biſhop had for his Author and Anteceſſor one of the Apoſtles, or ſome Apoſtolike man, which had continued with the Apoſtles.* So the Biſhops of *Cyprus* in the third generall Councill of Epheſus did witneſſe for their Iland. [3] *Troylus*, ſay they, *Sabinus, Epiphanius, and the moſt holie Biſhops that were before them, and all that haue beene euen from the Apoſtles, were ordained by ſuch as were of Cyprus.*

[1] *Concil. Chalcedonenſ. actio 11.*

[2] *Tertul. de præſcriptionibus aduerſ. hæretic.*

[3] *Concil. Epheſinum in ſuggeſtione Epiſcoporum Cypri.*

If *Timothies* commiſſiō dip too deep for the Presbyters ſtore (howbeit al the ancient fathers with one conſent make that Epiſtle a very paterne for the Epiſcopall power and calling;) yet the authoritie which ſo many thouſand learned and godly Biſhops haue had and vſed with the liking and allowance of all Churches, Councils and Fathers euen from the Apoſtles times, ſhould to no reaſonable man ſeeme intollerable or vnlawfull; except we thinke that the whole church of Chriſt, from her firſt planting til this our age, lacked not onely religion but alſo vnderſtanding to diſtinguiſh betwixt Paſtorall moderation & tyrannical domination; to which humor if any man encline, I muſt rather deteſt his arrogancie, then ſtand to refute ſo groſſe an abſurditie. I wil therefore ſet downe in a word or two the ſumme of that power which Biſhops haue had aboue Presbyters euer ſince the Apoſtles times; if the Diſciplinarians thinke it repugnant to the worde of God, I woulde gladly heare, not their opinions and aſſertions, which I haue often read and neuer beleeued,

leeued, but ſome quicke and ſure probations out of the ſacred Scriptures, and thoſe ſhall quiet the ſtrife betwixt vs.

The Canons called Apoſtolike, alleaged by themſelues as ancient, ſay thus; [1] *The Presbyters and Deacons let them doe nothing without the* (knowledge or) *conſent of the Biſhop. He is the man that is truſted with the Lords people, and that ſhall render account for their ſoules.* *Ignatius* Biſhop of Antioch almoſt thirtie yeres in the Apoſtles times, agreeth fully with that Canon, and ſaith; [2] *Do you nothing, neither Presbyter, Deacon, nor Lay man without the Biſhop, neither let anything ſeeme* εὔλογον *orderly* (or reaſonable) *without his liking.* τὸ γὰρ τοῦτο παρόνομον, καὶ θεῷ ἐχθρόν, *for it is vnlawfull and diſpleaſant to God.* And againe, [3] μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, *Without the Biſhop let no man do anything that pertaineth to the Church.* The ancient councils of [4] *Ancyra*, [5] *Laodicea*, [6] *Arle*, [7] *Toledo*, and others acknowledge the ſame rule to be Chriſtian and lawfull; yea, no Councill or father did euer attribute any ſuch power to the Presbyters, as by number of voyces to ouer-rule the Biſhops in euery thing, as our late reformers haue deuiſed; rather to retriue the world to their pleaſures, then to imitate any former example of Chriſtes Church, or to reuerence the rules that are deliuered in holy Writ.

[1] *Canon. Apoſt. 38*

[2] *Ignat. epiſt. 3. ad Magneſios.*

[3] *Idem epiſt. 7. ad Smyrnaos.*

[4] *Concil. Ancyrani ca. 13.*

[5] *Laodicenica. 56*

[6] *Arelatenſ. 1. ca. 19.*

[7] *Toletan. 1. ca. 20*

If then wee ſeeke for right Apoſtolike Biſhops; they were ſuch as were left or ſent by the Apoſtles to bee Paſtours of the Churches, and Gouernours of the Presbyteries in euerie Citie that beleeued, ſo long as they ruled well; and in their ſteade, as their ſucceſſours to receiue charge of ordaining others for the worke of the Miniſterie, and guiding the keies with the aduiſe and conſent of ſuch as laboured with them in the worde and doctrine. Theſe partes, if I be not deceiued, are fully proued in their conuenient places; thither I remit the Reader that is deſirous to ſee more. It ſufficeth mee for this preſent, that no parte of this power can bee iuſtly challenged as tyrannicall or intollerable by the groundes of Diuine or humane Lawes; and therefore the obiecting of domination, is a ſuperfluous, if not an enuious, quarrel of theirs, declaring they either do not, or will not vnderſtand the matter for which we chieflie contend.

Touching

Touching Synodall decrees, and Princes Lawes for Eccleſiaſticall cauſes, ſince they muſt of force be committed to the care and conſcience of ſome that ſhall execute them; I haue examined who are the meeteſt men to be put in truſt with thoſe matters; in whom there can be iuſtly no ſuſpition nor occaſion of tyrannicall dealing ſo long as Diœceſanes and Metropolitanes are limited by written Lawes in eche caſe what they ſhall do, and euery man that findeth himſelfe grieued, permitted to appeale from them to Synodes or Princes; one of the which muſt needes take place, howſoeuer the Church be either in perſecution or peace. I haue likewiſe ſhewed the *neceſſitie* and *antiquitie* of *Diœceſes*, of *Synodes*, of *Primates* or *Metropolitans*; as alſo whether the people by Gods Lawe muſt elect their Paſtors afore they can be rightly and duly called. Of theſe things and many ſuch queſtions pertaining to the gouernement of Chriſtes Church, I haue made ſpeciall and full diſcourſes; not omitting any point that was worth the ſearching. In all which as throughout the whole booke, when I obiect any thing that is or may bee ſaide on their behalfe that maintaine theſe newe found Conſiſtories, I haue cauſed it to bee printed in an other letter, and diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the Texr with this marke] as it were to encloſe it.

What I haue performed, the Chriſtian Reader ſhall beſt perceiue; if he take the paines to peruſe it. All mens humors I do not hope, I do not ſeeke to ſatisfie. Such as are deceiued with ignorance of the truth, may haply by this be ſomewhat occaſioned, if not directed to a further ſearch; ſingular conceits that are in loue with their owne deuiſes, ſwelling ſpirites that endure no ſuperiors, couetous hearts that hunt after ſpoiles, when all is ſaide, will haue their dreames, if they can not haue their wils; theſe diſeaſes are ſo deſperate, they paſſe my skil, if it were a great deale more then it is.

My purpoſe was and is, the peace of Gods Church, ſo farre as it may ſtand with the trueth of his worde, and fellowſhip of his Saints, that haue gone before vs with wonderfull graces of his ſpirite, as well for the greatnes of their learning as holineſſe of their liues; and to that ende haue I ſo tempered and delayed my ſtile, that I might not iuſtly offend ſuch as are otherwiſe minded;

minded; vnleſſe the refuſing of their priuate fanſies will prouoke the heate of their diſpleaſures. I haue alwayes had before mine eies, the moſt of them are brethren for the trueths ſake; howſoeuer ſome of them fall to open enmitie for this humour of Iewiſh Synedrions and Lay Presbyteries. Let them reade; if they bring better, I am willing to learne; but I like no ſelfe-ſet aſſertions, as if all the worlde were bound to the very breath of our mouthes or daſh of our pennes, without any other Text or interpreter.

If I haue ſaide ought that is not allowed by the word, or not witneſſed by the continuall and vniuerſall practiſe of Chriſtes Church, I deſire not to be beleeued; I looke for the like meaſure, if any man replie; not to heare the coniecturall and opinatiue gheſſes of ſome that liued in our age, but ſuch effectuall reaſons and ſubſtantiall authorities as may preſſe the gainesayer, and ſettle the conſenter. God make vs zealous for his, not for our wils; and ſo guide our labours, that we may leſſen the troubles, and not ripen the dangers of Sion; ſeeking rather how to amend, then how to multiplie the rendes and breaches of Ieruſalem. *Amen.*

(***)

B. Bilson

The

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THE PERPETVAL GOVERNEMENT OF CHRISTES CHVRCH.

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The originall and domesticall Discipline of the Church before the Lawe.

What need there is of order and gouernement, as in all assemblies of men that will liue together, so namely and chiefly in the Church of Christ; the wisedome of God hath many wayes witnessed vnto vs, both by the proportion of those naturall and ciuill societies, to which the Church is compared; and by the perfection of that felowship, which the Saints haue had amongst themselues in all ages and places euen from the foundation of the world, where the true worship of God hath preuailed. The first roote of all humane consort and communion, I meane priuate howses, hath not the Lord distinguished by diuers degrees and prerogatiues of husband, parents, and master, aboue wife, children, and seruants; and yet linked them all together in mutuall correspondence with dueties according? The branches that thence rise, as Cities, Countries and kingdomes; haue they not their Lawes to prescribe, and Magistrates to execute things needfull for their common estate; God ordaining powers and deliuering the sword for the defence of the simple and innocent, and repressall of the wicked and iniurious? Were wee willing or constant in that which is good; Discipline were not so requisite: but because the corruption of our nature is such, that we are soone deceiued of our selues, sooner seduced by others, and soonest of all peruerted and peruerted with feare and desire: to settle the vnstedfastnesse of our hearts, and bridle the vnrulinesse of our affections; the Lord hath prouided for all societies the line of direction, and rod of

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CHAP. XI.

VVhat Presbyterie the Primitiue Churches and Catholike Fathers did acknowledge, and whether Lay Elders were any part thereof, or no.

CHAP. XII.

To whom the Apoſtles departing or dying left the gouernement of the Church: whether equally to al Presbyters, or chiefly to ſome: and how farre the conceits of late VVriters herein varie from the ancient Fathers, whoſe wordes they pretend to followe.

CHAP. XIII.

That ſome chiefe euer ſince the Apoſtles times haue beene ſeuered from the reſt of the Presbyters in euery Citie by power of ordination and right of ſucceſſion, whom the Fathers before vs did, and we after their example doe call Biſhops.

CHAP. XIIII.

The fatherly power and Paſtourall care of Biſhops ouer Presbyters and others in their Churches and Diœceſes.

CHAP. XV.

To whom the elections of Biſhops and Presbyters doth rightly belong, and whether by Gods Lawe the people muſt elect their Paſtours, or no.

CHAP. XVI.

The meetings of Biſhops in Synodes, and who did call and moderate thoſe aſſemblies in the Primitiue Church.

THE PERPETVAL GOVERNEMENT OF CHRISTES CHVRCH.

Chap. I.

The originall and domesticall Discipline of the Church before the Lawe.

WHat need there is of order and gouernement, as in all assemblies of men that will liue together, so namely and chiefly in the Church of Christ; the wisedome of God hath many wayes witnessed vnto vs, both by the proportion of those naturall and ciuill societies, to which the Church is compared; and by the perfection of that felowship, which the Saints haue had amongst themselues in all ages and places euen from the foundation of the world, where the true worship of God hath preuailed. The first roote of all humane consort and communion, I meane priuate howses, hath not the Lord distinguished by diuers degrees and prerogatiues of husband, parents, and master, aboue wife, children, and seruants; and yet linked them all together in mutuall correspondence with dueties according? The branches that thence rise, as Cities, Countries and kingdomes; haue they not their Lawes to prescribe, and Magistrates to execute things needfull for their common estate; God ordaining powers and deliuering the sword for the defence of the simple and innocent, and repressall of the wicked and iniurious? Were wee willing or constant in that which is good; Discipline were not so requisite: but because the corruption of our nature is such, that we are soone deceiued of our selues, sooner seduced by others, and soonest of all auerted and peruerted with feare and desire: to settle the vnstedfastnesse of our hearts, and bridle the vnrulinesse of our affections; the Lord hath prouided for all societies the line of direction, and rod of

correction; as well to guide the tractable, as to represse the obstinate; least disorder vnpunished should breed confusion the forerunner of all ruine. Since then the Church of Christ is [1] the house of God, the [2] Citie of the liuing God, and the [3] kingdom of his beloued sonne; shall we thinke that God is carefull for others and careless for his owne: or that confusion ought to be lesse doubted and feared in heauenly then in earthly things? God is no (*where author*) of [4] confusion but of peace, especially in his Church; in which hee commandeth [5] all things to be decently & orderly done. Where no man doeth gouerne, what order can bee kept: where no man doeth moderate, what peace can be had: yea what greater dissipation can befall the Church of God, then for euery man to intrude where he list, and obtrude what hee will, without restraint or reproofe: Wherefore God hath appointed [6] Stewards ouer his household, [7] watchmen and leaders ouer his flocke, [8] Labourers in his haruest, [9] husbandmen in his tillage, [10] diuers administrations, as well for the [11] preseruation as edification of the Church, which is the body of Christ, and so farre foorth answereth the frame of mans body; that as there, so in the Church, [12] God hath set some to be in stead of eyes, eares, tongue, and handes; that is, to be principall members for the guiding and directing of the whole, which without them is maimed and vnable to prouide for the safetie and securitie of it selfe.

1 1.Tim.3.
2 Hebr.12.
3 Col.1.
4 1.Cor.14.
5 Ibidem.
6 1.Cor 4.
7 Hebr.13.
8 Luc.10.
9 1.Cor.3.
10 1.Cor.12.
11 Ephes.4.
12 Basil. in Psal.33.

Neither may we thinke that order and discipline is needfull for the people in Gods Church, and needelesse for the Pastours; that were to gard the feete, and leaue the head open to a more deadlie wound: but rather as the more principall the part, the more perilous the disease, so the more disordered the Pastours, the likelier the people to perish by their dissentions. The house cannot stand, which the builders subuert. The harueit is lost, where the labourers doe rather skatter, then gather. If the eie lacke light, how darke is the body: If the salt be vnsauouris, wherewithall shall the rest be seasoned: The followers cannot goe right, where the guides go astray; and forces distracted, bee they neuer so great, are soone defeated. Discord and disorder in the Pastours rent the Church in pieces; where as peace and agreement in the Teachers confirme and establish the mindes of the hearers. If they striue that sit at sterne, the ship of Christ cannot hold a straight and safe course in the tempests

of

of this world. Ouer them ame discipline, the very nurse and mother of all peace and quietnesse, as well in diuine as in humane societies and assemblies, though it be not the life or spirite that quickneth the Church; yet doe they it fasten and knit the members thereof, as ioints and sinewes doe the partes of our bodies; in so much that the [1] vnitie of the spirite is not kept (as the Apostle noteth) without the [1] Ephes. 4. [1] band of peace; and where there is dissention nourished, or confusion suffered, no peace can be preserued, or expected.

Hence we must not frame what kind of regiment we list, for the ministers of Christes Church, but rather obserue and marke what manner of eternall gouernment the Lord hath best liked & allowed in his Church euen from the beginning. The eternall regiment of Pastours and Teachers among themselues, and ouer their flocks, I distinguish from the internall, that God hath by his spirite and truethith the hearts of the faithfull; which cannot be varied, and is not questioned in the Church of England. That I acknowledge to be the true kingdom of Christ; whereby he inwardly and effectually worketh in his Saints the faith of his truth, and feeling of his grace according to the purpose of his owne will, for the praise of his glory; in which no earthly creature concurreth or ioyneth with him, yet the same he hath left the sound of his word and seale of his Sacraments, as eternall meanes for vs to be made partakers of his heauenly graces; there must be for persons to teach the one, and dispence the other; and a power in them to admit the woorthie, and remoue the vnwoorthie, least holy things be defiled, whiles they be [2] proiected to dogs and swine. Heere riseth the necessitie of eternall gouernment in the Church of God, which respecteth the appointing of meete men, and prescribing of diuerse to be trusted with these heauenly treasures, as also the good vsing and right binding of so precious iewels committed to their charge. [2] Math. 7.

What kinde of eternall gouernment God stood in his Church euen at the first beginning, will soone appeare, if wee consider the Scriptures from Adam to Iacob as the Church was contained in certaine families mentioned by Moses, so was the discipline of the Church Domesticall, and the gouernment Paternall, God leauing the father sole teacher and ruler of his household and offspring, and charging the children and their elders to honour with reuerence and obedience, their fathers ministring and prescribing vnto them

the true worship of God agreeable to his will reuealed to their fathers. The right and power the father had ouer his children and houshold before the Lawe is expressed in these wordes: [1] I know (saieth God) that (*Abraham*) will command his sonnes and his house after him to keepe the way of the Lord; which no doubt all the Patriarkes that were faithfull euen from Adam carefullie performed, and the children that were religious, reuerently obeyed; the blessing of God passing by the fathers mouth vnto the children in reward of their submission, or curse in reuenge of their rebellion. So Noah [2] blessed Sem for couering his nakednesse; and by that blessing made him heire of the promise; and cursed Cham for deriding the shame of his father and insulting at it. So likewise [3] Isaac and Iacob transmitted the blessing of God to their [4] children and [5] childrens children that were duetifull, and pronounced his heauie iudgements on their children that were wicked and obstinate.

[1] Gen.18.
[2] Gen.9.
[3] Gen.27.
[4] Gen.49.
[5] Gen.48.

As the Patriarkes were Prophets to declare to their children the promises and menaces of God; so were they magistrates to rule their families with fatherly coercion, such as God best allowed in the first world to gouerne his Saints. And for that cause did God comprehend Princes vnder the name of Parents in the Decalogue of Moses; and euery where in the olde Testament chiefe men and gouernours are called Fathers; and to this day by Gods lawe, Princes ought to haue the same care and respect of their subiects that fathers haue of their children, by reason the first fountaine of princely power by Gods allowance was fatherly regiment. Neither were the Patriarkes onely Princes within their tentes and dwellings; but also Princes in the Church of God, God alwayes reseruing the eldest and chiefest in those generations to serue him with sacrifice and thanksgiuing. To which end God did consecrate the first borne of their familie as holy to himselfe, to be Priests in his Church; and encreased their dignitie with this princely prerogatiue, that they should be Lords ouer their brethren, and honoured of their mothers children; as succeeding their fathers in the gouernment and Priesthood, vnlesse they were repelled from that honour by Gods secrete counsels or manifest iudgements; and others named by God himselfe to sustaine that charge. [6] In Isaac shall thy seed be called, sayd God to Abraham when hee refused

[6] Gen.21.

Ismael,

Ismael. [1] The elder shall serue the yonger, said God to Rebecca when he preferred Iacob. [2] Ruben mine eldest sonne (said Iacob) the beginning of my strength, excelling in dignitie, excelling in power: thou shalt not excell, because thou wentest vp to thy fathers bed. For otherwise this was the blessing due to the elder brother in the [3] first world, and part of his birthright, as well before as after the flood, which Isaac vetered to Iacob, when he tooke him for his eldest sonne; [4] Be Lord ouer thy brethren, and let thy mothers children honour thee. Which priuiledge of the first borne God renewed and confirmed in the lawe of Moses throughout the common wealth of Israel, that as they were eldest, so should they be chiefest in their fathers houses, except their impietie prouoked the contrary.

[1] Gen. 25.
[2] Gen. 49.
[3] Gen. 4. v. 7.
[4] Gen. 27.

This then was the regiment of Gods Church from Adam to Sem: the most ancient was alwayes the most excellent, both in priesthood and ciuill gouernment in the Church of God; and in his roume deceasing, succeeded his eldest sonne, vnlesse he were reiected from it for his wickednesse, as Cain was that killed Abel. And to the first Patriarkes God gaue so long life, that they might witnesse his trueth by word of mouth vnto their children and childrens children, that would heare and regard the will of God. for this precept expressed in the law, [5] Teach them thy sonnes, & thy sonnes sonnes; was the perpetuall charge of all fathers as well before as after the deluge; and then most needfull, when children had no teachers nor gouernours, saue fathers; as whiles the worde was yet not written, but the true worship of God was deliuered by hand from the father to the sonne. During which time, as each father that inherited the promise was eldest, so was he chiefest in directing and commanding his offspring that beleeued, of whom the Church then consisted.

[5] Deut. 4.

Adam gouerned the Church 930. yeeres, confirming to all posteritie the creation and fall of himselfe and all mankind with him; and likewise redemption and victorie by the promised seede that should come of the woman. Seth the sonne of Adam assisted his father 500. yeeres, & taught his children which were then the Church [6] to call on the name of the Lord; and continued that charge 112. yeeres after his fathers death. Enosh did the like to Seth, and all the heires of the promise before the flood to their fathers; God al-

[6] Gen. 4.

wayes stirring vp the spirits of some excellent men to preach in his Church, whiles their fathers yet liued and guided the number of the faithfull. So Enoch pleased God and prophecied in his Church 300. yeeres; first vnder Adam, and after vnder Seth, in whose time he was translated. So Noah [1] preached righteousnesse and repentance to the olde world, beginning vnder Enoch the sonne of Seth, and holding on six descents, vntil the flood came, the very same yeere that his grandfather Methusalem died. After whose death and the drowning of the world, Noah gouerned the Church 350. yeeres; and left the regiment thereof, as also the inheritance of the blessing and promise to Sem his eldest sonne, that was saued with him in the Arke from the waters, and blessed by him.

[1] 2. Pet. 2.

Sem succeeding his father in the couenant of peace, confirmation of the promise, and dignitie of the first borne, gouerned the Church 350. yeeres vnder his father, and 152. yeeres after him, euen till Abraham was dead, Isaac diuine, and Iacob 50. yeeres olde, and might well for his age, birthright and blessing, be that Melchizedec, king of Salem in Canaan, that [2] met Abraham returning from the slaughter of his enemies, and blessed him that had the promises. for he must be greater then Abraham, that blessed Abraham, as the Apostle inferreth; and greater then Abraham could none be, but one that had the same promises which Abraham had, and that before him. Nowe Noah was dead 13. yeeres before Abraham entred Canaan; and Sem ten ascents before Abraham, inherited the same blessing and promise, that Abraham did. During whose life, (and he ouer liued Abraham) none of his offspring could haue the honour of the kingdome and priesthood from him, much lesse could any stranger excell him, or come neere him in the dignitie of his priesthood.

[2] Hebr. 7.

The diuersities of opinions touching *Melchizedek* may be read in *Hieronme epistola ad Euagrium, tomo 3. fol. 38.*

For first in his house was the Church, God vouchsafing to bee called the [3] God of Sem, as he was after the God of Abraham; and so blessing his Tents with righteousnesse of faith and heauenlie peace, that Noah foreseeing it in spirite, besought God to [3] perswade and incline Iapheth (his yonger sonne) to dwell in the Tents of Sem. Next in his seed was the promised blessing, (the true cause of Abrahams greatnesse) and that 360. yeeres before it was in Abraham; and from him God lineally deriued it vnto Abraham by that blessing, as from the father both of Christ and of Abraham.

[3] Gen. 9.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, in his person was the prerogatiue of the first borne to bee chiefe ouer his brethren as well in religion as in ciuill regiment, and consequently to be king and priest in the house of God. Fourthlie, by the length of his life he wel resembled the true Melchizedec, who by his birthright is king and priest for euer ouer the sonnes of God: for he came out of the Arke, as from an other world, no man liuing that knew his beginning; & he dured more then 500. yeeres, euen twelue descents after the flood; and so neither the beginning nor end of his dayes were knowen to the heires of promise. Lastly, successour on earth he left none, by reason Abraham, whom God called from his [1] countrie, kinred, and fathers house, to inherite the promise and blessing next after Sem, and likewise Isaac and Iacob heires of the same promise with him, soiourned as strangers and peregrines first in the land of Canaan, (where Sem yet liued, and by force of his birthright and blessing continued a king and priest in his fathers house and citie, which was then the Church of God) and after in the land of Egypt, vntill the departure of Iacobs posteritie thence: amongst whose sonnes God diuided the honours and dignities of Sem, appointing the scepter and seed to Iudah, the priesthood to Leui, the [2] birthright to Ioseph; and neuer conioyned them after in any but in Christ Iesus the onely priest that euer succeeded according to the order of Melchizedec, which farre excelled the order of Aaron that had the kingdome and birthright seuered from it.

[1] Gen. 12.

[2] 1. Chro. 5.

Whosoeuer Melchizedec was, this was the gouernement of the Church so long as Sem liued, which appeared in the person of Melchizedec: to wit, the father was ruler ouer his children, and the first borne ouer his brethren, as well in pietie as in policie; and this priuiledge of the eldest brethren to be kings and priests in their fathers house, represented the choice that God made of his Saints in Christ his sonne, to be [3] a royall Priesthood to offer vp spiritual sacrifices acceptable vnto himselfe by Iesus Christ.

[3] 1. Pet. 2.

From Iacob to Moses, as the number of Gods children increased, so the roiall priesthood vtterly ceased, and the gouernement of the Church was much obscured by the perpetuall pilgrimage of Iacob, and bondage of his offspring, till God by Moses wrought their deliuerance; the Church in the meane time being guided first by Iacob, then by Ioseph, after by the heads and fathers of the twelue Tribes, Iudah being alwayes the chiefest both in Egypt and Canaan,

naan, and his [1] fathers ſonnes bowing vnto him according to the tenor of Iacobs bleſſing. And ſo from Adam to Moſes we finde a continuall ſuperioritie of the father ouer his children, and the firſt borne aboue his brethren, approoued and eſtabliſhed by God himſelfe in the regiment of his Church; and not any precept or precedent for equalitie.

[1] Gen. 49.

CHAP. II.

The Leuiticall and Nationall regiment of the Church vnder the Lawe.

When it pleaſed the goodneſſe of God to extend the true knowledge of himſelfe to the whole ſeed of Iacob, & to bring a people out of Egypt to be his peculiar, he ſeuered from the reſt the Tribe of Leui, to attend the Arke and offerings which he commanded, & to teach their brethren the iudgements and ſtatutes of their God. For the Church being enlarged and ſpred ouer the whole nation; the domeſticall diſcipline that was before the lawe, could not ſo well fit the gouernment of a people, as of an houſehold; and therefore out of twelue Tribes God choſe one to retaine the prieſthood and haue the ouerſight of all holy things, and execution of all ſacred ſeruice. In which Tribe, according to the number and order of the firſt fathers and families deſcended from Leui the ſonne of Iacob, God did propoſition and eſtabliſh diuers ſuperioities and dignities as well in anſwering the ſentence of the lawe to the people, as in ſeruing him at his altar; and thoſe not onely of Prieſts aboue Leuites, but of prieſts aboue prieſts, and of Leuites among themſelues.

The firſt diſtinction was of Prieſts aboue Leuites; that is of Aaron & his ſonnes aboue the reſt of ỳ ſame Tribe: who were reſtrained frõ touching or ſeeing the holy things cõmitted to the prieſts charge; and miniſtred in the Sanctuarie at the appointment and commandement of the prieſts. [2] Bring the Tribe of Leui (ſaieth God to Moſes) and make them ſtand before Aaron the prieſt, and they ſhall miniſter vnto him. [3] Thou ſhalt giue the Leuites to Aaron and his ſonnes; they are giuen him for a gift from among the children of Iſrael: [4] And Aaron and his ſonnes ſhalt thou

[2] Num. 3. v. 6.
[3] verſe 9.
[4] verſe 10.

thou *(number or)* appoint to execute the Priests office, which is theirs. And where the families of the Leuites deriued from Gershon, Kohath and Merari (the three sonnes of Leui) were allotted to certaine peculiar offices about the Tabernacle; they were all to be directed & commanded by the sonnes of Aaron that were priests.

[1] At the mouth, (that is, at the word and commandement) of Aaron and his sonnes shall all the seruice of the sonnes of Gershon be done, in all their charge, and in all their seruice. And so for the sonnes of Kohath: [2] Let Aaron and his sonnes come & appoint them euery man to his office and to his charge. And like wise for the sonnes of Merari: [3] The seruice of the sonnes of Merari in all their seruice about the Tabernacle, shall be vnder the hand *(or appointment)* of Ithamar the *(second)* sonne of Aaron the priest. Yea the Leuites might not touch or see ỳ things committed to the priests custodie. [4] When Aaron and his sonnes haue made an end of couering the Sanctuarie and all the instruments *(thereof)* the sonnes of Kohath shal come to beare it; but they shal not touch any holy thing, lest they die; [5] And let them not goe in to see when the Sanctuarie is folded vp, lest they die.

[1] Num. 4. v. 27.
[2] verse 19.
[3] verse 33.
[4] verse 15.
[5] verse 20.

The preheminence of priests aboue Leuites, is often iterated by Gods owne mouth; and the murmuring against it, reuenged in Korah the sonne of Kohath the Leuite by that dreadfull opening of the earth, and swallowing him vp and his confederates with all they had; for disdaining that degree, in which God had placed him amongst the Leuites, as [6] a small thing, and [7] aspiring to the priests office.

[6] Num. 16. v. 9.
[7] & 10.

Among the Leuites were three chiefe and principall heads named by God himselfe, of the lineage of the three sonnes of Leui; [8] Eliasaph for the Gershonites; [9] Elizaphan for the Kohathites; and [10] Zuriel for the Merarites. After these were other chiefe fathers of the Leuites that directed and gouerned the rest of their brethren in all the seuerall charges and courses allotted vnto them by Dauid, as appeareth, 1. Chron. 23. 24. 25. 26. some also were [11] Officers, Iudges, and Rulers, as well amongst themselues, as [12] at large for Gods businesse and the kings; some were assessors and coadiutors in the great Counsel of Ierusalem together with the [13] priests and princes of the twelue Tribes.

[8] Num. 3. v. 24.
[9] 30.
[10] 35.
[11] 1. Chr. 26. v. 29.
[12] & 30.
[13] 2. Chr. 19.

The Priests also were of sundrie sortes amongst themselues.

The

The first and chiefest dignitie belonged to the high Priest, who by
[1] Num.3.v.32. Gods appointment was [1] Prince of the princes of Leui; and
[2] 2.Chro.19. [2] chiefe ouer the supreme Iudges in Ierusalem, as well priests as others [2] in all matters of the Lord. The which soueraignitie was not giuen him in respect he was a figure of Christ; but by reason God approoued superiour and inferiour callings in that common wealth as the best way to gouerne his Church. Aarons priesthood, in approching neerest vnto God, and in entering the secret Tabernacle within the vaile, whither none might come saue the high priest alone, figured and shadowed the person of Christ; but by no meanes Aaron, nor none of his order did represent the roiall and iudiciall power of Christ. For then should Christ haue bene a priest after the order of Aaron, as well as of Melchizedec; if Aaron had resembled both his kingdom and priesthood, as Melchizedec did. But without all question the scepter was seuered from the Tribe of Leui, and giuen to Iudah: wherefore the high priest by his iudiciall dignitie could not foreshew the kingly seate and throne of Christ, and that is manifest by the different execution of his office. The high priest had the 70. Elders as coassessours with him in the same Councell, Christ hath none: He with the 70. receiued hard and doubtfull matters by way of Appeale from inferiour Iudges; all matters without exception pertaine to Christes tribunall originally, and not by way of deuolution: the high priest had a superiour to controle him and ouer rule him, euen the lawe giuer of Iudah that held the scepter; but Christ is farre from any such subiection. Wherefore the high priests superioritie to direct and determine in Councel such doubts as were brought vnto him, was no figure of the soueraigne and princely power that Christ hath in his Church, and shall execute at the last day; but rather it was the regiment and external discipline which God then embraced in guiding the Church of Israel. And that appeareth by the sequence and coherence of other degrees which accompanied the highest.

Next to the high priest (which for euer should haue bene of the
[3] Num.25. line of Eleazar and [3] Phinees) and as it were a Secondarie to him, was the chiefe of ỹ of spring of Ithamar another of Aarons sonnes,
[4] Num.4.v.28. vnder whose hand and appointment the [4] Gershonites and [5] Me-
[5] 33. rarites (two part of the Leuites) were to doe all their seruice about the Tabernacle and Temple. These two are ioyned in the execu-

tion

tion of the priests office, & are often reckoned together as the chiefe fathers of the priests, and are called the [1] Rulers *(or Princes)* of the Sanctuarie, and the Princes of God, that is, of things pertaining to the seruice of God. [1] 1.Chro.24.

Out of their posteritie came the [2] 24. that were heads and fathers, or chiefe fathers of the priests, amongst whom the lots to serue in the Temple by course were diuided by king Dauid; and as they were subiect to the two former, so had they substitutes [3] vnder them, to supplie their places being absent, and assist them being present, and had also the ouersight and directing of all such priests and Leuites as serued in their course. These (though the number continued [4] not so certaine, by reason of their captiuities and decay of their families) are often called in the old Testament the [4] heads *(or chiefe)* of the Priests, and euery where in the new Testament [5] ἀρχιερεῖς the principall or chiefe priests. [2] 1.Chro.24. [3] Nehe.12. [4] Nehe.12. [5] Math.2.16. 21.26.27. Mar.11.14. Luc.9.20.22.

And as within the Temple for the seruice of God there were diuersities of degrees amongst priests and Leuites; so for the preseruation of ciuill right and peace, and execution of Moses lawe, some of the priests and Leuites not onely were Iudges and Elders in their owne Cities which were allowed them to the number of [6] 48. in the whole, but sate with the Elders of other cities, and were [7] Iudges and officers ouer Israel. Yea many things by Gods lawe were wholie or chiefly reserued to the knowledge and sentence of the priests, as [8] leprosie, [9] iealousie, [10] inquisition for murder, [11] false witnesse and such like, in which cases the people and Elders were to consult the priests and take direction from them. [6] Iosh. 21. [7] 1.Chr.26. [8] Leu.13. [9] Num.5. [10] Deut.21. & [11] 19.

[12] The priests the sonnes of Leui (saieth God) shall come foorth *(out of the Cities where they were placed in euery Tribe)* and by their word shall all strife and plague be tried. [12] Deut.21.

Remembring alwayes that doubtfull and weightie matters were referred to the counsaile of priests and Iudges that sate in the place which the Lord did choose for the Arke to rest in. [13] If there come a matter too hard for thee (either by reason of the waight or doubt thereof) in iudgement betweene blood & blood, cause and cause, plague and plague, of matters in question within thy gates, thou shalt arise, and goe vp to the place, which the Lord thy God shal choose; and shalt repaire to the Priests of the Leuites, and vnto the Iudge that shall be in those dayes, and aske, [13] Deut.17.

and

and they shall shew thee the sentence of iudgement. And thou shalt doe according to that, which they of the place (which the Lord hath chosen) shew thee, and shalt obserue to do according to all they informe thee. Thou shalt not decline from the thing, which they shall shew thee, neither to the right hand, nor to the left. And the man that will doe presumptuously in not hearkening vnto the Priest, (that standeth before the Lord thy God to minister there) or vnto the Iudge; that man shall die. This Councill or Senate of Elders residing at Ierusalem in Iehosaphats time, (who no doubt did not infringe, but rather obserue the tenor of the lawe) consisted of [1] Leuites, and of [1] Priests, and of the [1] heads of the families of Israel, & had [1] Amariah the (*high*) priest chiefe ouer them in all matters of the Lord; and [1] Zebediah a ruler of the house of Iudah (*chiefe*) for all the kings affaires; and was a continuance of the 70. Elders, which God adioyned vnto Moses [2] to beare the burden of the people with him.

[1] 2 Chro. 19.

[2] Num. 11.

From these superiour & inferiour degrees amongst the priests and Leuites vnder Moses happily may no necessarie consequent be drawen to force the same to bee obserued in the Church of Christ. First, for that the tribe of Leui might not be vnguided without manifest confusion, and was not subiected to the regiment of any other Tribe; but had the same maner of gouernment, by her Prince, Elders, Iudges and Officers ouer 1000. 100. 50. and 10. which other Tribes had in that common wealth. Next, the ciuill policie of the Iewes being contained and expressed in the bookes of Moses, the Iudges and rulers of other Tribes, were to be directed and assisted by those that were most expert and skilfull in the writings of Moses (such as the priests and Leuites by their profession and function were;) which in Christian kingdoms is not so requisite. For the Gospell doeth not expresse the maner and fourme of ciuill regiment and positiue lawes, as the bookes of Moses doe; but leaueth such things to the care and conscience of the Magistrate, so long as their policie doeth not crosse the rules of pietie and charitie prescribed in the Gospell: and therefore the Pastours and preachers of the new Testament must not chalenge to sit Iudges in those cases, which the Priests and Leuites vnder Moses did and might heare and determine. Thirdly, this preheminence grewe vnto them according to their families by inheritance and birthright; The father

was

was chiefe of his offspring whiles he liued, and after him his eldest sonne, which is no way imitable in the Church of Christ. And though sometimes the father for good respect made the yonger the chiefer, as it is written of Shuri, one of the line of Merari, that [1] though hee were not the eldest, yet his father made him the chiefe, yet the contrary was vsually obserued, and the priuiledge of the first-borne might not be changed for [2] affection without iust cause. Lastly, the seruices about the Sanctuarie and Sacrifices (which none might doe but Leuites) were of diuers sortes, and therefore not without great regard were there diuers degrees established amongst them; though to serue God euen in the least of them, was honourable. Now in the Church of Christ, the word and Sacraments committed to the Pastours and Ministers, haue no different seruices, and so require for the discharge thereof no discrepant offices.

[1] 1 Chro. 26. verse 10.

[2] Deut. 21.

Notwithstanding, for the better ordering, ouerseeing and containing such in their dueties as be called to be the guiders and leaders of Gods people, that they may walke worthie their vocation without reproch of life, and be sound in faith without all leauen of false doctrine; the wisedome of God in appointing some amongst the priests and Leuites to guide and gouerne the rest of their Tribe as well in the ceremoniall as iudiciall part of Moses lawe, is not hastily to be refused, nor lightly to bee neglected. For if gouernement be needfull amongst them that will liue in any societie and auoyd disorder, whereof God is no way author; we cannot get, nor need not seeke a fitter or better paterne to follow (as farre as the difference of states and persons will permit) then that which God himselfe allowed and confirmed in the Church and common welth of Israel. And though the certaine forme of their ecclesiasticall gouernment be neither exactly known in euery point, nor precisely to be vrged in the Church of Christ by reason of many dissimilitudes betwixt vs and them; yet this is euident, that God appointed the Church of Israel to be guided, not by a generall equalitie of the priests and Leuites, but by certaine superiorities among them in euery calling; and that as wel in their conuersation as administration; and their 70. Elders & supreme Councel called their [illegible], consisted not of all that were and would be present; but of certaine of the [3] chiefest, who for their nobilitie and authoritie were preferred

[3] Num. 11. Deut. 1.

red aboue the rest and admitted to be of that number. So that the Leuiticall discipline vnder Moses doeth cleerely confirme a diuersitie of degrees amongst Pastours and ministers in the Church to be more agreeable to the wisedome of God reuealed in his lawe, then a generall equalitie or paritie.

CHAP. III.

The personall and perpetuall kingdom of Christ after he tooke flesh.

THe externall regiment of the Church, the Lord declined whiles he liued here, and relinquished to others as a thing meeter for the sonnes of men, then for the sonne of God. No doubt he was, euen then, the [1] chiefe corner stone, elect and precious, laied in Sion by God himselfe, the [2] Archpastour ouer the whole flocke, and [3] high Priest ouer the house of God; the Prophets foretold, [4] the gouernment should be on his shoulders, and he should order the throne of Dauid with iustice and iudgement; the Apostle saieth, [5] he is (*and then was*) the head of his Church; yea the [6] head of all power and principalitie; he said of himselfe to his disciples, [7] ye call me Master and Lord, and ye say well, for so I am; the [8] Angels of God were to worship him whē he was brought into the world, much more the sonnes of men to bee in [9] subiection vnder his feete: but so wonderfull was his patience and humilitie at his first appearing in our flesh, that [10] a bruised reede he would not breake, & smoking flaxe he would not quench, yea no man heard his voyce in the streetes. for he [11] came to serue and not to be serued; to suffer for the world that he might saue it, and not (*as yet*) [12] to iudge the world. All power then in heauen and earth belonged vnto him euen when hee was conuersant with men; but he neither declared, nor chalenged so much vntill he was risen from the dead: and in the dayes of his flesh, as he was a Prophet to teach and instruct, a Priest to cleanse and sanctifie his Church; so was he a king to rule and gouerne the same, saue that his [13] kingdom was not of this world: and therefore he would not raigne in his Church with the presence of his bodie as a man; but with the power of his spirit as the sonne of God. The kingdom then and throne, which he reserued to himselfe, farre

[1] 1.Pet.1.
[2] 1.Pet.5.
[3] Heb.3.
[4] Esa.9.
[5] Eph.5.
[6] Col.2.
[7] Ioh.13.
[8] Heb.1.
[9] Heb.2.
[10] Math.12.
[11] Math.20.
[12] Ioh.20.
[13] Ioh.18.

passeth

passeth the directing & ordering of outward things in the Church, which he hath left to others.

To the true kingdom of Christ belong the manifold wisdome, might and mercies of God shewed on vs for our saluation; I meane all the Power, Grace and Glorie that God vouchsafeth to bestowe on his Saints in this life, and keepeth in store for them vntill the next; so that whatsoeuer effects of his trueth, gifts of his spirit, and feeling of his promise we presently possesse, or hope to haue at the handes of God through Christ our Lord, it proceedeth from the strength and fauour of this king.

By the mightinesse of his power, though he sit in heauen, we receiue that continuall protection, helpe and deliuerance, which we find in all our troubles and aduersities. And so we see his arme stretched out for the repressing, scattering and reuenging of our enemies; whose pride and rage he doeth so guide and order, that it tendeth onely to the triall of such as feare him, and the confusion of their foes.

From the riches of his grace come all those heauenly giftes, fruits and blessings of his spirite wherewith the Church and euery member thereof is furnished and adorned, as namely the lightning of our mindes, softning of our hearts, quenching of our lustes; the grounding vs in faith, moving vs in hope, and rooting vs in charitie by the loue of his trueth, obedience of his will, and resemblance of his vertues, that hath called vs out of darknesse into his marueilous light. For [1] what haue wee, that wee haue not receiued? and whence [2] commeth euery good & perfect gift, but from aboue; euen from him [3] of whose fulnesse we all haue receiued? [1] 1.Cor.4. [2] Iames 1. [3] Iohn 1.

From the stedfastnesse of his promise are deriued that peace, ioy and comfort of the holy ghost, which the godly feele within them, and whereby they are maintained and preserued against the day of Christ; and likewise that crowne of righteousnes and glory which he will giue to all that loue his comming, when he shall appeare in the cloudes to bring eternall life and blisse with him for all the children of God. Till then he must raigne to subdue his enemies which now resist, and to fill vp the number of his Saints, which yet are wanting. That iudgement which finally rendereth to all flesh according to their workes, and eternally endureth without altering or ending, shall be the very close and conclusion of his kingdom, which he

[1] 1.Cor.15. he shall then [1] deliuer vp to God his father when he hath crowned his seruants with honour and immortalitie; and adiudged his enemies for their cursed sinnes to perpetuall torments.

This is the true kingdom of Christ; and in this effectuall, spirituall and celestiall maner he doeth and shall gouerne his Church here on earth and euery member thereof, till all his enemies be vnder his feete. After that generall iudgement, (sinne, death, and hell being vtterly conquered, as in himselfe long agoe, so then in all his members) the administration of his kingdome shall cease (all his brethren being brought vnto God;) but the fruition shall be euerlasting, euen as the ioyes thereof are exceeding aboue all that wee can speake or thinke.

By the maner of his gouernment, it is soone vnderstood, that the preheminence of his kingdom is personall, belonging wholie and onely to the sonne of God; in so much that no earthly creature may claime without apparant blasphemie to be lieutenant vnder him, or

[2] Rom.11. communicant with him in his roiall dignitie. [2] Vnsearcheable are his iudgements, and his wayes vnattaineable. Who knoweth

[3] Esa.50. the minde of the Lord? or who was his counseller? [3] His hand

[4] 1.Cor.1. is not shortened that it cannot helpe. [4] The foolishnesse and weakenesse of God is wiser and stronger then men. And therefore he will haue neither partner, nor helper.

The outward face of the Church, where the good and bad, by the word and Sacraments are gathered and mixed together, may be called the kingdom of heauen and of Christ; but we must take heed that we wisely distinguish euen in the word and Sacraments the mightie power of God from the outward seruice of men. The

[5] 2.Cor.3. Gospel which saueth, is [5] not written with inke, but with the spirite of the liuing God; not in tables of stone, but in the fleshlie tables of the heart. The seed of the word may be carefully cast by vs; but it taketh no roote, nor beareth fruite vnlesse the Lord prepare the ground. We are ioint workemen with God in his hus-

[6] 1.Cor.3. bandrie, and yet [6] neither he that planteth, nor he that watereth is any thing, but God that giueth the increase. Circumcision,

[7] Rom.4. though it were the [7] Seale of the righteousnesse of faith, yet auailed it nothing so long as it was [8] outward in the flesh: but that is

[8] Rom.2. true circumcision which is in the spirite, not in the letter, whose praise is of God, and not of men. The Preacher is the [9] sauour of

[9] 2.Cor.2. death

death vnto death; vntill God lighten and open the heart; and [1] Christ crucified, euen when hee is preached, is a stumbling blocke to the Iewes; and foolishnesse to the Grecians; except God giue repentance and obedience of faith that they may beleeue and be saued. The Sacraments are dead elements in our hands, and the word a deadly sound in our mouthes without [2] the spirite that quickneth. So that in them both it is no hard matter to discerne the outward signes from the inward graces, and the corporall actions performed by men, from the spirituall operations effected by the holy Ghost, which properly pertaine to Christes kingdom. [1] 1.Cor.1. [2] 2.Cor.3.

I stand some what the longer in separating the true kingdom of Christ from the externall order and discipline of the Church; for that in our times some more zealous then wise, and too much deuoted to their owne fansies, haue promoted their Eldership and Presbyterie to the heigth of Christes scepter: and make grieuous outcries, as if the honor of God were spoiled of halfe his kingdome, because their Laie-elders are not suffered to sit Iudges in euery parish together with the Pastour and Teacher of the place. I dispute not as yet whether euer there were any such Elders (as they talke of) in the Church of Christ from the preaching of our Sauiour to this present age; I reserue that to a further inquirie: but though there were such suffered or setled by the Apostles in the Primitiue Church, yet were they no part of Christes kingdome, which is proper to his person and by many degrees excelleth all other gouernments, for the diuine force and grace that are eminent in the spirituall fruits and effects of his kingdom.

I doe not denie but God hath ordained and established on earth many kinds of externall gouernments; as in spirituall causes, the Minister; in domesticall, the master of the familie; and superior to them both the Magistrate; & what is prescribed or eracted by any of those that God hath set ouer vs for a quiet, honest, and Christian course of life in this world, according to his word and their charge, he doeth ratifie and confirme in heauen; accepting the submission, and punishing the rebellion of all that disobey in each degree: but neither Prince, Pastour, nor Parent can search or change the heart: much lesse can they endue it with any heauenly grace and vertue; or settle it with repentance of life to come. They moderate and direct the outward actions which may bee some dilem-

bles; further they neither see, nor iudge: they haue not to doe with the secrete affections of the heart, with the sacred giftes of the spirite, the stedfast truth of future glory; these alwayes belong to the kingdom of Christ and of God, which [1] worketh all things after the counsell of his owne will, vnto the praise of his glory.

[1] Eph. 1.

[2] Eph. 1. Since then this king is [2] set at the right hand (of God) in the heauens farre aboue all principalitie, and power, and might, and dominion, and euery name that is named, not in this world onely, but also in the world to come; and all things are subiected vnder his feete, & he appointed head ouer all vnto the Church, which is his body; euen the fulnesse of him that filleth all in all; and declareth daily from heauen what is the riches of his glorious inheritance in the Saints, and exceeding greatnesse of his power toward vs which beleeue; by lightening the eyes of our vnderstanding, and sealing vs with the holy Spirit of promise: the watchmen and leaders of his flocke, though their seruice bee needfull and fruitfull in his Church, and they trusted with the keyes and mysteries of the kingdom of heauen; yet may they not arrogate any part of Christes honour or power as incident to their calling or function, but leaue all entire and vntouched, to the sonne of God, whose right it is: much lesse may the seuerall or Synodall assemblies, proceedings, or censures of the supposed Presbyterie be reckoned the halfe deale of Christes most righteous and glorious kingdom.

CHAP. IIII.

The Synedricall iurisdiction, which some men thinke our Sauiour in the Gospell restored and recommended to his Church.

AS I auouch that Christ reserued to himselfe the mightie force and heauenly grace of his spirituall kingdome; so am I out of doubt he left the superuision and moderation of externall things and actions, which respect the peace, order and comelinesse of his Church, to such as hee called to bee the guiders of his flocke and stewards of his household. Who they were, is not so well agreed

agreed on. Some men imagine, Christ did reinfuse the Iewish Synedrion, and thence extracted the Late-Presbyterie, that should gouerne his Church. Their proofe they take out of these wordes: 'If thy brother trespasse against thee, goe and tell him betweene thee and him alone: if he heare thee, thou hast gained thy brother: if hee heare thee not, take yet with thee one or two, that by the mouth of two or three witnesses euerie word may bee confirmed. And if hee will not vouchsafe to heare them, tell it vnto the Church: if hee refuse to heare the Church, let him bee to thee as an Ethnike and Publicane. Hence they collect; first, that our Sauiour spake to the Iewes, by reason hee sayd, let him be to thee as an Ethnike and Publicane, whom the Iewes and no people els abhorred and shunned: next, that he prescribed no new, nor vnknowen forme of Iuriciall proceeding; but referred them rather to the vsuall and accustomed maner of their Coimonty, then generally receiued, and euery where practised amongst them; which was by the Elders of euery place to determine their matters; or els to translate them vnto the Sanhedrin or councill of Ierusalem, which was the highest court in that common wealth. Mat. 18.

Thus farre they seeme to haue some ground to suppose their opinion: but that our Sauiour appointed the like order to take place for euer in his Church, I see neither mention of it, nor reason for it in the Scriptures, and assure my selfe it can neuer bee proued. For if our Sauiour meant to transferre any kind of regiment from the Church of the Iewes to his owne; it is certaine he would not choose out the corruptions of time, nor inuentions of men; but ascend to the originall ordinance of God, and thence deriue his platforme. He would not follow, much lesse authorize in his Church any breach of Gods lawe, growen by deprauation and vsurpation of wicked men that hated and pursued both him and his trueth; that were, with them to 'transgresse the commaundement of God for the traditions of them; from which he was farre: but if hee purposed to deduce any forme of gouernement from the lawe to the Gospell; it was the same that God by Moses erected and allowed. Nowe that cannot be vrged and vsed in the Church of Christ, without apparant violence to the word of God, & euident iniurie to the Christia magistrate, as by the ' Mat. 15.

view thereof we shall easilie vnderstand.

First therefore let vs shortly see what kindes of gouernements were authorized and established by Moses in the first erection of the common wealth and Church of Israel; and consequently, what coherence or resemblance there may bee betweene those Councils and Synedrions of the Iewes, and the Presbyteries in euery parish, which some men labour to impose on the Church of Christ, in euery christian kingdom and countrey.

The sorts of regiments setled amongst the Iewes by Gods law were these. Under Moses the chiefe magistrate by the counsell of Iethro, consent of the people, & allowance of God were[1] knowen and wise men of euery tribe set to be rulers and captaines ouer thousands, ouer hundreds, ouer fifties & ouer tens; & they iudged the people at all seasons; and brought the hard matters vnto Moses; & iudged all small causes themselues. When matters of importance grew many, & wearied Moses; God willed him to bring[2] seuentie men whom he knew to be Elders & gouernors of the people; and they should beare the burden of the people with him, & assist him in hearing & ordering all matters of weight and difficultie. Besides these God named twelue princes (of euery Tribe one) for oftener meeting & quicker dispatch to be alwayes present with Aaron and Moses, that is, with the high Priest and the Magistrate. Thus had euery Tribe their Iudges and officers, Elders and Princes, to direct and rule the rest of the multitude.

[1] Deut. 1. Exod. 18.

[2] Num. 11.

The same order was by Moses prescribed against they should recouer and enter the land of promise, and was likewise there obserued. [3] Iudges & officers shalt thou make thee in all thy cities throughout thy Tribes, & they shal iudge the people with righteous iudgement. And [4] if there arise a matter too hard for thee in iudgement within thy gates, thou shalt arise & goe vp to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose; where the seuentie Elders were to abide and attend such matters as were of greatest moment both ciuill & sacred; and their sentence by Gods law no man might refuse without punishment of death. This maner of gouernement Iehosaphat restored together with religion, when hee [5] set Iudges in the land throughout all the strong cities of Iudah, citie by citie. Moreouer in Ierusalem he placed of the Le-

[3] Deut. 16.

[4] Deut. 17.

[5] 2. Chro. 19.

uites,

uites, and of the Priests, and of the chiefe of the families of Israel, for the iudgement and cause of the Lord, and sayd, Behold Amariah the priest is chiefe ouer you in all matter of the Lord; and Zebediah the sonne of Ishmael, a ruler of the house of Iudah, for all the kings affaires; and the Leuites *(are)* officers in your presence. Iosephus repeateth the summe of these lawes of Moses in this sort. [1] In euery Citie let there be seuen rulers, men chiefly regarding vertue & the loue of iustice. To euery Magistracie let there bee allotted two of the Tribe of Leui for assistance. If *(these)* Iudges cannot pronounce of any matter brought before them; let the whole cause be sent to the holy Citie, & the high Priest, the Prophet and the Senate *(or councell of Elders)* assembling, determine what they thinke right. The Iewish Thalmud varieth from Iosephus in the number of their Iudges, and saieth, that on small and pecuniarie matters in euery citie sate three Iudges; on criminall and capitall, three and twentie; on the highest affaires of the common wealth, and causes sent from other Cities sate at Ierusalem the Irri. Elders and rulers of the people. The booke of Ruth witnesseth that [2] ten of the Elders of the citie sate with Boaz in the gate, when the matter was ended betwixt him and his kinsman for the inheritance of Elimelech, and marriage of Ruth. The Princes and Elders of [3] Succoth, euen of one Citie, were 77. whose flesh Gedeon did teare with thornes for refusing to relieue his wearied souldiers.

[1] *Ioseph. Antiquit. Iudaica, li. 4. cap 8.*

[2] Ruth. 4.

[3] Iudg. 8.

The iarre in the number of the Iudges, I labour not to reconcile; they may speake of diuers times and places without repugnance of each to other; this I obserue, that Moses appointed neither Iudges nor Elders in Citie or Synedrion, but they were magistrates to execute the iudgements of the lawe, and had the sword to chastice the body, and punish with death. The supreme Synedrion of Ierusalem heard and decided matters pertaining to God and the king, and the man that presumptuously disobeied them, was by Gods lawe to die. Vnder Esdras the punishment of him that neglected their commandement, was the [4] forfeiture of all his goods and separation from the people of God. The Elders of their Cities were to [5] inquire and sweare for vnknowen murder; to [6] deliuer the wilfull murderer vnto the hand of the auenger of blood; to [7] adiudge to death disobedient children; to [8] auerre and [9]

[4] Esr. 10.

[5] Deut. 21.

[6] Deut. 19.

[7] Deut. 21.

[8] Deut. 22.

and chastise the slanderer of his wiues virginitie, and to stone the adultéresse to death, and in like maner to performe all the punishments and penalties of Moses lawe. By which it is euident that their Elders in euery Citie were the Magistrates and rulers of the people, and might inflict both losse of limme and life, and determine all causes, saue such as for distinction of holy and vnholy were peculiar to the Priest, or for weight and difficultie were reserued to the councill of Ierusalem.

In the dayes of our Sauiour, though many things were corrupted, and altered from Moses lawe; and the power of their Elders and Sanhedrin much decreased, first by the kingdome of Herode, then by the Romane Presidents; who not regarding Moses lawes, could not endure the soueraigne authoritie of the high Priest and Elders so neere their noses: yet for the better containing the people in obedience to their countrey rites and lawes, without which they would in no wise be gouerned or quieted; the Elders of each place were suffered to retaine some shew of their former power; as to heare and redresse the priuate wrongs and iniuries of their brethren; and the Councill of Ierusalem had authoritie left them to imprison and chastice with rods the contemners and disturbers of
[1] Mat. 26. their religion, as appeareth by their [1] binding and [1] buffeting of
[2] Act. 5. Christ, and [2] beating his Apostles, as also by Pauls letters from
[3] Act. 22. the [3] high Priests and Elders to prison and beate in euery Syna-
[4] Mat. 10. gogue such as beleeued. [4] I send you (saieth Christ to his disciples) as sheepe among wolues; they will deliuer you vp to Councils, and scourge you in their Synagogues. Yea by shewing themselues zealous for Cæsar and by false suggesting that the
[5] Act. 24. Apostles vnder colour of religion laboured to [5] stirre sedition among the Iewes, as Theudas and Iudas not long before had done, the Elders so preuayled with the Romanes, that not onelie the Presidents themselues persecuted the faythfull to content and gratifie the people, but suffered the Synedrion at Ierusalem to haue power of life and death when they sawe cause, and to exercise the same in cases of defection from their lawe, or rebellion against their lawe.

Our Sauiour saieth of the Scribes and Pharises sitting in
[6] Mat. 23. Moses chaire; [6] Fulfill ye the measure of your fathers. Behold, I send vnto you Prophetes and wise men; and some of them shall

shall you kill and crucifie, and some shall you scourge in your Synagogues, and pursue from Citie to Citie. Paul confessing how hote hee was against the Christians in the time of his ignorance, saieth, [1] I persecuted this way vnto the death, binding [1] Act.22.
and imprisoning both men and women. And [2] when the [2] Act.22.
blood of Steuen the Martyr was shed, (hee) stoode by and consented vnto his death, and [3] kept the clothes *(of the wit-* [3] Act.7.
nesses) that slew him. [4] At that time also (when Steuen was [4] Act.8.
stoned) there was a great persecution agaynst the Church, which was at Ierusalem, and Saul entered into euerie house, and drewe out both men and women, and put them in prison; [5] breathing out threates and slaughter against the disciples [5] Act.9.
of the Lord and making hauocke of his Church

The stoning of Steuen some men suppose was done in a tumult without all lawfull authoritie; because the chiefe Priests not long before sayd to Pilate; [6] It is not lawfull for vs to put a- [6] Iohn 18.
ny man to death. Tumultuous it was by reason of their immoderate rage shewed in the ende of their iudgement: yet so, that the witnesses were produced though false, the partie suffered to answere for a season, Saul trusted to see execution done, and the witnesses as by the lawe they were bound, the first that cast stones on Steuen. And when the tumult was ceased, the persecution increased; and Saul (afterward Paul) appointed by Commission from the high Priest and Elders, to bee a chiefe Actor for the slaughter of Christes Saintes both there and elsewhere. Their wordes to Pilate, It is not lawfull for vs to kill any man, might bee spoken either in regard of the present time which was so sacred vnto them that they would not that day [7] goe into the iudge- [7] Ioh.18. v.28.
ment hall where Pilate sate; or in respect of the crime they accused him of, which was [8] affectation of the kingdome; and [8] Luc.23.v.2.
so no where determinable but in Cæsars court; or lastly, by reason of Pilates presence, without whose assent being there in person they could not proceede on life and death. Whatsoeuer power the Romanes limited or enlarged to the Elders of the Iewes after they were lordes ouer them, I greatly force not: this is euident, they were Magistrates by Moses lawe, and had the sword from God to execute his iudiciall ordinances, as I shewed before.

Neither did the Romanes depriue the Iewes of all power, but suffered their Elders to end matters betweene man and man; and to prison and scourge in their Synagogues the despisers and disturbers of their religion. [1] Take him, and iudge him after your owne lawe, said Pilate to them when they incensed him against our Sauiour. [2] Wee tooke him and would haue iudged him according to our lawe, said they to Felix when they accused Paul. And euery where in the new Testament are they called ἄρχοντες rulers and gouernours of the people. Nicodemus, as S. Iohn saieth, was a [3] ruler of the Iewes. The Phariſes ſpeaking in contempt of the people that followed Chriſt, ſaid, [4] Doeth any of the rulers, or of the Phariſees beleeue in him? Peter perſwading the people, to yeeld vnto Chriſt whom they crucified, ſaieth, [5] I know yee did it of ignorance, as did alſo your rulers; and making anſwere before the Councill of Ieruſalem for healing the creeple, that lay at the beautifull gate of the Temple, he beginneth thus, [6] Yee rulers of the people, and Elders of Iſrael. And when they threatened and charged him and the reſt of his fellowes in no wiſe to teach in the name of Chriſt, he did not replie, they had no power to commaund, but ſaieth: [7] Whether it be right to obey you rather then God, iudge you.

[1] Iohn 18.
[2] Act. 24.
[3] Iohn 3.
[4] Iohn 7.
[5] Act. 3.
[6] Act. 4.
[7] Ibidem.

This being the power of the Elders in euery Citie amongſt the Iewes, and of the councill at Ieruſalem, when God firſt erected their common wealth; and the ſame in part remaining vnder the Romane Empire, when our Sauiour liued; I nowe demaund which of theſe two Senates or Synedrions did Chriſt propoſition out vnto his Church: the councill of Ieruſalem: That Senate was ſingular and ſupreme as well in all cauſes ciuill and ſacred; as in all puniſhments corporall and capitall. I truſt we ſhall haue no ſuch Presbyteries in euery village, that were to make as many parliaments as there be pariſhes in this Realme. And in deed the councill or Synedrion of Ieruſalem cannot amongſt vs bee better reſembled then to our Parliament: for there was but one councill of that nature in the whole land of Iurie; and that conſiſting of ſome of the chiefeſt of euery Tribe; and they not onely debated and concluded the higheſt affaires of that Realme, as warre, peace, appeales from all places, puniſhments of whole Cities and Tribes, and ſuch like; but alſo ruled and rectified all caſes omitted or doubten

ted in Moses Lawe; and were obeyed throughout the land vpon paine of loosing goodes, or life, or being for euer excluded from the people of God, as they pronounced or prescribed. I hope our brethren do not thinke our Sauiour made this a paterne for the Presbyterie; their power must then be ciuil and supreame, which were a presumptuous and heinous intrusion vpon the Princes sworde and scepter. I say no more: they are wise enough to consider the sequele.

Was it the lesser Senate and Synedrion of euery Citie, that Christ did portrait out for the regiment of his Church? Wee incurre the same danger that before, though the degree be somewhat diminished. for these Elders also were inferiour Magistrates, and had the sworde to chastice malefactours according to the tenour of Moses Law; and this was the setled forme of their ciuil gouernement established throughout their land, by Gods owne mouth; that certaine Elders in euery Citie should end all strifes, represse all wrongs, and punish all vices according to the purport of the legall statutes and ordinances of Moses; saue such as for the weightines or doubtfulnes of the matters were reserued to the supreme councell and Magistrate. By this president wee must not frame Presbyteries in the Church of Christ; the difference is so manifest, and the inference so absurd, that the slowest will soone perceiue the decay of the consequent. From the Magistrate to the Minister, from the sworde to the worde, from the Lawe to the Gospel, from cities to villages, from Canaan to Christendome, the leape is so great, that cart-ropes will not tie the conclusion to the premisses. These two Councels haue no maner of resemblance to the lay Elders; and besides these, there was none appointed or warranted by the Law of God.

The Scribes and Pharises (you will say) did in Christes time excommunicate, and thrust such as they thought offendours, [1] out of their Synagogues; the right vse of which power Christ bequeathed vnto his Church in the eighteenth of Matthew. The Pharisees neuer learned that out of Moses. A separation of the Leaper from the company of men, and of the vncleane from comming neere holie places or things, Moses prescribeth, but not excommunication that I remember. [2] A Bastard might not enter into the Congregation of the Lorde vntothe tenth generation. no more

[1] Ioh. 9. 12.

[2] Deut. 23. 2.

[1] Deut.23.v.3. more might the [1] Ammonites or Moabites; the children of the
[2] Verse 8. [2] Edomites and Egyptians were receiued in the third generation. Aliens were not admitted to be of the number of the Lordes people; and any vncleannes of the flesh did separate for a season the Iewes themselues from approching neere to the Congregation or Tabernacle of God; but neither of these is excommunication. The strãgers which were not yet admitted, could not be ejected; the naturall weakenes & vncleannes of the bodie, as leprosie, pollution of seede, touching of the dead and such like, are no iust causes of excommunication, but rather remembrances of our corruption. For greater sinnes committed, if they could be proued, God by his law appointed corporal punishments: for wrongs he required recompence: for smaller matters he accepted sacrifices of confession and repentance: Other censuring in Moses I reade none commanded.

This phrase, He shalbe cut off from the mids of his people, so much vsed in the law, seemeth to some men to expresse a kind of excommunication & Anathematization from the people of God; but they must pardon me if I beleeue it not, vntill I see it proued by the Scriptures. The Rabbins write many things touching the traditions and customs of later times; but what Moses ordained or intended by this speach, I looke for proofes out of Moses himselfe, and not out of Rabbins. And long wee shal not neede to search; the places are so often & euident. In the 18. of Leuiticus, God threatning, incest, adulterie, Sodomitrie, buggarie, and offering of chil-
[3] Leu.18.v.29. dren vnto Molech, concludeth; [3] Whosoeuer shal commit any of these abominatiõs, the persons that do so, shalbe cut off from among their people. Whereby God meaneth; they shall die the death (as is expressed in the 20. of Leuiticus in the very same sins;) & also that if man spare such and leaue them vnpunished, God himselfe from heauen by his dreadfull iudgements will roote them and
[4] Leuit.20.v.2. theirs out of the earth. [4] Whosoeuer shal giue his children vnto Molech he shall die the death, the people of the land shal stone
[5] Verse 3. him to death. [5] And I will set my face against that man and
[6] Verse 4. cut him off from among his people. [6] And if the people of the lande doe hide their eyes, and wincke at that man, and kill him not, then wil I set my face against that man and his familie, and
[7] Ibidem v.17 cut him off. So for incest; [7] They shall be (saieth God) cut off in the sight of their people (*that is openly put to death.*) And likewise

wise for any wilfull breach of Gods law; [1] The person that doeth presumptuously, the same blasphemeth the Lorde, therefore shall he be cut off from among his people (or) suffer death. For when this speach is referred to the Magistrate, execution is enioyned, and such malefactors must be cut off from the earth by the losse of their liues: but when it is referred to God, it is a communication denounced, that he will plague them with violent and hastie destruction, and roote out themselues and their posterities, and euen their remembrances from the people of God. Hereof are euery where examples. [2] The sworde shall cutte thee off; [3] Let vs cut him off from the land of the liuing, and destroy the tree with the fruite, that his name may be no more in memorie. [4] I will set my face (sayth God) against that man, and make him an example and a prouerbe, and will cutte him off from the middest of my people. So againe, [5] I will come against thee and drawe my sword out of his sheathe, and cutte off from thee both the righteous and wicked. This signification is euery where occurrent, but no where excommunication.

[1] Nomb. 15.
[2] Nahum 3.
[3] Ierem. 11.
[4] Ezech. 14.
[5] Ezech. 21.

In Esdras after the returne of ỳ people from Babylon, I find a separation frō the Congregation threatned to the disobedient; & in Nehemias a chasing away of some that maried strāge wiues; but either of these proceeded frō the magistrate, and so neither serueth for ỳ ministers of Christs Church. The separatiō in Esdras is ioyned with the [6] forfeiture of al their substance, which offended; (for so we reade;) & is rather an exiling & banishing from the countrey, then barring from the Temple. In Nehemias the curse of Gods law concurred with the Magistrates power, which no Pastour may imitate. [7] I reproued them, saith he, and cursed them, & smote certaine of them, and pulled off their haire, & tooke an othe of them by God, not to commit the like: one of the hie priests nephewes that married the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite, [8] I chased him from me. This seazing of their goodes, smiting of their bodies, separating them from the people, and chasing them from the place, shew the ciuil vse of the sword in the Princes hand; not the spiritual force of the word in the Priests mouth: And therfore the one is no president for the other.

[6] Esdr. 10.
[7] Nehem. 13.
[8] Ibidem v. 28.

The calling of men out of their synagogues, first deuised by the Phariles to serue their prowd & aspiring humor, for that ỳ chiefest power

power of the sword was translated vnto strangers, and the [1] highest dignities remained vnto the Sadducees; and not only deuised, but sharply pursued by them against our Sauiour and his disciples, was no spirituall curse, but rather a temporall losse of all such honor, office, priuilege and freedome as the parties had in the Countrie, Citie or Synagogue where they liued; and a plaine threaldome to prisoning, whipping and such other chastising as their Synedrion by their Lawes might inflict. Saint Iohns report is, that [2] Ioseph of Arimathea was Christs Disciple, but secretely for feare of the Iewes, and that [3] many of the chiefe Rulers beleeued in him: but because of the Pharisees, they did not confesse him, lest they should be cast out of the Synagogue. Nowe no man beleeuing in Christ in whō al Nations should be blessed, coulde feare the spirituall curse and excommunication of the Pharisees. They knew the promise of God to Abraham. [4] I will blesse them that blesse thee, and curse them that curse thee: and were acquainted with Balaams confession; [5] How shall I curse where the Lorde hath not cursed? yea [6] cursed is he that curseth thee: what then did they feare but the losse of their earthly honours and dignities, from which they were dismissed and depriued, when they were thrust out of the Synagogue, and subiected to the lusts and spites of eger and cruel enemies? [7] They loued (saieth Saint Iohn) the glorie of men more then the glorie of God. Wherefore this casting them out of the Synagogue was intermixed with the ciuill regiment, and the terror thereof wholy proceeded from the power of the sword confirmed by God to the Councels and Elders of that common wealth; which the Pastours and Leaders of Christes Church may not vsurpe nor chalenge in whole or in parte, vnlesse the policie concurre with them, and authorize their doings.

1 Ioseph. Antiq. Iud. li. 18. ca. 2.

2 Iohn 19.

3 Iohn 12.

4 Genes. 12.

5 Numb. 23.

6 Numb. 24.

7 Iohn 12.

Since then the imagined Presbyteries in euery parish haue no better concordance nor agreeance with the Councels and Synedrions of the Iewes; let vs weigh the words of Christ, which they thinke conclude their purpose.

[8] If thy brother trespasse against thee, go and tel him his fault betweene thee and him alone; if he heare thee, thou hast wonne thy brother; if hee heare thee not, take yet with thee one or two. If hee heare not them, tell it to the Church. The partie grieued must be man, not God; our selues, not others. If thy bro-

8 Matth. 18.

ther

ther trespasse against thee (not against God) reproue him. The first admonition must be secret betwixt thee and him alone; now in greeuous or notorious sinnes against God or his Church the reproofe must be open. [1] Those that sinne, rebuke openly; that the rest may feare. Againe if the wrong doer repent himselfe, the sufferer must forgiue him. [2] If thy brother trespasse against thee, rebuke him; if he repent, forgiue him. yea though he sinne against thee seuen times in a day, and seuen times in a day turne againe to thee and say, It repenteth me, thou shalt forgiue him; and not seuen times onely, but [3] seuentie times seuen. Thee may and must forgiue the sinnes that are committed against our selues. So the Lordes prayer teacheth vs; [4] forgiue vs our trespasses as we forgiue them that trespasse against vs; but to remit other mens wrongs and harmes, we haue neither power nor leaue; much lesse to acquite and pardon the sinnes and iniuries offered vnto God. Thirdly, if he repent not, we must yet giue him a second admonition with one or two witnesses afore wee publish him to the Church; and if he then relent, we must forgiue, and goe no further. These be no rules for open and knowen sinnes, dishonouring God & scandalizing his Church; but for priuat trespasses and offences betwixt man and man; this is no Iudiciall proceeding in the Consistory, but a charitable warning in secrecie by him alone that is oppressed and grieued with wrong or reproch.

[1] 1. Tim. 5.
[2] Luke 17.
[3] Matth. 18.
[4] Matth. 6.

So Peter conceiued the speach of our Sauior whē he straightwaye asked; [5] How oft shal my brother sinne against mee, and I forgiue him? seuen times? So the Lord opened his owne meaning, when for answer hee proposed the parable of the two debters; one that owed his maister [6] tenne thousand talents; and the other that owed his fellow an hundred pence. where hee maketh two sortes of sinnes; the greater against God; the lesser against our brethren, and addeth; [7] so will mine heauenly father doe vnto you, except you forgiue from your hearts eche one to his brother their trespasses. This is a generall duetie binding euery Christian, and not a speciall authoritie reserued to Pastours and Elders. which Ierome wel obserued vpon this place. [8] If our brother hurt vs in any thing, we may forgiue him, yea we must, being commanded to forgiue our debters their trespasses. But if a man sin against God, it is not in our power. for the diuine Scripture

[5] Matth. 18.
[6] Matth. 18.
[7] Ibidem.
[8] *Hiero. lib. 3. in Matth. ca. 18.*

saith,

saith, if a man sin against man, the Priest shall pray for him: but if hee sinne against God, who shall intreate for him? And Chrysostome [1] Why doeth (*Christ*) charge him that hath suffred the wrong, and none other to reproue? A man will not take it in so good part to be reproued at any mans hands, as at his that hath suffered wrong and beene vexed with reproch, specially if hee doe it alone. Likewise Ambrose. (*Christ*) [2] said well, if thy brother trespasse against thee. for the rule is not like when we trespasse against God, as when (*we trespasse*) against men. And Austen. [3] Go and be reconciled to thy brother (*that is*) aske pardon of him whom thou hast offended, whom thou hast harmed, This ought he to do, which offereth wrong. But he that suffereth wrong what must hee doe? that which we heare this day (*read.*) If thy brother trespasse against thee, reproue him betwene thee and him alone. If thou neglect, thou art woorse then he, he doth wrong, and by doing it grieuously woundeth himselfe; thou regardest not the wound of thy brother, thou seest him perish, and carest not for it. Our Sauiour then in this place speaketh of priuate offences and greeuances, which hee only that is oppressed, and no man else may reproue and forgiue: of publike sinnes he speaketh not; the doers whereof must not be reproued in secrete; nor twise admonished, before they be censured by the Church. The incestuous Corinthian had neither priuate, nor double warning giuen him, before hee was deliuered to Satan by Paul, and wee must not thinke the Apostle would so soone forget, or so flatly crosse his masters meaning, if Christ had spoken this of open wickednes hatefull to God, and heinous in the eies of men.

[1] *Chrysost. homil. 61. in Matth.*

[2] *Ambros. lib. 8. in Luc. ca. 17.*

[3] *August. de verbis Domini serm. 16.*

Some hold opinion, that these words (against thee) doe not concerne priuate iniuries, but distinguish betweene secrete and manifest sinnes. Be the sin then neuer so heinous that is committed, no man must tel it to the Church so long as the doer seemeth willing to repent. How this construction should stand with the circumstances and consequence of the Text, I yet perceiue not. For put the case in idolatrie, blasphemie, heresie, periurie, murder, adulterie, & such like grieuous crimes; must the parties keepe counsell that know any such offendors, so as they will say they repent ỹ fact? Is that the tenor of Gods law, or duty of a Christian man? I trow not.

If

[1] If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thine own son, daughter, or wife that is in thy bosome, or friend which is as thine owne soule, intice thee secretly, saying; Let vs go & serue other gods: thou shalt not consent vnto him, nor heare him, thine eie shal not pitie him, nor shew mercy, nor keepe him secret; thine hand shall be first vpon him to put him to death, and then the hands of all the people. And so for all enormous sinnes against God and our neighbour, a concealer is a consenter and partaker of the wickednes committed. It is no pietie, it is no charitie, to be secret to malefactors and keepe their counsell, when they dishonour God, or damnifie their brethren, although repentance followe. That may saue the soule, if it be vnfained; but that may not stay the iust execution of Gods or mans Lawes. Againe, what power haue we to remit the wrongs that are offered to others? Our owne iniuries, if withall they be not publike crimes against the Lawes of God, and the land where wee liue, wee may forgiue; other mens harmes wee may neither suffer, nor smoother. Since then Christ speaketh of such trespasses as eche man must remit vnto his brother vpon repentance; it is euident hee speaketh not of sinnes against God and our neighbours, hidde from the multitude, and knowen to a few; but of such iniuries, as he that feeleth, best knoweth; and may releale, because they touch him alone, and no man else. When we desire of God to be forgiuen our debts, as we forgiue our debters; meane we the sins against others that we be priuy to; or the sins against our selues that we be parties vnto? Is it silence that God requireth of vs in this prayer, or patience? secrecie, or mercie? In secret sinnes we are but witnesses, in which case it is a sinne to be silent: in priuate wrongs we be sufferers; vnder which burden it is a vertue to be patient. Lastly, this exposition ouerthroweth it selfe. For if thy brother trespasse against thee in that sort, which they interprete; that is, if his sin be knowen only to thee, and do not repent, howe canst thou tell it the Church? without proofe the church must not beleeue nor regard thy speach; and proofe thou hast none. One and the same person can not be both accusant & deponent; and at the mouth of one witnesse though his testimonie were receiued, yet may no man be condemned. So that if the sinne be secret to thee, how can it be tolde and iustified to the Church? If it may be prooued to the Church, how is it secrete

[1] Deut. 13.

to

to thee alone: Our Sauiour then had no such meaning that eche man should conceale and forgiue the sinnes that are done against God and his neighbour, so long as they be not notorious and publike, but knowen onely to some priuate persons; hee rather enioyneth all men to remeate the same measure vnto others, that God meateth vnto them; and to forgiue smaller iniuries offered against them, as they are forgiuen greater committed against God. For that is thankes-worthie with God, not to be liberall in remitting other mens wrongs, nor to keepe counsell with malefactors, but to pardon our brother that offendeth vs; as we are pardoned when we offend our heauenly Father. This is it that Christ prescribeth in this place, that the Scriptures so often iterate; and all the fathers with one consent subscribe vnto.

[1] 1. Pet. 4. But [1] charitie couereth the multitude of sinnes, euen as enuie doth blaze them abroad. Charitie couereth all the sinnes that are committed against our selues, by forgiuing them; and refraineth the obiecting and insulting at other mens sinnes after punishment or repentance; and hideth all the infirmities and ouersights of our brethren, which our dutie to God and our neighbour may endure: but it neither betrayeth the truth with silence, nor dispenseth with other mens harmes, nor generally cloaketh, fauoureth or dissembleth any sinne, be it neuer so secret, whereby the name of God is blasphemed, or the state of our neighbour endangered.

[2] Matth. 18. [2] If he heare not (*two admonitions*) tel it the Church, if he heare not the Church, let him be to thee as an Ethnike and Publicane. What is ment by the Church, whether the Church of Christ, or the Churches and assemblies of the Iewes, that God ordained in that common wealth to gouerne his people and determine their quarrels; this breedeth some question amongst diuines: howbeit the reasons are many and weightie that moue mee to thinke the Church of Christ is not comprised in these wordes. First, this was a direction to the Iewes seruing them for their present state and time; & then had Christ no Church in Iewrie to which they might

[3] Iohn 18. complaine, for he [3] neuer preached in their Synagogues and Temple, whither al that would resorted, and in secret said he nothing; much lesse did hee gather and assemble Churches apart from the rest of the Iewes to receiue and consider the complaintes of their brethren. Next, the matters of which they must complaine, were

such,

such as the Church of Christ might not chalenge to heare and determine. Synne wrongs and offences betwixt man and man must be directed by lawes & reformed by iudgements; and consequently belong to the Magistrate; the Church of Christ hath no warrant to make lawes or giue iudgement in ciuil and priuate trespasses. The Lord himselfe, when he was desired to make peace and ende a strife about parting an inheritance, answered, [1] man, who made me a iudge or diuider ouer you? What he refused as no parte of his calling, the Pastours and Elders of his Church must not chalenge as annexed to their vocation. [2] The Scholler is not aboue his master; as his [3] father sent him, so sent he them, but not with a further or larger commission. Thirdly, that Church is heere spoken of, which abhorred Ethnikes as vncleane persons; and shunned al society with Publicanes: but neither Christ, nor his Church did euer so; wherefore the Church of Christ, is not expressed by these words; Let him be to thee as an Ethnike and Publicane; for they neuer refused nor declined to conuerse with either.

[1] Luke 12.
[2] Luc. 6.
[3] Iohn 20.

[4] To the baptisme of Iohn came the Publicanes, and were receiued of him, and not willed by him to leaue their calling, but to walke vprightly in it. Our Sauiour accepted them to his companie, and did not onely eate with them but was counted a [5] friend to Publicanes. Mathew the Apostle was chosen [6] sitting at the receipt of custome; Zacheus a chiefe Publicane was the [7] child of Abraham; and the Publicane that prayed in the Temple was [8] iustified before the Pharisee. Yea the Lord sayth of them, [9] Publicans shal go into the kingdome of heauen before (*the Scribes and Elders that despised them.*) The Publicanes then were members of Christes Church and inheritours of his kingdome; and therefore by flying and forsaking the felowship of Publicanes, the Church of Christ could not be described.

[4] Luc. 3.
[5] Matth. 11.
[6] Matth. 9.
[7] Luke 19.
[8] Luke 18.
[9] Matth. 21.

The Iewes, you will say, to whome Christ spake, made that account of them; and as they were cast out of the Iewes Synagogues, so doeth Christ will disobedient and impenitent sinners to be vsed in his Church; that is, to be separated and excluded from the number of the faithfull. What account soeuer the peruicious and presumptuous Pharisees made of them, Christ and his disciples which were also Iewes, had as great regarde of them as of the rest; yea so farre was hee from allowing it in the Iewes and

proposing it to his Church, that by his life and doctrine, as I haue shewen, he openly disliked and disauaued the contempt which the Priests and people had of the Publicanes.

As for Ethnikes and Gentiles, though they were strangers to the common wealth of Israel, when as yet they knew not God; yet neuer were they persons excommunicate; and since the appearing of our Sauiour in flesh, through his mercy vouchsafed to be partakers of his promises, & the true members of his Catholike church. So that this can be no rule for Christs Church to measure persons excommunicate by Gentiles and Publicanes; since amongst the Iewes, Publicans beleeued and entred the kingdome of God, and after the reiection of that Nation, the Church of Christ consisted chiefly, if not wholy, of Gentiles and Ethnikes. This then can not be the true intent and purpose of our Sauiour in that place, to authorize his Church vpon priuate quarrels betweene man and man to excommunicate, if her verdict be not obeyed. Where there is a Christian Magistrate, the Church may not claime or presume to decide such matters, by publike audience and sentence, without encroching on the Princes sword and scepter, whose right and charge it is to [1] relieue the oppressed, to iudge the fatherles and defend the widow, & to execute iudgement and iustice, as wel in priuate wrongs & iniuries, as in publike crimes and enormities.

[1] Esay 1. Psal. 82.

But Paul reproueth some of Corinth, for [2] going to law vnder the vniust (*Magistrates*) and not rather vnder the Saints (*though priuate persons?*) Paul did not debarre the Magistrates that were Infidels, of their iurisdiction; nor create new Iudges for ciuil offences in the Church; it was beyond his calling and commission to doe either of them: but perceiuing that Christians pursued eche other for priuate quarrels before vnbeleeuers to the shame of the Church and slander of the Gospel; he saith they were better suffer wrong & losse in earthly things, thē expose the doctrine of Christ to be derided of his & their enemies. And to appease their brabbles & end their strifes if they were so contentious, bee willeth them to choose, if not the wisest, yet the woorst and least esteemed in the Church to arbitrate their causes, rather then to lay themselues & their whole profession open to the mockes and taunts of heathen and prophane Iudges. To preserue peace & loue in the Church, the godly might then, and may now mediate betweene brethren, as

[2] 1. Corinth. 6.

friends

friends and well willers to both parties; and likewise debate and conclude their cases, as Arbiters chosen by consent of either side: but they may not interpose themselues as Iudges authorized by Christ to excommunicate all that will not heare them in priuate griefes and ciuil suites: that were, to take the sword, which is not giuen them, and to thrust themselues by this pretence into Princes places; which neither Christ prescribed, nor Paul imagined, nor the Church assumed.

And yet was here giuen vnto Paul a iust occasion to repeate and renew the order, if Christ had ordained any such in his Church. For the Christians trespassed one an other; and Paul by no meanes permitted them to pursue their brethren at the Tribunals of Infidels. What saith he then: doeth he will them to tel the Church; and if the wrong doer heare not the Church, to account him as an Ethnike and Publicane? If Christ prouided this as a remedie for priuate wrongs and offences in his Church; shal we thinke the Apostle durst alter his maisters order, and abrogate the course, that Christ layd down to pacifie contentions in his Church? No doubt he would rather haue recalled them to it, then auerred them to it. What doeth he now? If ye haue iudgements (saith he) for things touching this life, (tell the Pastour and Presbyterie? No, but) set vp (or choose out) the worst in the Church, and make them Iudges of your causes and quarrels. Then certainely our Sauiour neuer meant, the faithfull should for priuate trespasses complaine to the Pastour and Elders of euery parish, and they should haue power sufficient, to heare and determine all such matters as were so offered vnto them, and to excommunicate those that would not stand to their sentence and iudgement. 1. Corinth. 6.

What then is the meaning of our Sauiours words: what euer it be, this it cannot be, to authorize the Church to intermeddle with matters pertaining to the Magistrate; and to exclude them al from the societie and communion of the Sacraments and Saints, that obey not her resolution in ciuil and priuate trespasses. Yet lest I should returne a Text without any interpretation, though the sense seeme hard inough, by reason the state of the Iewish Church is not so well known in our dayes as when our Sauiour spake the words: I will not refuse rather to vse a shift, then I thinke it any thing better, I am ready to confesse

We must first conceiue that in the time of our Sauiour and a little before his birth, the Romanes had taken the Scepter and Soueraignitie from the Iewes, as Iacob [1] prophecied should come to passe in the dayes of the Messias; leauing them in priuate suites betweene man and man, and in smaller cases of correction, that kind of regiment and forme of Lawes which God by Moses ordained; and excepting from their Lawes and Tribunals al strangers, that were amongst them, or had any thing to do with them, (whom the Iewes called Ethnikes and abhorred as prophane persons;) and likewise Publicanes, that is, such of the Iewes, as did any seruice to the Romanes in collecting and answering the tributes, tares and toles due to the Romane Empire, whome the Iewes pursued with greater dislike and despite then they did strangers, for keeping companie with the heathen, and seruing their turnes against their owne Nation. Both these sortes of men, as well Publicanes as strangers, for the detestation and hatred the Iewes had of them, were exempted from the Lawes and Iudgements of the Iewes; and if any man had ought against them, hee must conuent them before the Romane President, and not in any Court of the Iewes, nor before any Magistrate of the Iewish profession. The like libertie was left to any Iew that would appeale to the Romane Gouernour or impeach and molest his brother in anie of the Roman Consistories. For though the Iewes in many things were left to their Countrie Lawes: yet were the Romane Courts amongst them so priuiledged, that who would, might haue recourse thither, and there recouer his right, or reuenge the wrong offered him.

[1] Genes. 49.

In this confusion of the Iewes estate lately begunne and euery day increasing, our Lorde and Maister liuing, directeth the people what way they shall take, neither to breake the law of God which Moses gaue them, nor to impugne the Romane Empire which then gouerned them. In their priuate quarrelles and actions therefore hee proposeth three degrees of proceeding; First, the rule of charitie; Next, the order of Moses policie; Lastly, the helpe of the Romane Soueraignitie. If thy brother trespasse, &c. tell him priuately of the wrong offered thee; If he regarde not thy reproue, take one or two with thee, that may bee men indifferent betwixt you. This

the rule of charitie requireth, in secret and friendly manner; yea by the mediation of wel-willers and neighbours to compose all priuate quarrels as much as in vs lieth. If this take not place, tel it vnto the Church; that is, vnto the assemblie and gouernours that are in thy Citie. For euery Citie by Gods Lawe was to haue her Iudges and Magistrates, there to [1] iudge the people with righteous iudgement. And their manner was to sit in the gates of their cities, whither the whole multitude did assemble vnto thē; not onely to heare and see what they did, but in weightie matters to ioyne with them and giue their consents. Our Sauiour then meaneth, that if charitable and brotherly admonitions be neglected; they should seeke their remedie from the Iudges and Elders of their Cities, as by Gods law the Iewes were directed and permitted to do. [1] Deut. 16.

Tell it vnto the Church then, is as much as tel it, (not vnto the Church of Christ, which as yet was not seuered from the Iewes, nor assembled together; and therefore had then neither places nor persons specified or authorized for that purpose) but vnto that Counсel of Magistrates, which God by Moses commanded to haue the hearing and ending of those causes. For Christ by this precept doth not establish new Iudges, nor erect new Consistories; but referreth the people to Gods ordināce expressed in the law of Moses, and already receiued and vsed in that common wealth: thereby meaning, that if the doers of wrong to their brethren would not be reformed by priuat and friendly admonition & intercession, the parties grieued might with good conscience aske the aid and assistance of those Magistrates, whom God had appointed ouer them to compell and force the trespassers to surcease their iniurious dealings.

If it seeme strange to any man that the word *Ecclesia* should be taken heere not for the Church of Christ, as we commonly vse it, but for the assemblie of any place or citie, where the Rulers and Commons, be they Christiās or Infidels, are gathered together to consult or determine as well of ciuil causes, as of religion: besides that the Septuagint do often vse the word ἐκκλησία for any kind of meeting, as ἐμίσησα ἐκκλησίαν τῶν πονηρευομένων [2] I haue hated the assemblie of the wicked. and againe, [3] I was almost ouerwhelmed with all euil ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας καὶ συναγωγῆς. in the middes of the Church & Synagogue; S. Luke in the 19. of the Acts vseth the word in that [2] Psalm. 25. [3] Prouer. 5.

[1] Prou. 5. v. 32, 39, 40. sort [1] thrise in one chapter. Beza a man of great learning, and one whome none can mistrust as not addicted enough vnto discipline,

[2] Annotat. in Matth. 18. writing on this place, saith; [2] Wee must note, they are fouly deceiued, which would conclude out of this place, that the hearing of al matters must be referred to the assembly of the whole multitude. The name of the Church say they, is neuer otherwise vsed; which euen out of this place is proued to be false. For surely it appeareth, that this is spoken as it were of the Iewes, by that which is added, Let him be to thee as an Ethnicke and Publicane. Now, that iudgements amongst the Iewes were exercised by the Elders, and that their manner was not euer to assemble the whole multitude, all the writers of those matters do witnes. And truely vnlesse Christ had fitted all this speach vnto the vse that was in his time, who coulde haue vnderstoode him what hee saide? It is lastly to bee obserued, that in this one place of all the new Testament the name of the Church is spoken of the Iewes.

The words which followe, if he heare not the Church, let him be to thee as an Ethnike and Publicane; must import either the punishing his obstinacie which obeyed not the Iudgement of the Rulers and Magistrates that were of the Iewes; or a further pursuing him before others ý had more power to represse such insolencie. If they expresse any punishment for his wilfulnes; that must proceed either publikely frō the Iudges, or priuately frō the plaintife. The punishment of him ý disobeied the Magistrate, by Gods

[3] Deut. 17. Law was [3] death: that Christ would not alter. For he came not to change the ciuil gouernement, or qualifie the iudicall punishments of Moses Law; but to leade them the way to the celestiall and eternall kingdome of God. The chiefe Rulers and Gouernours of the Iewes, being his capitall aduersaries, and not acknowledging his authoritie, would neuer respect his counsell nor commandement. The wordes themselues haue reference to a particular person, Let him be to thee as an Ethnike and Publicane. Christ therefore in these words decreed no publike punishment.

As for priuate reuenge, he was farre from liking it, and further

[4] Matth. 7. from teaching it. [4] False Prophets we must beware; and with notorious wicked persons we must not keepe companie: but priuate iniuries we must rather suffer with patience, then resist with violence,

lence, or requite with disdaine. [1] Resist not euill saieth Christ to all his disciples; but whosoeuer shall smite thee on the right cheeke, turne to him the other also; and if any will sue thee at the law to take away thy coate, let him haue thy cloake also. Then may wee not reiect & detest our brother that doth vs wrong, as the Iewes did an Ethnike and Publicane. The mind that must quietly beare wrong once, twise, and oftner, if neede be; must not abhorre and shunne the person of his brother that wrongeth him, as prophane. It resteth then, that our Sauior in these words did permit the partie oppressed, to seeke further remedie, when neither charitie nor equitie could preuaile with the oppressour; And that was to doe as they did to strangers and Publicanes; which was to conuent him before ỳ Roman Magistrate, who had power to force him that did wrong, to abide the iudgement that shoulde be giuen. And so I suppose ỳ words may be taken, Let him be to thee as an Ethnike and Publicane, that is, pursue him in those Courts where thou wouldest a Pagan and Publicane that should do thee wrong. [1] Matth. 5.

If any man like not to vnderstand those words of a further pursute before the Magistrate; he may referre them to a priuate forsaking of all companie with the wrong-doer vntill he reforme himselfe. Let him be to thee as an Ethnicke and Publicane, that is, shunne such wilfull oppressours as much as thou doest Pagans and Publicanes; but without bitternes of minde or breach of patience. And so S. Augustine sometimes expoundeth them. If hee heare not the Church, let him be to thee as an Ethnike & Publicane:) [2] that is, account him no longer in the number of thy brethren, & yet neglect not his saluation. *So the Lord warneth, when* he by and by addeth, Verely I say vnto you, whatsoeuer you binde on earth, shall be bound in heauen. Thou beginnest to account thy brother as a Publicane, thou doest binde him on earth. When thou doest correct and make agreement with thy brother, thou hast loosed him on earth; and when thou looseth him on earth, hee shall be loosed in heauen. Which of these twaine be preferred I force not, so the first be not impugned as disagreeing from the Text. [2] *Augustl. de verbis Domini sermone 16.*

Some thinke our Sauior would not prescribe how the Iewes should proceede in their priuat suits and quarels; that care belonging rather to Counsellers at the law, then to Preachers of ỳ word.

Others see no vse, nor end of the words which immediatly follow.

[1] Matth. 18. [1] Verely I say vnto you, whatsoeuer you binde or loose in earth shal be bound & loosed in heauen, vnles it be to teach mē to take heed how they incurre the danger of excommunication, by disobeying the Church; & then the words next before; Let him be to thee as an Ethnike & Publicane, must needs authorize ỳ Church to excommunicate such as persist in their wickednes. To the first, I say our Sauior might wel direct thē in any thing, that concerned their duty to God or their neighbors; & this touched both. To the next I answer, the words which follow, confirme not so much the later, as the former part of the sentence precedent. For as there is no doubt but God wil confirme the iudgemēt of the whole Church iustly giuen; so the Lord in this place affirmeth, that the consent of any two meeting and agreeing in his name; (which is according to his wil) shalbe ratified in heauen. Verely I say vnto you, that if two of you shal agree in earth vpon any thing, whatsoeuer they shal desire, it shalbe performed vnto them of my father, which is in heauē. And therefore not only the iudgement of the Church, but the reprehension & admonition of our meanest brother offended & iniured by vs must be regarded & reuerenced, forsomuch as the Lord on high heareth the desires, & granteth ỳ praiers of any two ioining together for the glory of his name & good of eche others; & in their owne debts & trespalles priuate persons haue more right to binde & loose their oppressors before God, then either the Pastors or Presbyters.

This then I take to be the meaning of the words next ensuing; that though such as wrongfully oppresse their brethrē, make light account of all warnings priuately giuen them by the parties offended; & nothing regard the iudgement of the Magistrate, if by any pretence or appeale they conceiue hope to bolster out the matter or wearie the plaintife in an higher Court: yet our Lorde and master assureth them, that howsoeuer they can maintain and countenance the wrongs which they offer by corrupt meanes before men, they shall not so escape the hands of God. The iust griefe of any brother iniuried by them, and priuately warning them, shal hold them guiltie before God; much more shall the vpright sentence of a Magistrate be ratified and reuenged from heauen.

It may be, some wil vrge these words of our Sauior, If he heare not the Church, let him be to thee as an Ethnike & Publicane,

for

for the lawfull vse and force of excommunication; and the rather, because the auncient writers leane very much that way; from whose authoritie they thinke it not good to depart. I will not dispossesse them of their desire, so as they take the full intent and purpose of the Catholike fathers, and not distraine here and there a word to serue a turne against the Authors meaning. for I rest secure, that no ancient father euer made the gouernment of Christes Church answerable to the Iewes Synedrion; nor mixed late-Elders with Pastours in exercising the power of the keies giuen to the Apostles and their successours. Chrysostome. [1] Whatsoeuer you shall binde in earth, shall bee bound in heauen; and whatsoeuer you shall loose in earth, shall be loosed in heauen. Earthly Princes haue power to binde, but onely the bodie. This band of the Priests, which I speake of, toucheth the soule it selfe, and reacheth euen vnto heauen; in so much that whatsoeuer the Priests belowe shall doe, God doeth ratifie the same aboue; and the Lord confirmeth the iudgements of his seruants. Ambrose. [2] The Church yeeldeth her obedience in both, as well to loose as to binde sinne. for the Lord would there should bee the like right to loose and to binde, who permitted both with like condition. Then hee that hath no right to loose, hath no right to binde. how can the one be lawfull, and not the other? It is certaine, the Church may doe both: this right is permitted onely to Priests. Iustly therefore doeth the Church, which hath true Priests, chalenge it. And so Hierome. [3] Because he said, if he heare not the Church, let him be to thee as an Ethnike & Publicane; and this might bee the priuie answere or secret thought of the contemner; If thou despise me, I despise thee; if thou condemne me, thou shalt be condemned likewise by mee: *(Christ)* giueth power to *his* Apostles that they should know mans iudgement to be ratified by Gods, and whatsoeuer is bound in earth, to bee also bound in heauen. And Hilarie. *Christ*, [4] to strike the greatest terrour, setteth downe the vnmooueable iudgement of the Apostolike seueritie: that whom they bound in earth, that is left snarled in the knots of sinne; and whom they loosed, that is vpon asking pardon, receiued vnto saluation, those according to the condition of the Apostles sentence, should likewise bee bound or loosed in heauen.

[1] *Chrys. de sacerdotio, lib. 3.*

[2] *Ambros. de pœnitentia, li. 1. ca. 2.*

[3] *Iero. in Matt. ca. 18.*

[4] *Hilar. in Matt. can. 18.*

I conclude

I conclude then; there can be no proportion nor imitation neither of the higher nor of the meaner Synedrion amongst the Iewes erpected or admitted in the Church of Christ: and as for the words of Christ in the 18. of Mathew, whereon some new writers build the foundation of their laie-Presbyterie; they be free & farre from any such construction or conclusion; and the Catholike fathers expounding that place, be further from the mention or motion of any such regiment.

CHAP. V.

The Apostolicall preheminence and authoritie before and after Christes ascention.

ALbeit the sonne of God assembled no Churches whiles he liued on earth, nor setled the Iewes Synedrion to remaine amongst the faithfull, for ought that we find by the sacred Scriptures: yet least the house of God should be vnfinished, and his harueſt vngathered, in his own person whiles he walked here, he called and authorized from and aboue the rest certaine workemen and stewards to take the chiefe charge, care, and ouersight, after his departure, of Gods building & husbandrie. for which cause he made, when as yet hee was conuersant with men, a plaine distinction betwixt his disciples; choosing [1] Twelue of them to be his Apostles, and appointing [2] other 70. to goe before him into euery Citie and place, whither he should come, and to preach the kingdom of God; giuing those Twelue larger Commission, perfecter instruction, higher authoritie, and greater gifts of his holy spirite, then the rest of his disciples; which hee made labourers also in his harueſt and messengers of his kingdome.

[1] Luc.6.

[2] Luc.10.

The Twelue, not the 70. were the continuall and domesticall hearers of all his sermons, and beholders of all his wonders; as chosen to witnesse his doctrine, doings, and sufferings to the world; the Twelue, and no more, were present when he did institute his last supper, and they alone heard and had those heauenly prayers and promises which then he made. To the [3] Eleuen apart from the rest was giuen in mount Oliuet the Commission to [4] teach all Nations; and looke how God sent his sonne, so sent he them as Apostles, that is, Ambassadours from his side, not onely to preach the trueth, and

[3] Mat.28.v.16.

[4] Mat.28.v.19.

and plant the Church throughout the world, but in his name to commaund those that beleeued in all cases of faith & good maners; to set an order amongst them in all things needfull for the gouernement, continuance, peace, and vnitie of the Church; sharply to rebuke, and reiect from the societie of the faithfull such as resisted or disobeied; to commit the Churches to sound and sincere Teachers and ouerseers; to stop the mouthes of those that taught things they should not, for filthie lucres sake; and to deliuer them to Satan that perisited in their impieties or blasphemies.

As for the gifts of Gods spirite, they were so great in his Apostles, that they both preaching and writing, deliuered infallible trueth to the Churches of God, and that in [1] all languages of the world, and euen the [2] shadowes and the [3] napkins that had touched their bodies did heale the sicke, and cast out deuils; & these miraculous workings of the holy Ghost not onely themselues had in greater measure, then any others, but they gaue them vnto others by laying their hands on them. When Philip had conuerted and baptised the people of Samaria in the name of the Lord Iesus; yet none of them receiued the gifts of the holy Ghost, vntill two of the Apostles [4] came downe to them, praied for them, and laid hands on them; and then was the holy Ghost giuen them through laying on of the Apostles hands. Philip, though he preached and baptized the beleeuers as well as the Apostles did; yet could he not bestow on them the gifts of the holy Ghost: that was reserued to the Apostles, as to persons of an higher calling in the Church of Christ, then Philip was; and yet was he one of the seuen deacons, & also an [5] Euangelist, as S. Luke witnesseth; and wel appeareth by his dispensing the word & Sacraments. When Paul laid his hands on the 12. disciples at Ephesus, they straight way [6] spake with (*diuers*) tongues and prophesied.

[1] Act. 2.
[2] Act. 5. & [3] 19.
[4] Act. 8.
[5] Act. 21.
[6] Act. 19.

So that our Sauiour as well liuing on earth, as ascending on high, kept a differēce betwixt his Apostles, & the rest of his disciples (that were preachers) both in hauing them alwayes with him, the better to acquaint them with the mysteries of the kingdome of heauen; and in leauing vnto them at his departure the conuerting and instructing of all nations; and in powring on them after his ascension a greater aboundance of his holy spirite, then on the rest, for the better execution of the charge committed vnto them.

For

For the plainer proofe whereof, we may remember, that when our Lord and Master elected 12. Apostles to be with him, & other 70. disciples to goe before him at the first gathering of his Church; hee did imitate the choice which God made in the wildernesse of [1] twelue chiefe Princes, and [2] seuentie Elders, to guide and gouerne the people of Israel; by their two seuerall numbers distinguishing their two seuerall degrees; and when Iudas by transgression fell from his Apostleship; an other was taken out of the 70. to supplie his roome; which needed not, if the 70. had had before equall place and calling with the Apostles. Ierome saieth, [3] *Qui promouetur, de minore ad maius promouetur*; hee that is promoted, is promoted from the lesse to the greater. Now that Iudas successor was taken out of the 70. and not out of the Laitie, appeareth by this, that euery Apostle was to haue his calling from Christ as the 70. had, and not from men; and on Matthias the Apostles imposed no hands; which argued that hee was called before by Christ himselfe amongst the 70. And so saieth Ierome. [4] Matthias being one of the 70. was chosen into the order of the eleuen, in the place of Iudas the traitour. And Epiphanius. [5] Christ sent 72. to preach; of whose number was Matthias which in Iudas place was numbred amongst the Apostles. Eusebius also confirmeth the same report; that [6] Matthias which was chosen to be an Apostle in the place of Iudas the traitor, had (*before that*) the calling of one of the 70.

Paul numbring the diuersities of gifts and administrations in the Church, saieth, [7] God hath ordained in the Church, first Apostles, next Prophets, thirdly Teachers, then those that do miracles, after that, the gifts of healing, helping, gouerning &c. reckoning the Apostles first, not in order onely, but in excellencie also, as appeareth by his similitude of mans body, whose partes are some [8] comelier, some [8] feebler; and his comparison of spirituall gifts, whereof some be [9] more excellent, and some of lesse regard and account in the Church of Christ. And so Chrysostome well obserueth. [10] Because some did mightily swell with the gift of tongues, he placeth that last of all. for first and second, are not vsed here for tales sake, but he noteth what is higher in degree, and what is lower. Wherefore hee set the Apostles before, as those that were endewed with all sortes of gifts. Hee saieth not,

God

[1] Num. 1.
[2] Num. 11.
[3] Hiero. in epistola ad Oceanum.
[4] De scripto. eccles. in Matth.
[5] In fine com. 1. contra haeres.
[6] Eusb. li. 1. ca. 12. & li. 2. ca. 1.
[7] 1. Cor. 12.
[8] Ibid. vers. 22. & 23.
[9] vers. 31.
[10] Chryso. hom. 32. in 1. Cor.

God hath placed some to bee Apostles, some to be Prophets; but he saieth in the first place, in the second, in the third. And Ambrose. [1] The chiefe in the Church hee placeth the Apostles which are Christes Embassadours. Hierome writing of the 12. fountaines, and 70. palme trees that the Israelites found in Elim, saieth, [2] There is no doubt but the 12. Apostles are hereby ment, from whose fountaines the streames running along doe water the dryenesse of the whole world. Neere to these springs grewe 70. palme trees, whom we vnderstand to be the teachers of the second order, Luke the Euangelist witnessing, that there were 12. Apostles, and 70. Disciples of a lower degree, whom the Lord sent two and two before him. And Augustine. [3] As when the sunne riseth, it first shineth on the hils, and thence the light descendeth to the lowest places of the earth; so when Christ Iesus our Lord came, he first spred his beames on the height of the Apostles, he first lightened the mountaines, and so his light went downe to the valleis of the earth. [4] The palme trees, saieth Theophilact (alluding as Hierome doth to the twelue fountaines and seuentie palme trees in Elim) are these (70. disciples) which are to bee nourished and taught by the Apostles. for though Christ also choose those (70) yet were they inferiour to the twelue, and afterward their scholers and followers. Which we may the rather beleeue, because Eusebius and Clemens long before testified that [5] Christ deliuered the *(full)* knowledge of himselfe to the Apostles, and the Apostles afterward to the 70. Disciples.

1 *Ambros. ca. 12. 1. ad Cor.*

2 *Hier. de 42. Mansio: mans. 6.*

3 *August. in Psal. 35.*

4 *Theophil. in Luc. ca. 10.*

5 *Euseb. l. 2. ca. 1.*

And that the Apostles had a superiour vocation aboue Prophets, Euangelists, Pastours, Teachers, and whomsoeuer in the Church of God, and euen the gouernement and ouersight of them; will soone appeare, if we consider what Paul the Apostle writeth of himselfe, and vnto them, directing, appointing, and limiting as well Prophets as Euangelists, (and therefore much more Pastours and Teachers) what to doe, and how to be conuersant in the Church of God; what to refraine in themselues, and what to represse in others; in which cases we must not dare say, or thinke, the Apostle presumed aboue his calling, or had a seuerall Commission from the rest of the Apostles to doe that hee did; but in his doings and writings, we may perceiue the height and strength of Apostolike

like authoritie, so guided and tempered with the spirit of wisedome and humilitie, that it grieued or displeased none in the Church, but such as did either swell with pryde, diuerted to fables, or troubled the Church with their contentions.

From an Apostolike spirite and power proceeded these speaches that follow, and many such that may euery where be obserued in his epistles. [1] We charge you brethren in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ, that you withdrawe your selues from euery brother which walketh vnorderly, and not after the rule (or direction) which hee receiued of vs. [1] Wee are perswaded of you in the Lord, that you doe and will doe those things which wee charge you. [2] Brethren I commend you that you remember all mine, & hold fast the ordinãces as I deliuered them to you. [2] Other things when I come, I will set in order. [3] Concerning the gathering for Saints, as I haue ordained in the Churches of Galatia, so do you. And reuelling abuses both in Pastours and Prophets, he saieth: [4] If any speake with tongues (let it be) by two or three at most; and let one interprete; if there bee none to interprete, let him keepe silence in the Church. The Prophets, let them speake, two or three, and the rest iudge. Your women, let them keepe silence in the Churches; and if they will learne any thing, let them aske their husbands at home. If any seeme to be a Prophet, or to haue the spirite, let him agnise the things that I write, to be the commandements of the Lord.

And hearing of the [5] strife, enuie, contentions, backbitings, whisperings, swellings, discords, & sundry other enormities that were at Corinth, not in the people alone, but euen in such as [6] came to preach the Gospel amongst them, and vndermined the Apostles credite and authoritie with them, he saieth, [7] The weapons of our warrefare are not carnal, but mightie through God to cast down fortes, & all heigth that lifteth it selfe against the knowledge of God; & hauing in readines wherwith to reuenge all disobedience, when your obediẽce is fulfilled. If I should boast somwhat more of our authoritie which the Lord hath giuẽ me for your edification & not subuersion, I should not be ashamed. [8] I write now being absent to thẽ which heretofore haue sinned, & to all others, yt I come again, I wil not spare, for so much as you seeke experience of Christ ỹ speketh in me. I write these things being absent,

[1] 2.Thes.3.
[2] 1.Cor.11.
[3] 1.Cor.16.
[4] 1.Cor.14.
[5] 2.Cor.12.
[6] 2.Cor.11.
[7] 2.Cor.10.
[8] 2.Cor.13.

lest

lest whē I am present, I should vse sharpnes according to ỹ power which ỹ Lord hath giuē me to edificatiō, & not to destruction.

Directing Timothie how to guide the Church of Ephesus, he giueth him this instruction and this commission. [1] As I prayed thee to staie at Ephesus when I went to Macedonia that thou mightest command certaine not to preach any (*strange or*) other doctrine, and that they intend not to fables; (so) this charge I commit to thee sonne Timotheus. [2] Hymeneus and Alexander I haue deliuered vnto Satā, that they may be taught not to blaspheme. And expressing at large in the third chapter, how the bishops & deacons ought to bee qualified before they bee admitted, he addeth; [3] These things I write to thee, that if I tarie long, thou mayest know how to behaue thy selfe in the house of God. [4] Refuse the yonger widowes, I wil that they marrie & gouerne (their) household. Let not a widow be chosen vnder the age of 60. [5] Receiue no accusation against an Elder, but vnder two or three witnesses; those that sinne, rebuke openly that the rest may feare. Laie handes hastily on no man, neither bee partaker of other mens sinnes. And hauing deliuered diuers and sundrie points of wholesome doctrine, godly life, and seemely gouernement, too long to be here inserted, he authorizeth and requireth Timothie to see them perfourmed in this sort. [6] These things command and teach; Let no man despise thy youth. [7] I require thee before God and the Lord Iesus Christ and his elect Angels, that thou obserue these things without preiudice or parcialitie. And in the very close of his epistle; [8] I charge thee before God and Iesus Christ, that thou keepe these precepts without spot or reproofe.

[1] 1.Tim.1.
[2] Ibidem.
[3] 1.Tim.3.
[4] 1.Tim.5.
[5] 1.Tim.5.
[6] 1.Tim.6.
[7] 1.Tim.5.
[8] 1.Tim.6.

In like maner to Titus another of his helpers and coadiutors in the Gospell: [9] For this cause I left thee in Crete to supplie those things ỹ want (*or rectifie those things which remaine*) & to ordain Elders in euery city as I appointed thee. There are many vaine talkers & deceiuers of minds, whose mouthes must be stopped, that subuert whole houses for filthy lucres sake. Rebuke (ỹ Cretians) sharply, that they may be sound in faith, & not take heed to Iewish fables & cōmandements of mē. [10] These things speake & exhort, & reprooue with all authoritie, Let no man despise thee. [11] Reiect him that is an heretike, after the first & second admonition. By these & the like precepts shewing himselfe euery where to

[9] Tit.1.
[10] Tit.2.
[11] Tit.3.

speake

speake as Christes embassadour; and in matters of faith, good behauiour, and needfull discipline, to be the Apostle and Teacher of the Gentiles. For in all these things not onely the people that were beleeuers, but euen the godly Pastours, Prophets, and Euangelists perceiuing his sinceritie, and reuerencing his authoritie, obeyed the Apostles voyce, as [1] hauing the spirit of Christ giuen him for the perfect directing and guiding of the Church amongst the Gentiles.

[1] 1. Cor. 7.

Much more might be sayd to this effect; but by this it is euident that the Apostles function and calling was superiour to all other degrees and offices of the Church of Christ, were they Deacons, Doctors and Pastours, Prophets or Euangelists, or of the 70. Disciples; and this their superioritie was giuen them by Christ himselfe, whiles he liued on earth, and confirmed vnto them by the mightie gifts and power of his holy spirite after his ascending into the heauens, and acknowledged and honoured by all the faithfull; so long as the Apostles liued, none spurning at it, or contradicting it, but such as drew disciples after them to raigne ouer their brethren, or seduced the simple to serue their owne bellies.

S. Iohn noteth Diotrephes for not acknowledging his Apostleship, in this wise. [2] I wrote to the Church, but Diotrephes that loueth to be chiefest among them, receiueth vs not: wherefore when I come, I will declare his workes which hee doeth, prating against vs with lewd wordes. Farre otherwise were the godly Pastours and Teachers minded in the Church of Christ, yeelding with all submission vnto the Apostles, as vnto the expresse messengers of Gods will, and disposers of his mysteries, and putting a great difference betwixt the Apostolike function and theirs, as Ignatius confesseth in his epistle to the Romanes; [3] οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν· ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐλάχιστος. I prescribe (or enioyne) nothing vnto you as Peter and Paul did; they were the Apostles of Iesus Christ: but I the least. And againe, [4] οὐχ ὡς ἀπόστολος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν, ὃς ἐμαυτὸν μετρῶ: I commaund not as an Apostle, but keepe my selfe within my measure. Whereof we neede no further nor surer proofe then this; that the whole Church then, and euer since, did, and doeth hold all the precepts, rules, orders, and admonitions of the Apostles contained in their epistles for authenticall oracles of the holy Ghost, and partes of the Canonicall Scripture;

[2] Epistola Iohannis 3.

[3] Ignat. ad Romanes.

[4] Idem ad Trallianos.

Scripture; and they no doubt had the same authoritie speaking, which they had writing; and consequently no Pastour or Teacher might then more resist or refuse the Apostles doctrine, decrees, or doings, then we may now their letters, sermons, or epistles.

This Prerogatiue, to be best acquainted with the will and meaning of our Sauiour, and to haue their mouthes and pennes directed and guided by the holy Ghost into all trueth, as well of doctrine as discipline, was so proper to the Apostles; that no Euangelist nor Prophet in the new Testament came neere it: and therefore the stories written by Marke and Luke were not admitted to be Canonical in respect of the writers; but for that they were taken from the Apostles mouthes, and by the Apostles perused and confirmed as true and sincere. So saieth Luke of his owne Gospell. [1] As they deliuered vnto vs; which from the beginning were eie witnesses and ministers of the word; as soone as I searched out perfectly from the first all things, it seemed good to me in order to write them. And those his writings S. Paul saieth, were ratified and receiued in all Churches. [2] I haue sent the brother, whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the Churches; which could not haue so generally bene accepted with good liking, but that the Apostles, who then gouerned and directed the Churches, had first viewed & approued the same; els neither would the faithfull haue so esteemed it, nor S. Paul so commended it. The Gospel of Marke had the like approbation frō Peter, as Ierome & [3] others doe testifie. [4] Marke the disciple & interpreter of Peter, according as he had heard Peter make relatiō, wrote a short gospel, being therto desired by the brethren at Rome. The which Gospell when Peter heard, he allowed it, & by his authoritie published it, to be read of y church, as Clemens in his first booke *Hypotypωseωn* writeth.

[1] Luc. 1.

[2] 2. Cor 8.

[3] *Ierom in Marc.*

[4] *Euseb. li. 2 ca. 15.*

Can any man doubt reading the words of S. Paul, which I haue cited; but the Apostles had in the Church of Christ right to require and command, power to rebuke and reuenge, authoritie to dispose and ordaine in all such cases as touched the soundnesse of faith, syncerenesse of life, or seemlinesse of order amongst the faithfull; and that in so doing they did not vsurpe vpō their brethren, nor tyrannize ouer them; but were guided by Gods spirit, and obeied as Christes messengers and Legates in euery place where the trueth was admitted? Neither did Paul resolue & conclude in such cases by mun-

ber of voyces, or assent of the Presbyterie; but as himselfe speaketh, [1] so I teach in all Churches, [2] if an Angel from heauen teach otherwise, hold him accursed, [3] some are puffed vp as if I would not come to you: but I will come to you shortly by Gods leaue, and know, not the wordes, but the power of those that swell thus; [4] if any man obey not our sayings, note him by a letter, and keepe no companie with him.

[1] 1. Cor. 7.
[2] Gal. 1.
[3] 1. Cor 4.
[4] 2. Thes. 3.

Vnder the Apostles were a number of their disciples whom the Apostles caried with them as companions of their iourneis, and helpers of their labours: and whom, when they had perfectly trained, and throughly tried, they left any where behind them at their departure, or sent any whither in their absence to finish things imperfect, to redresse things amisse, to withstand or represse false [illegible] placed in the Church of Christ, yeelding with all submission vnto the Apostles, as vnto the expresse messengers of Gods will, and disposers of his mysteries, and putting a great difference betwixt the Apostolike function and theirs, as Ignatius confesseth in his epistle to the Romanes; [3] οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν· ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐλάχιστος. I prescribe (or enioyne) nothing vnto you as Peter and Paul did; they were the Apostles of Iesus Christ: but I the least. And agayne, [4] οὐχ ὡς ἀπόστολος διατάσσομαι, ἀλλ' ἐμαυτὸν μετρῶ: I commaund not as an Apostle, but keepe my selfe within my measure. Whereof we neede no further nor surer proofe then this; that the whole Church then, and euer since, did, and doeth hold all the precepts, rules, orders, and admonitions of the Apostles contained in their epistles for authenticall oracles of the holy Ghost, and partes of the Canonicall Scripture;

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[4] *Idem ad Trallianos.*

if they sinned, and that [1] with all authoritie. These things the Apostle earnestly requireth, and before Christ and his elect Angels, chargeth Timothie and Tite to doe. It is then evident they might so doe. For how vaine and friuolous were all those protestations made by S. Paul, if Timothie and Tite had onely voyces amongst the rest, and nothing to doe but as the rest? How farre was the Apostle ouerseene to adiure them, and not the whole Presbyterie, to keepe his prescriptions inuiolable, if the Elders might euery houre countermaund them and ouer-rule them by number of voyces?

[1] Tit. 2.

Since then they were willed and consequently warranted by the Apostles to ordaine, examine, rebuke and reiect Pastors & Elders, as iust occasion serued, & equal ouer equal hath no power nor

heard Peter make relatiõ, wrote a short gospel, being therto desired by the brethren at Rome. The which Gospell when Peter heard, he allowed it, & by his authoritie published it, to be read of y church, as Clemens in his first booke *Hypotypωseωv* writeth.

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keepe no companie with him.

Under the Apostles were a number of their disciples whom the Apostles caried with them as companions of their iourneis, and helpers of their labours: and whom, when they had perfectly trained, and throughly tried, they left any where behind them at their departure, or sent any whither in their absence to finish things imperfect, to redresse things amisse, to withstand or preuent false prophets and seducers, to survey the state of the Churches; and to keep thē in that course which was first deliuered by the Apostles. These men, for their better instruction serued with the Apostles, as chil-
[5] Phil.2. dren with their fathers. So Paul saieth of Timothie, [5] Yee know
the proofe of him that as a sonne with his father he hath serued
[6] Col.4. with me in the Gospel. Touching these the Churches had [6] com-
mandement if they came to receiue thē; that is, to beleeue them & trust them as men sincerely minded & sent from the Apostles; yea to
[7] Phil.2. [7] admit them with all gladnesse, and highly to esteeme of them.

From their mouthes (as perfectly vnderstanding the Apostles doctrine, doings and meaning, by reason of their continuall societie with them) were other Pastours of the Church to be directed and
[8] 2.Tim.3. instructed. [8] Persist thou (saieth Paul to Timothie) in those things
which thou hast learned and are committed to thee, knowing
[9] 2.Tim.2. of whom thou hast learned them. And [9] what things thou hast
heard of me in the presence of many witnesses, the same deliuer
to faithfull men, that they may be able to teach others. And a-
[10] 1.Cor.4. gaine, [10] I haue sent vnto you Timotheus which is my beloued
sonne and faithfull in the Lord, who shall put you in remem-
brance of my wayes, as I teach euery where in euery Church.
[11] 1.Tim.1. These were charged by Paul to [11] require and command the Pa-
[12] Tit.1. stours and Preachers to refraine from false doctrine, and to [12] stop
[13] Tit.3. their mouthes or [13] reiect them that did otherwise, to [14] ordaine
[14] Tit.1. Elders according to the necessitie of the places, and [15] receiue accu-
[15] 1.Tim.5. sations against them, and [15] sharplie & [15] openly to rebuke them

if

if they sinned, and that [1] with all authoritie. These things the Apostle earnestly requireth, and before Christ and his elect Angels, chargeth Timothie and Tite to doe. It is then evident they might so doe. For how vaine and frivolous were all those protestations made by S. Paul, if Timothie and Tite had onely voyces amongst the rest, and nothing to doe but as the rest? How farre was the Apostle overseene to adiure them, and not the whole Presbyterie, to keepe his prescriptions inviolable, if the Elders might every houre countermaund them and over-rule them by number of voyces? [1] Tit. 2.

Since then they were willed and consequently warranted by the Apostles to ordaine, examine, rebuke and reiect Pastors & Elders, as iust occasion served, & equal over equal hath no power nor preheminence; It is certaine that as wel the Apostles authorizing, as their disciples authorized so to do, were superiors in the Church of Christ to Pastours and Elders; and likewise that they might, and did performe and execute the Apostles rules and prescriptions, without expecting the consent of Pastours or Presbyteries; and the Churches of Christ knew they were bound to obey and bee subiect to them in those cases guided by the Apostles mouthes or letters, as well as if the Apostles had bene present; and that to resist them, was to resist the order which the holy Ghost had approoued in gouerning the Church.

CHAP. VI.

What dominion and titles Christ interdicted his Apostles.

THe power and prerogatiue of the Apostles aboue Euangelists, Prophets, Pastours, Doctors, and all others in the Church, would the sooner bee granted, were it not that certaine places in holie Scripture, seeme repugnant to it; as where Christ forbade his Apostles all [2] dominion ouer their brethren; and the Apostles in [3] electing to offices, [4] assembling in counsell to determine of faith, [5] imposing of handes, and [6] putting the wicked out of the Church, seemed not to chalenge all to themselues, but to associate others with them, as if the right thereof appertained so well to the Church & Presbyterie, as to the

[2] Luc. 22.
[3] Act. 6.
[4] Act. 15.
[5] 1. Tim. 4.
[6] 1. Cor. 5.

Apostles; which particular actions cause many men to thinke, that alone the Apostles could not execute these things, but iointly with others. It shall therefore not be amisse to consider the places.

In the contention amongst the disciples for superioritie; wee must obserue the occasion of their strife; and the affection of the striuers. The occasiõ was ministred by Iames and Iohn the sonnes of Zebedee, who by their mother importuned Christ, that in his kingdome her sonnes might be the chiefest men about him, and sit, the one at his [1] right hand, the other at his left. These two dreamed, as the rest of the Iewes, and also the other Apostles did (whiles they were weake, vntill they were endued with the power of the holy Ghost from heauen) that the Messias should [2] restore the (temporall) kingdom to Israel; and sit as an earthly prince in great glorie on the throne of Dauid his father, and rule all nations with a rod of iron; receiuing of them subiection, seruice, and tribute as other Princes vsed; and whatsoeuer the Prophets foretold of the wonderful plentie, tranquilitie & excellencie of the kingdome of Christ, these two [3] not sauouring (as yet) the things that were Gods, nor [4] vnderstanding any thing of the spiritual kingdom of Christ; applied to fit their earthly desires; & hoped for great promotions by seruing their master, and looked to beare rule & to be chiefe men about him, when he came to his glory. The other ten being deceiued with the same error, & caried with the like hope, though not expressed in so ambitious maner, [5] disdained the two brethren, & the neerer their master drew towards his death, y sharper grew the strife amongst them, who should be greatest & chiefest about him, when he came to his kingdom; which they supposed should be earthly.

This vaine expectation and contention of his disciples the Lord vtterly suppresseth at his last supper, (for there the [6] strife renued,) by assuring them, that his kingdom was no worldly kingdom; and therefore they might not looke to be great Commanders and Rulers ouer others; for so his words import, [7] Princes of the Gentils beare rule (ouer them) and great States exercise authoritie on them; with you it shall not be so. that is, you shall not haue any such rule or dominion, as they haue. He doeth not say, you shall haue no prerogatiue nor preheminence aboue others; but you shall haue no such, or it shall not be so with you, as it is with them. By this all ciuill iurisdiction, & power of the sword to command, compell, & punish

1 Mat.20.
2 Act.1.
3 Mat.16.
4 Luc.18.
5 Mat.20.
6 Luc.22.
7 Mat.20.

punish by losse of life, limme, or liberty, as secluded from the ministers function, and referred to the Magistrates; but Christ neuer meant by those words to barre all degrees and diuersities of gifts and administrations in his Church; he rather expoundeth the contrarie euen in the same place. [1] Ye are they (saieth he to his Apostles) [1] Luc. 22. which haue continued with me in my temptations; and I (for requitall) appoint you a kingdom, as my father hath appointed to me; that you may eate & drinke at my table in my kingdom, and sit vpon thrones iudging the twelue tribes of Israel.

And not depriuing them of that honour which he had, as would bestow on them to be chiefe in his kingdome; but instructing them how to vse it without offending God, or grieuing their brethren, he addeth; [2] He that is greatest amongst you, let him be as the least; [2] Luc. 22. and he that is chiefest, as he that serueth. In which words the Lord noteth a manifest distinction amongst his; of some greater, some lesse, some chiefer, some lower; and chargeth his Apostles to vse that greatnesse and authority which they had, in such sort; that thereby they should serue euen the meanest of their brethren to doe them good, and [3] become all things to all men that they might [3] 1. Cor. 9. winne some. This he taught them that very time, not in words onely, but by deeds also. For hauing washed their feete, and wiped them vpon, he saieth vnto them: [4] Vnderstand you what I haue [4] Iohn 13. done to you? you call me Master and Lord; and you say well, for I am so. Then if I your Lord and Master haue washed your feete, you ought to wash one an others feete. I haue giuen you an example, that as I haue done to you, you should also doe the like. They should be so farre from striuing who should be greatest, that euen the greatest and chiefest should striue to preuent the lowest and meanest with honour and seruice after the example of their Master.

These texts then conclude two speciall doctrines vnto vs. The first, that Apostles and Preachers may not challenge by vertue of their office, any compulsiue dominion or violent iurisdiction ouer their brethren, but zeale thereto. The next, the greater our calling is in Christes Church, the readier we should be to make our selues euen with those of the lowest degree, to gaine them thereby: but that Christ intended not hereby to giue all states of dignities and degrees in his Church equall power and authori-

tie with his Apostles, I am not perswaded, and that for these causes; That Christ hath already giuen, or after meant to giue to his Apostles, he would neuer trifle with any speach of his. The sonne of God cannot repent his facts, or alter his minde; but the same kingly power he was appointed to him, he appointed to the rest: and as his Father sent him, so sent he them into all the world with a larger warrant from his mouth, and greater power and wisedome of his holy spirit to teach all nations what he commanded them, and to open all the counsell of God vnto them, then was giuen to other teachers and helpers in the Church. Neither doe we deny nor derogate any part of their Apostolike preheminence aboue others; but onely taught them to vse it to Gods glory, and the edifying of his Church.

[1] Luc. 22.

[2] Ioh. 20.

Against what Christ had prohibited, an Apostle guided by his spirite would euer haue vsed or challenged; but Paul in his writings both challengeth and vseth an Apostolicall power and preheminence aboue other Pastours and Teachers in the Church, as is already declared; It was therefore neuer intended by our Sauiour to make all others equall with his Apostles in the direction and regiment of his Church. Lastly, if those places doe conclude any thing for an equalitie; that must bee referred to the Apostles amongst themselues, to whom Christ gaue equall power and honour as Cyprian noteth of them. [3] The Apostles were endued with like fellowship of honour and power. And Ierome, [4] All (the Apostles) receiued the keies of the kingdome of heauen, and the strength of the Church is equally grounded on them.

[3] Cypr. de vnitate ecclesiæ.

[4] Li. 1. aduers. Iouinianum.

But Paul speaking of himselfe, saieth, 2. Cor. 1. not that wee haue dominion ouer your fayth, but are helpers of your ioy; and Peter admonisheth all Pastours to [6] feede the flocke of God, not as if they were lordes ouer (*Christes*) inheritance, but as examples to the flocke. [7] *Qui inter nos est Episcopus*, saieth Origene, *non ad Principatum hic natus, sed ad seruitutem totius Ecclesiæ*. He that is called to bee a Bishop, is called not to the soueraignetie, but to the seruice of the whole Church. [8] *Episcopi sacerdotes se esse nouerint, non Dominos*, saieth Ierome. Let the Bishops vnderstand they are Priestes, not Lordes (*or Maisters.*) And Bernard. [9] *Forma Apostolica hæc est: Dominatio interdicitur, indicitur ministerium*; The patterne for the Apostles themselues is

[5] 2. Cor. 1.

[6] 1. Peter 5.

[7] Origen. in Esaiam, hom. 6.

[8] Hiero. ad Nepotianum de vita Clericorum.

[9] Bernard. de consideratione, li. 2.

this;

this dominion is vtterdicted, a ministration is enioined.

Thefe and fuch like fpeaches in the Scriptures and fathers, doe neither proue all ministers to haue equall power and honour with the Apoſtles, [and] impugne the regiment wherby the Paſtours haue ouer their flocks; but as were ſeemed before by the wordes of our Sauiour, they diſtinguiſh betweene paſtorall and princely regiment, and direct both Apoſtles and Paſtours how they ſhall gouerne. The thing ſo much prohibited by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, whoſe wordes the auncient fathers doe follow, is that Prelates and Paſtours ſhould behaue themſelues to be lordes and maſters ouer their brethren. What word is oppoſed to in the Scriptures, and wherein conſiſteth the relation betwixt them, if we call to mind, we ſhall not be deceiued in the right ſenſe of theſe wordes. Chriſt ſaieth, The ſeruant is not aboue his lord (or Maſter): and no ſeruant can ſerue two maſters. The power of lordes & maſters ouer their ſeruants, is likewiſe expreſſed by our Sauiour. The ſeruant that knoweth his maſters will, and doeth not according to his will, ſhall bee beaten with many ſtripes. And againe, I ſay to my ſeruant, doe this, and he doeth it. Yea ſeruants, ſaieth Paule, obey the maſters of your fleſh in all things, for know yee not that his ſeruaunts you are, whom you obey? whereby, as by infinite other places it is euident, that oppoſite to lord and maſter, are neither children nor brethren, but ſeruants; and he is a ſeruant, that is vnder the yoke, and bound to obey his maſters will, euen as he is a lord or maſter, that may commaund his ſeruant to execute his will, or thereto compell him with ſtripes: for that is the right of a lord and maſter, to commaund and punish his ſeruant that diſobeieth.

[1] Mat.10.
[2] Mat.6.
Luc.16.
[3] Luc.12.
[4] Luc.7.
[5] Eph.6. Col.3
[6] Rom.6.

What maruell then, if Chriſt forbade his Apoſtles to bee lordes and maſters ouer their brethren, that is, to commaund them and compell them as vaſſals? ſince the beleeuers are no ſeruants but brethren, and the Paſtours no lordes ouer Gods inheritance, but fathers vnto the faithfull? Wherby the ho-

[1] Hieron. ad Repotianum.

most: a seruant or a sonne? *Amare filiorum, timere seruorum est.* A sonne doeth loue, a seruant doeth feare. which God expresseth by his Prophet, when he saith, [2] If I be a father, where is mine honour? If I be a Master, where is my feare? Wherefore to increase the loue of his sheepe towards their shepeheards, Christ would not haue his Apostles to be feared as masters, but to be honoured as fathers; and consequently Pastours, not to force, but to feede; not to chase, but to lead the flocke committed to their charge; neither roughly to intreat them as seruants, but gently to perswade them as coheires of the same kingdome. If at any time they require and commaund, they doe it in Gods name, as messengers sent to declare his will; who onely and rightly may commaund in such cases, and as fellow seruants set ouer their masters household to diuide them meate in due season, and to put the rest in minde of their masters pleasure. For which cause their office is rather a seruice, then a soueraignetie in the Church of Christ, as Origene noteth, and as Ierome saieth. *Si quis* [3] *Episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat; opus, non dignitatem; laborem, non delitias; opus per quod humiliato decrescat, non intumescat fastigio.* If any man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good worke; (if he desire) the worke, not the dignitie; the paynes, not the ease; the labour whereby he should waxe lowe with humilitie, not swell with arrogancie. [4] *Nomen est operis, non honoris, vt intelligat se non esse Episcopum, qui praesse dilexerit, non prodesse.* The office of a bishop (saieth Austen) is a name of labour, not of honour; to let him vnderstand, that he is no bishop which loueth the preferring of himselfe, not the profiting of others. So Bernard. [5] *Speculae est, sonans tibi Episcopi nomine non dominium, sed officium.* It is a watch, sounding vnto thee in the name of a bishop, not an impetie, but a ministerie.

[1] Hieron. ad Repotianum.
[2] Malach. 1.
[3] Hier. Oceano.
[4] August. de ciuitate Dei, li. 19. ca. 19.
[5] Bernard. de consideratione, li. 2.

If any man thinke I haue vsed the office of a Bishop more then needs, in that I say he must rather serue then rule in the Church of Christ, let him remember the sonne of God, though he were heire and lord of all, [6] came to serue & not to be serued; to whose [7] example all his disciples must conforme themselues, by his [8] exhortation: and the elect Angels [9] though greater in power and excellency then we, yet are they all ministring spirits for our sakes that shall be heires of saluation, yea Kings and Princes are not exempted

[6] Mar. 10.
[7] Iohn 13.
[8] 2. Pet. 2.
[9] Hebr. 1.

moued of God, if their [1] hearts be lifted vp aboue their brethren, but rather in all societies of the righteous and faithfull, as Austen obserueth, [2] *Qui imperant, seruiunt his quibus videntur imperare. Non enim dominandi cupiditate imperant, sed officio consulendi, nec principandi superbia, sed prouidendi misericordia:* They that rule, serue those whom they seeme to rule. for they rule not with a desire to master them, but with a purpose to aduise them: neither with pride to be chiefe ouer them, but with mercifull care to prouide for them. It is no shame then for a Christian Bishop to say with the Apostle; [3] We preach not our selues, but Iesus Christ *(to be)* the Lord; and our selues *(to be)* your seruants for Iesus sake. [4] We are not Bishops for our selues, sayth Augustine, but for their sakes, to whom we minister the worde and Sacraments of the Lord. If [5] therefore any man desire the office of a Bishop saith Chrysostome, *non principatus ac dominationis fastu, verùm curæ regiminis & charitatis affectu, non improbo; bonum quippe opus desiderat*; not for pride to be chiefe and beare rule; but for care to gouerne and charitable desire to doe good, I mislike it not; he desireth a good worke.

[1] Deut. 17.

[2] *August. de ciuit. Dei lib. 19. ca. 14.*

[3] 2. Corinth. 4.

[4] *August. contra Cresco. lib. 2. cap. 11.*

[5] *Chrysost. homil. 10. in 1. ad Timot.*

Our Sauiour, you will say, forbiddeth his disciples, not onelie the power, but the very name of Lord, in saying; [6] They that beare rule, are called gracious Lords, but you shall not be so. I heare the Translator, but I finde no such Text. *Benigni* which word S. Luke vseth, is a benefactor, or a bountifull man; it soundeth nothing neare neither Grace, nor Lord. The simple may so be deceiued, the learned cannot so be beluded; but they must finde it is a glose beside the text. If so small a title be denied them, it is cleere, you thinke, that higher stiles (as Gracious Lordes) can not be allowed them. That is an illation out of the wordes, not translation of the wordes. Besides, it is more cleere that the name of maister is forbidden them; Christ saieth in precise wordes, [7] *Nolite vocari Rabbi*, Be not called Master; and yet I weene the meanest Presbyter will looke sowerly, if he be not vouchsafed that name. If we were disposed to quarrel, as some are, we could say, no man may be called father; for Christ saieth; [8] Call no man father on earth; there is but one, euen your father which is in heauen; no creature, man nor Angell may be called Lord; [9] *Nobis vnus est Dominus Iesus Christus*; To vs there is but one Lord Iesus Christ. The

[6] Luc. 22.

[7] Matth. 23.

[8] Mat. 23.

[9] 1. Cor. 8.

trueth

truethis, if we attend either the right or loue of the creator, or the worthier parte of the creature, which is the soule; no man on earth can iustly be called Master, Father, or Lord; for none doth effectually fashion, teach, and gouerne man, specially the soule of man, saue only God who worketh all in all: but if wee respect the proportion and resemblance deriued from God, and approoued by God in his word; then those that beget, or gouerne our bodies as Gods instruments and substitutes on earth, may be called Masters, Lordes and Fathers; yea for submission or reuerence, strangers vnknowen, and knowen superiors, either spirituall or temporall, may be called by those names; which as well the custome of the Scriptures, as the consent of all Nations will confirme vnto vs.

The French haue no higher worde for Lorde, then Seigneur, which they attribute to Christ and God himselfe, as *Le Seigneur Iesus*, The Lord Iesus, *Le Seigneur Dieu*, The Lord God; and yet they call euery one by that name, which is of any credite or reputation with them. With vs euery meane man is Lorde of his owne, & Tenants haue no name for the owner of the land or house, which they inhabite, but their Lord; yea euery poore woman that hath either maid or apprentise is called Dame; and yet Dame is as much as *Domina*, and vsed to Ladies of greatest account, as Dame Isabel, and Madame. In Latin *Dominus* soundeth more then Master, and yet the boyes in the Grammer schoole do know how common the stile of *Dominus* is, and vsually giuen to euery man, that hath any taste of learning, shew of calling, or steps of liuing: κύριος is the chiefest word the Grecians haue for Lord, either on earth or in heauen; and yet S. Peter willeth euery christian woman, after Sarahs example, to call her husband, what soeuer he be, κύριον. Marie Magdalene supposing she had spoken to the keeper of the garden, where Christ was buried, said, κύριε (which is, Lord) if thou hast taken him hence, tell mee where thou hast layed him. The Greekes that were desirous to see Christ, came to Philip the Apostle and said, κύριε (Lord) we would see Iesus. The Hebrue word is *Adoni* (my Lord) which other wise the Iewes did attribute to Kings and Princes, and euen to God himselfe, as by more reuerence yeelded to any superior or stranger. When Lot prayed the two strangers, (whom he then did not thinke to be Angels) to lodge with him that night, he said, Loe my Lordes I

1. Pet. 3.

2. Iohn 20.

3. Iohn 12.

4. Genes. 19.

pray

pray you turne into your seruants house. Rebecca, when Abrahams seruant, not knowen to her, prayed he might drinke a little water of her pitcher, answered; [1] Drinke my Lorde. [1] Genes. 24.

The places of Iohn, as also that of Peter, you suppose may be better translated, Sir, which is more familiar with vs then Lorde. The word in Greeke is κύριε, the selfe same, that the Scriptures euery where giue to God himselfe, when they call him Lorde; and Sarahs wordes alleaged by Peter cannot be translated Sir. For thus they stand in Moses: [2] After I am olde, and my Lorde also, shall I haue where to lay, and my Sir also, were somewhat strange to English eares. Besides, the Hebrew word is *Adoni*, the verie same that seruants and subiects in the Scriptures alwayes giue to their Lords and Princes. Lastly, the selfe same Translatours retaine the name of Lord in Moses, howsoeuer afterward they change it in Peter. And touching the signification of Sir, by which they interprete the Greeke worde κύριε, though the honor thereof be some what decayed by reason it is now growen common; yet anciently it was, and originally it is as much as Lorde. Sir, is the onely stile wee haue at this present to distinguish a knight from lower degrees; yea the French to this day call their king Sir; and in former ages it was no disgrace with vs to say Sir King. and vnmanners. For if it come from the French Syre, which is all one in sound with Cyre, C. being changed into S; then it is a contraction of the Greeke word for Lord, as Cyre for Cyrie. If we fetch it from Seigneur by shooting it into Sieur, as in Monsieur for Monseigneur, My Lord; yet so is it equiualent with the French word for Lord. If, with the Germans and Italians, we deriue it from Herr as first Herr, then Sere; Heros is he that for his valour and vertue commeth neere vnto diuine perfection and honour. But with titles and termes the Church of Christ should not be troubled; onely this I say, that (if Syr be not as much as Lorde) in all tongues saue ours, the name of Lord is as common as Sir with vs; and giuen to more meaner men then Bishops both of the Clergie and Laitie; and for the Hebrew tongue the Scriptures themselues do witnes no lesse.

The Prophets of God, did both giue and receiue this title of honour without blemish to their calling. [3] Am not I thy Lorde Elias? saith Obadiah the Gouernour of Achabs house, when he

[2] Genes. 18.

[3] 3. Reg. 18.

fell at his face before the Prophet, and said further [3] I thy seruant feare the Lord from my youth; hath not my Lord heard, how I hid an hundred prophets in a caue, when Iesabel would haue slaine them? and fedde them with bread and water? [4] The children of the Prophets both at Bethel and Iericho, saide to Eliseus, when Elias shoulde be taken from him: [5] Knowest thou not, that God will take thy Lord from thine head this day? And whē Elias was taken vp by a whirle winde, the children of the prophets met him, and fell to the ground before him, and said, [2] Behold, there are with thy seruants fiftie strong men, Let them we pray thee goe, and seeke thy Lord. [3] The inhabitants of Iericho misliking the barrennes of the soile, saide likewise to Eliseus; [3] The situation of the Citie is good, as thou, my Lord, seest; but the water is naught, and the ground barren. [4] O my Lorde delude not thine handmaid, saide the godly Shunnamite, when Eliseus first told her she should haue a sonne. And when the child was dead, she fell at his feete and saide, [5] Did I desire a sonne of my Lord? [6] The children of the Prophets intending to make them a larger place to dwell in, saide to Eliseus, [6] Vouchsafe to goe with thy seruants. And as one of them was felling a tree by the riuers side, the head of his axe fell into Iorden: and he cryed to Eliseus, [7] Alas my Lord, it was borrowed. Hazael the great Commander of Syria vnder Benhadad, when Eliseus wept, foreseeing the euill that he should do to the children of Israel, said, [8] Why weepeth my Lord? And when Elizeus lay sicke on his death bed, Ioash the king of Israel saide vnto him; [9] O my father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and horsemen *(or safegard)* of the same.

Why then doth our Sauiour debarre his Apostles from all such titles, by saying, You shal not be so?] Ye doth not forbid his Apostles to admit that honour which God hath commanded and allowed to their calling; the Scriptures should so be contrarie to themselues; [10] Feare God (saith the Wiseman) and honour his Priests. [11] They that gouerne well, are worthy of double honour, saith Paul; and againe [12] they that labour [13] are worthy to haue such in *(great estimation or)* honor. Yea the Lord himselfe sayeth, [13] A Prophet is not without honour but in his owne Countrie. If honour by Gods law must be yeelded vnto Prophets and Pastours, honor by Gods law may be receiued by them: but to admit titles of honour about

and

[1] 4. Reg 2.
[2] 4 Reg. 2.
[3] 4. Reg. 2.
[4] 4. Reg. 4.
[5] Ibidem.
[6] 4. Reg. 6.
[7] Ibidem.
[8] 4. Reg 8.
[9] 4. Reg. 13.
[10] Eccleſiaſt 7
[11] 1. Timoth. 5.
[12] Philip. 2.
[13] Mark. 6.

and against their calling, or to expect and affect that honour which is due vnto them: this is it, that Christ forbiddeth. [1] How can you beleeue (saith he to the Pharisees) when ye receiue honour one of another (*he meaneth greedely or gladly*) and seeke not the honour which is of God alone. [2] Beware of the Scribes (saieth he to his disciples) which desire to goe in long robes, and loue salutations in the markets, and the chiefest seates in the Synagogues, and the highest roomes at feastes. The desire and loue of these things is ambition and vanitie, as Christ noteth in the Pharisees: the accepting them when they are by others forced on vs, or in respect of our place appertaine vnto vs, so as wee neither seeke after them, long for them, or swell with them; is not against the rule of christian modestie and humilitie.

[1] Iohn 5.

[2] Luc. 20.

Though Pastours by Gods Law must be honoured with reuerence and maintenance, yet titles and appellations of honour, you thinke, are not incident to their calling.] Whom we must honour in heart and deede, why not in wordes? Can the lippes neglect whom the heart regardeth? Is not the mouth made to expresse as well the reuerence as [3] abundance of the heart? Would God the contempt of the trueth did not so fast followe the contempt of the persons, as we find by too much experience of our times. The Clergie should, you say, be honored for their vertues. and what for their profession and function? Is learning, wisedome and religion become so seruile in a Christian common-wealth, that they deserue not the name of honour? Paul commended the Galathians for receiuing him with such submission and reuerence, as if he had beene an [4] Angel of God. The Lord himselfe in the Reuelation speaking of the Bishops of the seuen Churches in Asia, calleth them [5] the Starres and Angels of the seuen Churches. In the Gospell he nameth his Apostles, [6] The Salt of the earth, and Light of the worlde. The Scripture, which cannot be broken, [7] calleth them Gods, to whome the word of God came. [8] How beautifull are the feete of them, saith Paul, which bring glad tidings of peace? Our [9] eies, if it were possible, are not too deare for them. We [10] owe them not onely honour, but euen our selues. And to speake vprightly, if euery man on earth be measured by the degree of his master, and dignitie of his seruice; I see no cause, why [11] Christs Embassadours, and the [12] Stewards and [13] Rulers of Gods houshold, should

[3] Luc. 6.

[4] Galat. 4.

[5] Reuel.

[6] Matth. 5.

[7] Iohn 10.

[8] Rom. 10.

[9] Galat. 4.

[10] Philem. v. 19

[11] 2. Cor. 5.

[12] 1. Cor. 4.

[13] Mat. 24.

should be contemptible, in the eyes of their fellow seruants, that should [1] obey them, and be subiect to them, as vnto their spiritual Leaders, Teachers and Fathers.

[1] Heb. 13.

Is this assertion strange or new in the Church of Christ? [2] *Esto subiectus Pontifici tuo, & quasi Parentem animæ suspice.* Be subiect saith Ierome, to thy Bishop, and reuerence him as the father of thy soule. [3] For good cause ought we, saith Chrysostome, not only to stand in more awe of Priests, then of Kings and Princes; but also to giue them more honour, then our naturall Parents. The king saith Austen, beareth the [4] Image of God, euen as the Bishop doth of Christ. As long then as he holdeth that office, he is to be honoured, if not for himselfe, yet for *(his)* order. And Ambrose, [5] *Honor & sublimitas Episcopalis nullis poterit comparationibus adæquari.* The honour and height of a Bishops *(function)* can be matched by no comparison: *(the sheep)* that are committed to Priests *(or Pastours)* are truely said to be vnder their Leaders; *(the Gospel determining that)* the Scholler is not aboue his Master. And againe, [6] *Hæc cuncta &c. vt ostenderemus nihil esse in hoc sæculo excellentius Sacerdotibus, nihil sublimius Episcopis reperiri:* All this to shew, that no *(condition)* in this world can be found more excellent then a Priests, no *(calling)* higher then a Bishop. [7] If you compare it to the brightnes of Kings or diadems of Princes, that is more inferiour to it, saieth Ambrose, then lead vnto gold; yea, [8] they haue that power giuen them, saith Chrysostom, which God would not giue to Angels, nor Archangels. [9] Iesus Christ, saith Cyprian, our King, Iudge, and God euen vnto the day of his death, yeelded honor vnto the Priests and Bishops *(of the Iewes)* though they retained neither the feare of God, nor knowledge of Christ; teaching *(vs)* lawfully and fully to honour true Priestes by his behauiour vnto false Priests.

[2] *Hiero. ad Nepotianum.*

[3] *Chrysost. de sacerdot. lib. 3.*

[4] *Aug. quæstio. ex veteri Testament. 35.*

[5] *Ambros. de dignitate sacerdot. ca. 2.*

[6] *Ibidem ca. 3.*

[7] *Ibidem ca. 2.*

[8] *Chrysost. de sacerdot. lib. 3.*

[9] *Cypr. lib. 3. epistola 9.*

These Fathers in your iudgement doe not meane, that externall and ciuil honour should be yeelded to the persons of Teachers and Bishops; but spirituall and inward reuerence to bee due to their calling. Much lesse doe they meane that contempt and reproch should be requited them for their paynes. If wee sticke at titles, Christ himselfe calleth them Starres, Angels and Gods; if wee doubt of their power or honour, they haue more power

then

then the Angelles, as Chrysostome sayeth; and must haue more honour then the Fathers of our flesh. If anie like not the conclusion, let him reade Chrysostomes probation more at large in the place afore cited. As for the distinction of outward or inward honour due to their persons or professions, if the men bee good; it is superfluous, wee must honour both: if the men bee badde, their vocation must bee honoured though their vices bee condemned, and that honour as I saide before must appeare in heart, worde and deede. For if one of these faile, it is not honour, but neglect and contempt, which God will reuenge. [1] *Non te reiecerunt sed me*, They haue not reiected thee but mee, is an ancient verdict of Gods owne giuing. [2] Hee that despiseth you (*in heart, worde, or deede*) despiseth mee. [3] Honour thy father, bindeth the whole man, not this, or that parte of man, and duetie to Parentes and superiours is violated euen with wordes and lookes. *But godlie Teachers must looke for reward and honour at Gods handes, and not from men.*] I knowe it well; the worlde shall vse them, as it vsed their Master; yet doeth not that excuse the neglecters and contemners of them; yea rather it is an euident signe, hee loueth not God, that despiseth his Prophets, and reprocheth Christ, that dishonoureth his Ministers.

[1] 1.Sam.8.
[2] Luc.10.
[3] Exod.20.

God is my witnesse, I smoothe no mans pride, I seeke no mans fauour: I wade as sincerely as my simple learning will suffer mee: and by that as I finde Christ forbiddeth his Disciples all affectation of honour, and desire of superioritie, and requireth the greatest after his example to serue the lowest: so I see no reason why it shoulde grieue any godlie minde to heare a Bishoppe called by that name, with which Saint Peter willeth euerie woman to honour her husband. For to mee, it is strange, it shoulde bee a prowde and Antichristian Title in a Pastour, which may be giuen to euerie Artisant with duetie and humilitie. Howbeit what erternall appellation or honour, is meete or mooueete for the Pastours and Fathers of Christes Church; I leaue it wholie to the wisedome and consideration of the State, who are fit Iudges therefore; and not euerie curious head, or couetous heart, to order the Clergie at their pleasures.

With

With trueth and sobrietie I may affirme this, that the first Christian Princes and Emperours, to cause religion the more to flourish, did what they could to make the people honour and reuerence their Bishops; permitting them to heare and determine all quarrels and strifes betweene man and man, for debts, goodes, or landes; and confirming the iudgements of the Bishops euen in such cases by publike Lawes; and by their owne example teaching all men to submit their heads vnder the Bishops hands. [1] Place you such a one in the Episcopall seate, (saith Valentinian to the Synode assembled for the choise of a Bishop of Millan) to whom we our selues, the Rulers of the Empire, may sincerely (*or willingly*) submit our heads; and whose reproofes, we may receiue as an wholesome medicine. [2] Thou mayest see, saith Ambrose, the necks of Kings and Princes bowed downe to the Priests knees, and kissing the right hands (*of Priests*) thinke themselues garded with their prayers. [3] To a King, saith Chrysostome, are bodies committed; to a Priest, Soules: the one hath sensible armor, the other spirituall: he fighteth against the Barbarians: I against [illegible] mitted to Priests (*or Pastours*) are truely said to be vnder their Leaders; (*the Gospel determining that*) the Scholler is not aboue his Master. And againe, [6] *Haec cuncta &c. vt ostenderemus nihil esse in hoc seculo excellentius Sacerdotibus, nihil sublimius Episcopis reperiri*: All this to shew, that no (*condition*) in this world can be found more excellent then a Priests, no (*calling*) higher then a Bishop. [7] If you compare it to the brightnes of Kings or diadems of Princes, that is more inferiour to it, saith Ambrose, then lead vnto gold; yea, [8] they haue that power giuen them, saith Chrysostom, which God would not giue to Angels, nor Archangels. [9] Iesus Christ, saith Cyprian, our King, Iudge, and God euen vnto the day of his death, yeelded honor vnto the Priests and Bishops (*of the Iewes*) though they retained neither the feare of God, nor knowledge of Christ; teaching (*us*) lawfully and fully to honour true Priestes by his behauiour vnto false Priests.

1 *Theodor. lib. 4. cap. 5.*

2 *Ambros. de dignitate sacerdot. c. 2.*

3 *Chrysost. de verbis Esaiae vidi Dominum homil. 4.*

6 *Ibidem ca. 3.*

7 *Ibidem ca. 2.*

8 *Chrysost. de sacerdot. lib. 3.*

9 *Cypr. lib. 3. epistola 9.*

These Fathers in your iudgement doe not meane, that externall and ciuil honour should be yeelded to the persons of Teachers and Bishops; but spirituall and inward reuerence to bee due to their calling. Much lesse doe they meane that contempt and reproch should be requited them for their paynes. If wee sticke at titles, Christ himselfe calleth them Starres, Angels and Gods; if wee doubt of their power or honour, they haue more power

then

our dayes some wayward spirites thinke it a great point of pietie by despising and reproching their state and calling, as vnchristian and vngodly, to make them contemptible & odious to the meanest of the multitude. A better way to reforme the faults of Bishops is that admonition, which Ambrose gaue them when he said, [1] *Ne sit honor sublimis & vita deformis. Ne sit Deifica professio, & illicita actio. Ne sit gradus excelsus, & deformis excessus. Nam quanto præ cæteris gradus Episcopalis altior est, tanto si per negligentiam dilabatur, ruina grauior est. Magna sublimitas, magnam debet habere cautelam; honor grandis, grandiori debet solicitudine circumuallari.* Let not the honour (*of Bishops*) be loftie, and their life loathsome; their profession diuine, and their action vnlawfull; their state high, and their excesse shamefull. For the higher a Bishoppes degree is aboue the rest, the greeuouser is his fall, if hee slide by negligence. Great dignitie ought to haue great warinesse. Much honor should be kept with much carefulnesse. To whome more is committed, of him more shal be required. [*Hee inuadeth not the honour of their calling, but and honour at Gods handes, and not from men.*] I knowe it well, the worlde shall vse them, as it vsed their Maker; yet doeth not that excuse the neglecters and contemners of them; yea rather it is an euident signe, hee loueth not God, that despiseth his Prophets, and reprocheth Christ, that dishonoureth his Ministers.

[1] *Ambros. de dignitate sacerdot. lib. ca 3.*

God is my witnesse, I smoothe no mans pride, I seeke no mans fauour: I wade as sincerely as my simple learning will suffer mee: and by that as I finde Christ forbidden his Disciples all affectation of honour, and desire of superioritie, and requireth the greatest after his example to serue the lowest: so I see no reason why it should grieue any godlie minde to heare a Bishoppe called by that name, with which Saint Peter willeth euerie woman to honour her husband. For to mee it is strange, it should bee a prowde and Antichristian Title in a Pastour, which may be giuen to euerie Artisant with pietie and humilitie. Howbeit what externall appellation or honour, is meete or vnmeete for the Pastours and Fathers of Christes Church; I leaue it wholie to the wisedome and consideration of the State, who are fit Iudges thereof; and not euerie curious head, or contents heart, to ouer the Clergie at their pleasures.

Which

With truerth and sobrietie I may affirme this, that the first Christian Princes and Emperours, to cause religion the more flourish, did what they could to make the people honour and reuerence their Bishops; permitting them to heare and determine all quarrels and strifes betweene man and man, for debts, goodes, or lands; and confirming the iudgements of the Bishops euen in such cases by publike Lawes; and by their owne example teaching all men to submit their heads vnder the Bishops hands. [1] Place you such a one in the Episcopall seate, (saith Valentinian to the Synode assembled for the choise of a Bishop of Millan) to whom we our selues, the Rulers of the Empire, may sincerely (*or willingly*) submit our heads; and whose reproofes, we may receiue as an wholesome medicine. [2] Thou mayest see, saith Ambrose, the necks of Kings and Princes bowed downe to the Priests knees, and kissing the right hands (*of Priests*) thinke themselues garded with their prayers. [3] To a King, saith Chrysostome, are bodies committed; to a Priest, Soules: the one hath sensible armor, the other spiritual: he fighteth against the Barbarians; I against Diuels. This is the greater soueraignitie; therefore the King submitteth his head to the Priests hands. Constantine the great by his Lawes [4] gaue leaue, that those which would decline the ciuil Magistrates, might appeale to the iudgement of their Bishops, and commaunded the sentence of the Bishoppes to take place before the sentence of other Iudges, as if it had bene pronounced by the Emperour himselfe, and to be put in execution by the Presidents and their officers. And lest wee should thinke this Lawe reached onely to spirituall things, Saint Augustine sheweth in his time with what matters they were troubled. [5] Men, saith he, desiring to finish their secular causes by our iudgement, call vs holy and the seruants of God, about golde and siluer, landes and chattels; *quotidie submisso capite saluteamur*, wee are euery day saluted with lowe bowing the head: to determine the strifes of men.

1 *Theodor. lib. 4. cap. 5.*

2 *Ambros. de dignitate sacerdot. c. 2.*

3 *Chrysost. de verbis Esaiæ vidi Dominum homil. 4.*

4 *Sozomen. lib. 1. cap. 9.*

5 *August. epistola 147.*

I alleage not these things to haue them reuiued: too much honor inflameth ambition; as too little engendreth contempt: I onely obserue in the best ages how careful good Princes were in their owne persons to honour the Bishops of Christes Church, and by their Lawes to make them acceptable to the people; where as in our

our dayes some wayward spirites thinke it a great point of pietie by despising and reproching their state and calling, as vnchristian and vngodly, to make them contemptible & odious to the meanest of the multitude. A better way to reforme the faults of Bishops is that admonition, which Ambrose gaue them when he said, [1] *Ne sit honor sublimis & vita deformis. Ne sit Deifica professio, & illicita actio. Ne sit gradus excelsus, & deformis excessus. Nam quanto præ cæteris gradus Episcopalis altior est, tanto si per negligentiam dilabatur, ruina grauior est. Magna sublimitas, magnam debet habere cautelam; honor grandis, grandiori debet solicitudine circumuallari.* Let not the honour (*of Bishops*) be loftie, and their life loathsome; their profession diuine, and their action vnlawfull; their state high, and their excesse shamefull. For the higher a Bishoppes degree is aboue the rest, the greeuouser is his fall, if hee slide by negligence. Great dignitie ought to haue great warinesse. Much honor should be kept with much carefulnesse. To whome more is committed, of him more shal be required. Hee impeacheth not the honour of their calling, but assureth them their iudgement shall be encreased, and punishment aggrauated, if their care and diligence doe not answere that honor and reuerence, which they haue in the Church of God aboue their brethren. Then as they that [2] affect this dignitie because they woulde be honoured before men, are condemned before God; so this [3] is the cause of all euill, saieth Chrysostome, that the authoritie of (*ecclesiastical*) Rulers is decayed, and no reuerence, no honour, no feare is yeelded to them. Hee that is religiously affected to the Priest, will with greater pietie reuerence God; and hee that despiseth the Priest, commeth by degrees to this at last, that hee waxeth contumelious against God himselfe.

[1] *Ambros. de dignitate sacerdot. lib. ca. 3.*

[2] *Chrysost. in Act. homil. 3.*

[3] *Hieron. lib. 2. in epistola 2. ad ad Timoth.*

The summe of all is; first, that our Sauiour interditted his Apostles, and consequently the Pastours of his Church by vertue of their Ministerie to claime any ciuill dominion to commaund and compell; which is the power that Princes and Lordes vse ouer their subiects and seruants. Next, they must neither desire nor delight any titles of honor and praise from men, but expect the crowning of the Arch-pastour, when euery one shall haue praise from God. Thirdly, howe great soeuer they be, they must serue the

lowest of their brethren to doe them good, and watch ouer them for the sauing of their soules; yet this nothing hindereth the rule and gouernement that pastours haue ouer their flocks by the word of God, neither doth it barre them or depriue them of that honour and obedience which in heart, word and deed is due to the [1] Fathers of our faith, the Embassadours of Christ, and Stewards of Gods houshold.

[1] 1. Corinth. 4.

CHAP. VII.

Who ioyned with the Apostles in election of Presbyters *and imposition of hands.*

IN choosing of Elders and Deacons, and laying hands on them, many thinke the whole Church, or at least the Presbyterie ioyned with the Apostles; and to that ende sundrie Precedents are alleadged; as namely the choice of Matthias, of the seauen Deacons, of the Elders of Lystra, Iconium and other Churches in the 14. of the Actes, and of Timothie; all which seeme to proue, the Apostles did nothing of themselues, but with the consent & concurrence of others. To come by the trueth what the Scriptures resolue in these two points, the best way will be to examine the places in order, as they lie.

In the choice of Matthias it is not expressed that the Church intermedled. Peter acquainted all the Disciples, that one must supplie ỹ roume of Iudas; but who named those two that were appointed, whether the Apostles, or all the Disciples, it is not decided in the Text; the force and coherence of the words conuince neither. For thus they stand: [2] And they appointed two; and they prayed, saying, and they cast lottes. If prayers and lottes were performed by the Apostles, as by the principall directors of that action, and thereto ledde by the instinct of Gods spirite; consequently it was their deede to present them both to God, that hee might shew, which of thē he had chosen. Besides, an Apostle might not be chosen by men, much lesse by the people; and therefore no question, the spirit of God made this election, and the Disciples afterward acknowledged it for Gods doing, and accounted Matthias

[2] Act. 1.

chias with the eleuen.

But Chrysostome saith, *Non ipse vos statuit, sed omnes (Petrus)* himselfe did not appoint those (two) but all (that.) Yea hee saith further, *Considera quam Petrus agit omnia ex communi Discipulorum sententia, nihil authoritate sua, nihil cum imperio.* Marke how Peter doth all things by the common consent of the Disciples, nothing by his owne authoritie, nothing by commandement. He saith so in deed, but the Text saith not so; only the verbe is the plural number, which may be referred to the Apostles as wel as to the rest of the Disciples: yet the reason why Peter did it not, was not for that it was not lawfull for him without the multitude to doe it, but as Chrysostome noteth, lest he should seeme to gratifie the one, and not the other, as also that, as yet, he had not receiued the holie Ghost. *An non licebat ipsi eligere? Licebat, & quidem maxime: verum id non facit, ne cui videretur gratificari. Quanquam alioqui nondum erat particeps spiritus.* Might not Peter haue chosen him? He might most lawfully. but he did it not, lest he should seeme to gratifie either part. Albeit as yet hee was not partaker of the holie Ghost. And for that cause as Chrysostome thinketh they cast lottes. *Quoniam non erat spiritus, sortibus rem peragunt;* Because the holy ghost was not yet powred on them, therefore they determine the matter by lottes.

1 Chrysost. homil. 3. in Act.

Ibid.

2 Ibidem.

3 Ibidem.

The choice of the seauen Deacons was referred to the multitude, the approbation of them reserued to the twelue, and that not without cause. For by this choice, the Deacons (as they say) receiued not charge of the word and sacraments, but a care to see the Saints prouided for, and the collections and contributions of the faithfull sincerely and vprightly employed, according to the necessities of the persons. Now that the people should very well like, and fully trust such as should bee Stewards of their goodes, and dispensers of their substance, had euident reason; and the Apostles in so doing staied the murmuring of the Disciples, and freed themselues from all suspition of neglecting their widowes, (which was the cause of their dislike) by praying them to choose out of themselues such as they best trusted, to care for their tables, without their owne. By the circumstance of the Text it seemeth that where the [4] beleeuers liued in one place and had all things in common, & [5] selling their lands, possessions & goods, they brought the price thereof

4 Act. 2.

5 Act. 4.

thereof and layed it downe at the Apostles feete to be distributed to euery man according as hee had neede; the Apostles had put some in trust to bestowe the Churches treasure, I meane the Disciples goodes, who of like being Iewes, regarded the widowes that were Iewes, more then the Grecians widowes. And hence arose the grudging of the Grecians, that their widowes were neglected. The Apostles then excused themselues, for that they might not leaue the preaching of the word, and attend for tables, to see their widowes indifferently vsed, and willed the [1] whole multitude to look out from amongst thē selues such as were repleniſhed with the holy ghoſt & with wiſdom & beſt reported of, (*for fidelitie and induſtrie*) to take the ouerſight of that buſineſſe. This is all that can bee preſſed out of this ſtorie. For anſwere hereof, firſt by your owne doctrine, the parties there choſen receiued not power to preach and baptiſe; but to diſpence the goods of the Church for the dayly prouiſion of the Saints, who then liued together, and yeelded all their abilitie to be vſed in common, at the diſcretion of theſe parties appointed by themſelues. And though Philip did preach and baptiſe at Samaria, and did the like to the Eunuch of Ethiopia; yet you auouch he did that, not as a Deacon, but as an Euangeliſt; both which titles indeede Saint Luke giueth him in the one and twentieth Chapter of the Actes. Nert, if it be true that Epiphanius writeth of them, theſe ſeauen were [2] all of the number of thoſe ſeuentie Diſciples, which Chriſt himſelfe called whiles he liued on earth and ſent to preach, aſwel as Matthias and Barnabas, that were named to ſucceede in the roome of Iudas the traitor, and then by this election they had no ordinarie function in the Church, but an extraordinarie charge to prouide for the widowes; ſince none of the 70. Diſciples could beginne againe at the loweſt degree and become Deacons. Chryſoſtome reaſoning what office they had by this impoſition of handes, ſaith, [3] ἀναγκαῖον δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο εἰπεῖν τίνα ἔχει, ἢ τίνας ἐδέξαντο χειροτονίας, οὐκ ἀνεῖον μαθεῖν. ἆρα τὴν τῶν διακόνων; ἢ μᾶλλον τοῦτο οὐ πᾶσι συγκεχώρηται ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῶν προεστώτων ἔργον ἡ ἐπιμέλεια· ἆρα οὖν τὴν τῶν διακόνων εἶχον προεστῶτες ὄντες τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν χηρῶν καὶ πενήτων. What dignitie theſe (ſeauen) had, and what maner of impoſition of hands they receiued, it ſhal not be amiſſe to learn. Was it the office of Deacons? This (*ſaith*) is not the Churches; but this charge (*to looke to widowes*) belōgeth to Presbyters: and as yet there was no biſhop, but

[1] Act. 6.

[2] Epiphan. contra hæreſ. lib. 1. tom. 2. in fine.

[3] Chryſoſt. homil. 14. in Act.

but the Apostles onely. Wherefore I thinke it was neither the name of Deacons nor Presbyters expressely and plainely, which these seuen receiued. If these seuen were expressly neither Deacons nor Presbyters, as Chrysostome thinketh they were not, and the Councel in Trullo ioyneth with him in the same opinion: then can their election be no proofe, that others ioyned with the Apostles in the choice of Presbyters or Bishops.

[1] *Concil. Constan. in Trullo sub Iustiniano ca. 16.*

If with [2] Ignatius, [3] Cyprian, Ierome, and others we take these seuen for Deacons, such as serued in the Church and attended on the Lords table when the mysteries of Christ were dispensed: yet the Apostles made this no perpetuall rule for all elections: otherwise neither Paul, nor any other Apostle could haue imposed hands but on such as the people named and elected, which is euidently repugnant to the Scriptures, as in place conuenient shall appeare. Againe, this singular example concludeth no more for electing by voyces, then the choice of Matthias doth for retaining of lots. For since two sortes of elections were vsed by the Apostles presently the one vpon the other; who can determine which of those twaine was prescribed to the Church as of necessity to be continued? Lastly, examples are no precepts: and the reasons that moued the Apostles to referre the choice of those seuen to the liking of the multitude, admit infinite varieties of circumstances, which being altered, the effect must needes alter according to the cause. And therfore no generall rule can be drawen from a particular fact without a strong reason to maintaine the coherence; much lesse may you leape from the choice of Deacons in the Apostles time, to conclude the like of the election of Presbyters and Bishops which then did, and now do greatly differ both in gifts and calling from the Deacons.

[2] *Ignat. ad Heronem.*
[3] *Cypr. lib. 3. epistola. 9.*
[4] *Iero. aduers. Luciferianos.*

That the Ministers and Elders of Lystra and Iconium, and of the Churches confirming were ordained by Paul and Barnabas, can be no question: the Text doth clearely auouch it: onely the signification of the Greeke worde χειροτονήσαντες there vsed is forced by some to proue that those Elders were chosen by the consent of others, beside Paul and Barnabas; because χειροτονία (say they) is to choose by lifting vp of handes, which was the vse amongst the Grecians for the people to voice in their elections.

The aduantage taken vpon the worde χειροτονήσαντες is not so sound as

they suppose. For first, if that were the right Etymologie of the word; yet as most words in Greeke & Hebrew, besides the externall action and circumstance, which they first importe, do signifie the effects and consequents depending on that action and circumstance; and are by translation generally and usually applied to other thinges: so this worde doeth signifie to elect and appoint, though no handes bee holde vp; because electing and appointing was the effect and consequent of lifting vp the handes. To proove this, wee neede goe no further then the tenth chapter of this verie Booke; where Saint Luke without all contradiction vseth the word in such sorte and sense, as I mention. [1] This Iesus of Nazareth God raised vp the third day, and shewed him openly not to all the people, ἀλλὰ μάρτυσι τοῖς προκεχειροτονημένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, but to vs witnesses chosen (*or appointed*) before-hand of God. It were more then absurde to imagine, that God did choose the Apostles to bee witnesses of his sonnes resurrection by lifting vp of handes; God hath not hands to lift vp; the Apostles neither were, nor could be chosen by the peoples hands; wherefore χειροτονέω doth signifie simply to choose and appoint, though it be not doone with holding vp of hands, nor by the people.

[1] Act. 10.

Againe, were the word in the 14. of the Acts vsed in that signification which they vrge, as namely to consent or elect with holding vp the hands; yet the Text doth manifestly restraine it to Paul and Barnabas; that they did elect and appoint by stretching out their hands, such Elders as the Churches then needed. For χειροτονέω is for a man to holde vp, or stretch out his owne hand, and not other mens hands; and no example will euer be brought that χειροτονέω is to gather voices, or take the consents of others; but for men to giue voices themselues, & signify their own consents by stretching forth their hands. And so howsoeuer the word be vrged, it cannot proue, that others concurred with Paul and Barnabas in that action.

But to speake some what more of the signification of the worde χειροτονέω, not as the prophane orators amongst the Grecians applied it, but as the Church writes and ancient Councels in Greeke euer vsed it; χειροτονέω is properly χεῖρα τείνειν, that is, to stretch or extend the hand, as well forth-right as vpwards: and for that cause with Ecclesiasticall writers it importeth as much as χειροθετέω, that is, to lay handes on another mans head. For the handes must first be stretched forth,

forth, which is χειροτονία, before they can be laid on, which is χειροθεσία, & then χειροτονῆσαι Act. 14. is nothing els but imposing of hands; euen as Paul did Act. 19. on the 12. disciples, who he found at Ephesus.

If my affirmation for the vse of the word be not trusted, let the places following be considered. Eusebius reporting Cornelius words, how Nouatus gate to be an Elder or Minister in the church by the innoverate fauor of the Bishop that made him, saith, [1] διεκωλύμενος ὑπὸ τοσούτων τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαϊκῶν πολλῶν, ἀξίων συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ τοῦτο μόνον χειροτονῆσαι. The Bishop, being prohibited by al the Clergie and many of the Laitie; desired he might be suffered to impose hands on him onely: χειροτονῆσαι in this place can not bee to gather voices; for the whole Clergy, & a great number of the Laitie were against the making of Nouatus priest, as a thing repugnant to the Canons; It doeth therefore signifie imposition of handes; which the bishop gaue though the Clergie and people dissented.

[1] Euseb. lib. 6. ca. 43.

The great Councell of Nice, as Socrates writeth, was content that the Ministers and Priests made by Miletius the schismatike, [2] μὴ κυριεύσῃ χειροτονίᾳ κατεψηφίσατο, being admitted and ordained by a more sacred imposition of hands, (then that they receiued of Miletius) should retaine the honour of their place and office. The holding vp of the peoples hands to signifie their consents, is no way mysticall or sacred; but the laying on of hands by the Bishop is a mystical and sacred action deriued frō the Apostles, and euer since continued in the Church of Christ. The same Author likewise affirmeth, that the Homousians or true Christians in Constantinople after the death of Eudoxius the Arrian, [3] διάκονόν τινα προβαλόμενοι, χειροτονίᾳ τῶν ἀγγέλων, named, & elected one Euagrius, and Eustathius, (once Bishop of Antioch lying secretly in Constantinople) imposed hands on him. Eustathius did not the second time elect Euagrius; he was chosen before by the people; but he gaue him imposition of hands, which there is expressed by χειροτονῆσαι and Valens the Emperour, when he heard it, commanded [4] τὸν χειροτονήσαντα, καὶ τὸν χειροτονηθέντα ἄμφω ἐξορίσαι, the party that imposed hands, & the party that receiued imposition of hands, to be banished eche of them to a seuerall place. The Electors were not banished; for then y whole number, that named him, must haue gone into exile: but he y imposed handes & he elected Euagrius B. of Constantinople, he alone, and Euagrius were thrust into banishment. χειροτονία therefore is

[2] Socrat. lib. 2. ca. 9.

[3] Socrat. lib. 4. ca. 14.

[4] Idem lib. 4. ca. 15.

for a Bishop to confirme and consummate the nomination and election before made with laying his handes on the party elected. And that the same writer most manifestly expresseth in the choice both of Ambrose and Chrysostome.

When Auxentius the Arrian, Bishop of Millaine, was dead, the people were readie to go together by the eares about the choice of a newe Bishoppe. To represse which sedition, Ambrose then Lieutenant of the Prouince came into the Church amongst the people; and as with many good perswasions he endeuoured to stay the rage of the people, [1] suddenly there was a generall consent of them all; and they cryed out that hee was woorthie of the place; ἀντὶ τοῦ τὴν χειροτονίαν ποιεῖσθαι, and they all desired hee might bee created, or receiue imposition of handes. The Emperour, when hee heard this, wondering at the suddaine consent and agreement of the people, & perceiuing it to be Gods doing, willed the Bishops [2] ἐνεργεῖν τὴν θείαν κλῆσιν χειροτονίᾳ, to yeelde their seruice vnto God (as it were) bidding (them) to impose hands. The people, after they had with one consent chosen Ambrose, desired to haue him, not elected againe, (that was alreadie finished,) but confirmed with imposition of handes; which is there signified by χειροτονίαν: and the Emperour being aduertised, that the people had elected him, required the Bishoppes [3] to yeelde their seruice vnto God; which is there expressed by χειροτονεῖν: χειροτονία is therefore a stretching foorth of the handes belonging to the Bishoppes after the peoples choice is made, which can bee nothing else by the Canons of the Primitiue Church, but imposition of hands; whereby the partie chosen is allowed and authorized to execute his function.

[1] Socrat. lib. 4. ca. 30.

[2] Ibidem.

[3] Ibidem.

The like will appeare in the choice of Chrysostome. After the death of Nectarius Bishoppe of Constantinople, Chrysostome one of the Priestes or Ministers of Antioch was sent for by Arcadius the Emperour, to succeede in the roome of Nectarius. This the Emperour did, [4] ψηφίσματι κοινῷ καὶ πανδήμῳ πάντων τῶν λαῶν, by the (*generall consent or*) common decree of all ioyning together, as wel of the Clergie as Laitie. And when by the Emperors commaundement many other Bishops were come to Constantinople, & amongst them Theophilus Archbishop of Alexandria, to consecrate y bishop newly chosen; Theophilus, for the desire he had to promote

[4] Socrat. lib. 6. ca. 2.

promote a priest of his owne to the place, refused to giue Chrysost. imposition of hands. Upon which refusall, Theophilus was detected to the bishops then assembled, of many crimes and sundrie complaints were offered against him. And Eutropius high chamberlaine to the Emperour, taking the bils of complaint, shewed them to Theophilus, and bad him make his choice, ἢ χειροτονεῖν Ἰωάννην, either to impose hands on Chrysostome; or to answere the things obiected against him. Theophilus fearing the accusations, ἐπέτρεψεν Ἰωάννῃ χειροτονῆσαι, gaue Chrysostome imposition of hands. The election was fully made by the generall consent of the Prince, people, and Clergie, and a Synode of bishops called to consecrate or lay hands on him that was chosen. The Archbishop therefore of Alexandria medled not with the choice of Chrysostome, which was before concluded; but with-held imposition of hands; which by the prerogatiue of his place and dignitie of his sea appertained to him, and so χειροτονεῖν most manifestly by the ecclesiasticall writers is vsed for imposition of handes; which no way belonged to the people, but was alwayes reserued to the Apostles and their successors.

And so much Chrysostome himselfe will witnesse vnto vs; who intreating of the choice of the seuen Deacons made in the 6. of the Acts, vpon the words, ἡμεῖς δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ διακονίᾳ τοῦ λόγου. and (the Apostles) praying, laid hands on them, writeth thus; ἐπιθέντες αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκ προσευχῆς τοῦτο καὶ ἡ χειροτονία ἦν. ἡ χεὶρ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστιν ἡ ἁπτομένη τῆς κεφαλῆς, τοῦ δὲ χειροτονουμένου, καὶ τὸ δοῦναι χειροτονῆσαι. [1] Chrysost. hom. 14. in Acta Apost.

Hands were laied on them with prayer. This is (that which the Grecians call) χειροτονία. the hand of man is laied on; but God worketh all, and his hand it is, that toucheth the head of him that receiueth imposition of hands, if they be laied on as they ought. Where, ἐπέθηκαν τὰς χεῖρας. they laied handes on them, standeth for the Actiue to ἐχειροτονήθησαν. they receiued imposition of hands, and equiualent with both is χειροτονία. which is expounded by these two circumstances, ἡ χεὶρ γὰρ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶν ἡ ἁπτομένη. the hand of man is laid on; and ἡ ἄνωθεν χεὶρ ἅπτεται τῆς κεφαλῆς. the hand (of God) toucheth the head of him that is ordered. Againe, debating the words of S. Paul to Timothie, Neglect not the gift, which was giuen thee by prophesie, μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, with the imposition of handes of the Presbyterie; he saieth, (Paul) speaketh not here of Elders but of bishops, ὁ δὲ ἐπισκόπους λέγει τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν [1] Idem hom. 13. in 1. ad Timoth. c. 4.

αὐτὸν ἐχειροτόνουν. For Elders laid not hands on a Bishop, which Timothie was. Where χειροτονεῖν is vsed by Chrysostome to import & expresse these words of S. Paul, μετὰ χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως, imposition of hands.

The very same exposition of the word χειροτονεῖν is often vsed in the ecclesiasticall history. When Moses was to be made bishop of the Saracens, before the Romane Emperour could haue peace with them; and was brought to Lucius an Arrian and bloudy persecuter, then bishop of Alexandria, to bee consecrated by him;

1 Socrat. li. 4. ca. 36.

[1] ἡ χειροτονίαν αἰτήσῃς, τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν πρὸς λοῦκιον: hee refused imposition of hands with these words to Lucius. I thinke my selfe vnwoorthy for the place of a bishop; but if the state of the common wealth so require; ἐπιθέσθω μοι χεῖρας λοῦκιος. Lucius shall lay no handes on me, for his right hand is full of bloud; and so his friends led him to the mountaines, there to receiue, ἡ χειροτονίαν, imposition of hands of those that were banished (for the trueth.) Likewise when Sabbatius the Iew, that was made priest by Marcianus a bishop of the Nouatians, began to trouble the Church with obseruing and vrging the Passeouer after the Iewish maner, Marcianus

2 Socrat. li. 5. ca. 21.

[2] misliking his owne errour, ἐπὶ χειροτονίᾳ. for imposing handes on him, said; It had bene better for him, ἐν ἀκάνθαις τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιθεῖναι, to haue laied his handes on thornes, then on such priests. And so Basil expressing the words of S. Paul to Timothie, Lay hands hastilie on no man, saieth;

3 Basil. de fini. 70.

[3] ὅτι δεῖ σφόδρα τὰς χειροτονίας ἀσχαλᾶν. Wee must not be easie (*or ouer readie*) to impose hands.

There can then be no question, but as amongst the prophane Grecians χειροτονεῖν did signifie to lift vp the hand in token of liking, because that was their maner in yeelding their consents: so amongst all ecclesiasticall writers, χειροτονεῖν is to laie hands on an other mans head, which the Church of Christ vsed in calling and approouing her bishops and Presbyters, to whom she committed the cure of soules.

And in this sence shall we finde the word euery where occurrent in the Greeke Canons of the auncient Councils; as by fiue hundred examples more might bee shewed, if these were not enough which I haue produced. Whose liking and laisure serueth him to make triall hereof, let him reade the Councils and Fathers here quoted, though not discussed for breuities sake, least in a matter more then plaine, I should bee tedious, and spend both

both paynes and time more then sufficient. The Canons called the Apostles (which I alleage not as theirs; but as agreeing in many things with the auncient rules and orders of the Primitiue Church) the 1. 2. 29. 35. 68. The Councill of Ancyra. ca. 10. 13. The Councill of Neocæsaria. ca. 9. 11. The great Councill of Nice. ca. 4. 16. 19. The Councill of Antioch. ca. 9. 10. 18. 19. 22. The Councill of Laodicea. ca. 5. The generall Councill of Constantinople. ca. 2. 4. The great Councill of Chaleedon. ca. 2. 6. 15. 24. The Councill of Africa. ca. 13. 18. 50. 51. 56. 90. 95. *Basili. epist. 74. 76. Nazianz. in epitaph. patris. Chrysost. de sacerdotio. li. 2. & 4. Epiphan. haeres. 75. Gregorius in vita Nazianz.* and so the Greeke historiographers. *Euseb.* li. 6. ca. 20. *Socrat.* li. 1. ca. 15. li. 2. ca. 6. 12. 13. 24. 26. 35. 44. li. 3. ca. 9. li. 4. ca. 29. li. 5. ca. 5. 8. 15. li. 6. ca. 12. 14. 15. 17. li. 7. ca. 12. 26. 28. 36. 37. *Theodoret.* li. 4. ca. 7. 13. li. 5. ca. 23. *Sozome.* li. 3. ca. 3. 4. 6. li. 4. ca. 8. 12. 20. 22. 24. li. 5. ca. 12. 13. li. 6. ca. 8. 13. 23. 24. 38. li. 7. ca. 3. 8. 9. 10. 18. li. 8. ca. 2. *Euagrius*, li. 2. ca. 5. 8. 10. li. 3. ca. 7. All which places, and infinite others proue the word χειροτονία to bee taken amongst the Greeke Diuines, as I haue sayd, for imposition of hands, and to be an act proper to the bishops, not common to the people; & therefore by no means to import a collecting of the peoples voices, or gathering their consents, although I denie not, but sometimes it signifieth simply to choose, by whom soeuer it be done, one or many.

S. Paul so vseth the word, commending Luke vnto the Corinthians; [1] We haue sent the brother whose prayse is in the Gospell, [illegible] not onely so, but also hee is chosen of the Churches to bee a companion with vs in our iourney, (*or to goe with vs*) to carry this grace or contribution which is ministred by vs. In collecting and conueying the liberalitie of the Gentiles vnto the Saints at Ierusalem, S. Paul would not entermeddle alone, least any should distrust him, or misreport him, as couetously detaining, or fraudulently diuerting any part of that which was sent; but he tooke such to goe with him, and to be priuie to his doings, as the Churches that were contributers liked & allowed; those he calleth [2] χειροτονηθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, the messengers of the Churches, & they were chosen by the Churches themselues, not by the Apostle, because he would auoid all suspicion & blame in this

[1] 2. Cor. 8.

[2] Ibidem.

seruice,

seruice, and [1] prouide for the sincere report and opinion of his doings [2] euen with men. I finde the worde likewise vsed once or [3] twice in epistles that are attributed to Ignatius; where [4] χειροτονῆσαι ὀφείλει ἐπίσκοπον, is to choose some Bishop that shoulde be sent as a Legate to Antioch in Syria to procure and confirme the peace of that Church; and not to choose one that shoulde be Bishop of Antioch. For as yet Ignatius their Bishop was liuing, who wrote that Epistle; and what had the Churches of Philadelphia and Smyrna to doe with the choosing of a newe Bishop for the Church of Antioch? But as other Churches vsed in any contention or unquietnesse of their neighbours to send, some their Bishop, some an Elder or Deacon to appease the strife; and reduce the Church to concord: so Ignatius prayed them in his absence, being now Christes prisoner, to send some sufficient Legate to heale the breach that was made, and quench the flame that was kindled in his Church at Antioch.

[1] Ibidem.

[2] Ignat. ad Philadelphies epist. 6. & ad Polycarpum epist. 8.

For the signification and etimologie of the worde χειροτονία this may suffice: by which it is euident, no proofe can be made from the fact of Paul and Barnabas in the foureteenth Chapter of the Acts, that the people or Presbyterie concurred with them in the election of Elders, or imposition of hands; yea rather, since χειροτονία with all Greeke Councels, Fathers and Stories, is to, ordaine by laying on of hands; both the generall vse of the word amongst all Greeke Diuines, and the coherence of the Text do enforce, that Paul and Barnabas without assistants or consent of others, (for any thing that is expressed) imposed handes on meete Pastours in every place and Church that was destitute. And this translation of the word hath farre better warrant then that which is lately crept into some English Bibles; they ordained Elders by election.

The place, 1. Tim. 4. is left, whereas some thinke, Saint Paul confesseth, that others ioyned with him in the calling of Timothie. But what if the word πρεσβυτερίου signifie there not the Colledge of Elders, but rather the degree and office of an Elder; how can we thence inferre that others ioyned with Paul in laying hands on Timothie? The Commentaries vnder Ieroms name doe so expound it, [3] *Prophetia gratiam habebat cum ordinatione Episcopatus*. He receiued the grace of Propheſie, together with the order (or calling) of a Bishop. And so Primasius, Haymo and others vnder-

[3] Hieron. in 1. Timoth. 4.

stand

stand it. Yea Lyra himselfe could find, that [1] *Presbyterium est dignitas vel officium Presbyteri (the word) Presbyterium* (in this place of S. Paul) is the dignitie or office of an Elder, and he speaketh nothing amisse; for the Greeke word hath that signification as vsuall as the other. [1] Lyra in 1. Tim. 4.

In the 2. Canon of the great Nicene Councill, the fathers misliked that some were promoted [2] ἀμα τῇ βαπτίσματι εἰς πρεσβυτερίαν, ἢ εἰς ἀρχιερωσύνην, together with their baptisme vnto the office or dignitie of a Bishop, or of an Elder; that is, vnto a Bishoprike or an Eldership. The Councill of Antioch, the 18. Canon, taketh order, that such as were appointed to be bishops, and could not bee receiued in the places to which they were named, should returne to the Churches where they were before, and retaine their former degree and calling of an Elder: but if they troubled or disquieted the bishops alreadie setled [3] ἀφαιρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τῆς πρεσβυτερίας, euen the (*degree and*) honour of the Eldership (which they had) should be taken from them. The Councill of Africa in their epistle to Bonifacius bishop of Rome, aduertising him what they had done with Apiarius for whom hee had written vnto them, saieth in this wise; [4] Wee thought good, that Apiarius the Priest should bee remooued from the Church of Sica, but retaine the honour of his degree, καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς πρεσβυτερίου λειτουργίαν, might (in any other Church) where he would & could execute the office of his Priesthood. [2] Concil. Nicen. ca. 2. [3] Concil. Antioch. ca. 18. [4] Concil. Afric. ca. 136.

Eusebius vseth the word in that sense very often. The bishops (saieth he) of Cesaria and Ierusalem, iudging Origene to be worthie of the highest degree, [5] χεῖρας εἰς πρεσβυτερίαν αὐτῷ ἐπέθεσαν, laid hands on him for an Eldership; or to make him an Elder. Againe, the bishops of Cesaria prayed him to expound the Scriptures vnto the whole Congregation, [6] τῆς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου χειροτονίας ἀδόκιμος ἔτι τυγχάνων, when as yet he had not receiued imposition of hands of an Eldership, or of Priesthood. Not long after being sent into Palestine vpon some vrgent ecclesiasticall affaires, [7] τὸ πρεσβυτερίου χειροθεσίαν παρὰ τῶν ἐν τῇδε Θεοσεβεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ἐκομίσατο, receiued imposition of hands of Priesthood by the bishops of those parts. And Cornelius speaking of Novatus, saieth; he gate his Priesthood or Eldership by the fauour of the bishop, [8] ἐπιδόντος αὐτῷ χεῖρας εἰς πρεσβυτερίου κλῆρον, that laied hands on him for the lot or office of an Eldership. Socrates telling how Proclus [5] Euseb. lib. 6. ca. 8. [6] Idem lib. 6. cap. 20. [7] Idem, lib. 6. cap. 23. [8] Idem, lib. 6. cap. 43.

rose

rose to the bishop of Constantinople, saieth that Atticus first placed him, [1] εἰς τὸν τάξιν τῆς διακονίας, in the order of Deaconship; after he was thought worthie προεστῶτος, and by Sisinnius preferred ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον τῆς Νικομηδείας, to the bishoprike of Cyzicum; where διακονία, προεστῶτος, θρόνος, stand in order for the degree and place of a Deacon, Elder, and Bishop. And surely either the Greeke tongue wanteth a word to expresse the office and calling of an Elder deriued from προεστῶς, which were absurd; or els the two words προεστῶτος and προεστῶτα must signifie as well the office and degree of euery Elder, as the whole number and assembly of Elders.

[1] Socrates lib. 7. ca. 41.

If any man thinke this exposition to be friuolous or curious, let him reade what Caluin confesseth of it; [2] They which thinke the word *Presbyterium*, to bee here a nowne Collectiue, and put for the Colledge of Elders, thinke well in my iudgement. *Tametsi omnibus expensis, diuersum sensum non male quadrare fateor, vt sit nomen officij*; Though all things weighed, I confesse the other sense agreeth well (with the words) that it should be a name of office. Then doeth this place make no forcible proofe that the Presbyterie did concurre with Paul in laying hands on Timothie. That Paul laid hands on Timothie, cannot be doubted; the words of Paul vnto him are plaine: [3] Stirre vp the grace of God, that is in thee, by the imposition of my hands. That the Presbyterie ioined to him in that action is supposed out of the words of Paul, 1. Tim. 4. but can not thence be concluded; as we see by the diuers signification of the word προεσβυτερίου, and by the confession of old and new writers.

[2] Caluinus in 1. Tim. 4.

[3] 2. Tim. 1.

But Caluin, you say, affirmeth the other exposition to be the better; and so doe Chrysostome, Ambrose, Theodorete, Theophilact and others. Nay, what if Caluin reiect the other exposition as contrary to Pauls owne words els where vttered? Looke his institutions: his words be these. [4] *Paulus ipse alibi se, non alios complures, Timotheo manus imposuisse commemorat. Admoneo te, (inquit) vt gratiam suscites, quæ in te est per impositionem manuum mearum. Nam quod in altera epistola de impositione manuum Presbyterij dicitur, non ita accipio, quasi Paulus de Seniorum Collegio loquatur; sed hoc nomine ordinationem ipsam intelligo; quasi dicat, fac vt gratia, quam per manuum impositionem recepisti, quum te Presbyterum crearem, non sit irrita.* Paul himselfe saieth, that he, and not others moe, laid hands on Timothie. Stirre vp the grace, saieth

[4] Caluinus Institutio. li. 4. ca. 3.

saieth hee, that is in thee by the laying on of my hands. for that which is written in the other epistle of imposition of handes of the Eldership, I do not so take it, as if Paul spake of the Colledge of Elders, but by that word I vnderstand the very ordering (*of Timothie*;) as if Paul had said, Looke that the grace bee not in vaine, which thou receiuedst by imposition of handes when I created (*or made*) thee an Elder.

If leposing a litle the names of men, wee examine the grounds of both interpretations, or remember but your owne positions, we shall soone perceiue, which is the likelier. That the Presbyterie ioined with Paul in laying handes on Timothie, no reason enforceth; onely the ambiguitie of the word, which hath those two significations, leadeth some writers to that surmise: on the other side, that Paul himselfe laid hands on Timothie without others to ioine with him; besides the wordes of Paul, which are plaine enough for that purpose, the excellencie of Timothies function, were he Euangelist or Bishop, and sufficiencie of Pauls hands do strongly enduce. Your selues say, Timothie was an Euangelist, that is one which attended and helped the Apostle in his trauels for the Gospell; & to appoint who should folow the Apostle in his voiages, pertained not to the Presbyterie of any one Church, but lay wholy in the Apostles owne choice & liking; as appeareth by his refusing Marke, & taking Silas, when Barnabas departed from him, because he 'would not take Marke into his company. Againe, the power & gifts of an Euangelist or Bishop, so farre exceeded the degree of Presbyters, that they could not be derined frō them, but from the Apostles. As therefore Timothie could not haue the calling neither of an Euangelist, nor of a Bishop, frō the Presbyterie, but frō the Apostle; so was he to receiue imposition of handes, (the signe & seale of his calling,) frō the Apostle & not from the Presbyterie. Lastly, since Paul saith, his handes were laid on Timothie, what needed the helpe of other mens handes? Were not Pauls handes sufficient, without assistance to giue him the grace either of a prophet, Euangelist, bishop or pastor? The first prophets & Pastors to whom the Apostle committed the churches of the Gentils: from whose handes did they receiue their gifts? not from Pauls? The if Pauls handes were able to make the Pastors and prophets, who as yet there was no Presbyterie, had he now lost his Apostolike power, that he could not do the like to Timothie?

'Act. 15.

But

But Chrysostome and others affirme, that more beside Paul laid hands on Timothie.] Chrysostome cleane excludeth the Presbyterie by saying; [1] The Presbyters could not impose hands on the bishop; those are his words before alleaged. Theodoret saieth, [2] *Presbyterium hic vocat eos, qui Apostolicam gratiam acceperunt.* Paul here calleth them the Presbyterie, which had Apostolike grace, that is, episcopall as himselfe expoundeth it. Theophilact followeth Chrysostome, and taketh the Presbyterie for the bishops, saying; [3] *Aduerte quantum valeant Pontificum manus impositæ*: Marke what force the imposing of handes by bishops hath. Ambrose inclineth to one, rather then to many; his words are, [4] *Gratiam tamen dari ordinatoris significat per prophetiam & manuum impositionem.* That the grace of the ordainer was giuen, he signifieth by prophesie and imposition of hands.

[1] *Chrysost. hom. 13. in 1. ad Timoth.*

[2] *Theodor in 4. ca. 1. ad Tim.*

[3] *Theophil. in 4. ca. 1. ad Tim.*

[4] *Ambros. in 4. ca. 1. ad Tim.*

As yet then we haue no proofe by the Scriptures, that in elections of Elders the people concurred with the Apostles; nor that in imposing hands the Presbyterie ioyned with them: the places cited to that intent, proue no such thing. Matthias was chosen by lots; the seuen Deacons your selues say, had no charge of the word and Sacraments: at Lystra and Iconium, Paul and Barnabas laied hands on such as they found meete to be Elders; and Timothie being superiour to Presbyters, was of force to haue the gifts & grace of his calling, not from them, but from the Apostles hands. I haue not racked nor wrested the places from their naturall sense, nor the words from their proper significance. [illegible] with ecclesiasticall writers to him that will not purposely shut his eyes against the truth, is to impose hands; [illegible] is the office and calling of an Elder, as well as the number of Elders; and that sense Caluin not only cõfesseth to [5] agree wel with the text, but resolutely vpholdeth it in his institutions, as the right meaning of S. Pauls words; the Presbyterie must goe seeke for some other hold for the imposition of their hands. The fathers Greeke and Latin, repell that as an ouersight or conceit, in our late writers.

[5] *Caluin in 1. ad Tim. 4.*

How then were elections made, and imposition of hands giuen in the Apostles time? I confesse I had rather read other mens iudgements herein, then write mine owne, so as they take the paines soberly to proue that they say, and not peremptorily to auouch what they like; the which, if it might be obserued in the Church of

Christ,

Christ, would a great deale the sooner appease and bestraine the furies that now afflict the minders, and quench the coales of most men, not knowing where to rest, or what to believe: yet least our silence should encourage the wicked still to persist in their fashions, I will not be grieved to expresse what I suppose was the auncient and Apostolicall manner of electing Elders, and imposing hands, and first of imposing of hands; whence it was derived, and to what end it was used.

The laying of hands on mens heads, was an auncient rite amongst the Hebrews, vsed in making their prayers for any, and devoting with them, but then against any, confirmed and ratified by God himselfe: [1] see ob, when he blessed the children of Ioseph, laied his hands on their heads. Moses was willed by God [2] to put his hands vpon Iosuha, before all the Congregation, and in their sight to giue him his charge, that he might bee ruler of the Lordes people. Euery man by the lawes of Moses, was to [3] lay his hand on the head of his sacrifice, that he presented vnto God. The two Elders that falsly accused Susanna, [4] laied their handes on her head, whiles they gaue euidence against her. The sonne of God when he came in flesh, did not reiect that ceremonie, but did rather strengthen it. When little children were brought vnto him, [5] he laied his handes on them and blessed them. [6] The sicke and such as were [7] possessed with deuils, were healed by the laying on of his hands; and to the Lay-church he gaue that power, that they [8] should lay their hands on the sicke and recouer them.

The Apostles receiuing it from their master, not onely vsed it in curing of diseases, and in their publike blessings, prayers and supplications for any man that his labour might succeed to the glorie of God, and good of others; but also retained it in the calling and confirming of such as the spirite of grace would make meete for the seruice of Christes Church, and in conferring the gifts of the holy Ghost on them. Paul [9] laied handes on the father of Publius; when hee cured him of his feauer and bloudie fluxe. Ananias [10] laied handes on Paul, when as yet hee was not baptized, that hee might receiue his eye-sight. When the holie Ghost commaunded to separate and dismisse Paul and Barnabas, that they might attend the worke, whereto hee had appointed them; Simeon, Lucius, and Manahen, that prophe-

[1] Gen. 48.
[2] Num. 27.
[3] Leuit. 1. 3. 4.
[4] Hist. Susanna.
[5] Math. 19. Mark. 10.
[6] Mark. 6.
[7] Luc. 13.
[8] Mark. 16.
[9] Act. 28.
[10] Act. 9. 17.

Act. 13. sent him preachers at Antioch together with them, fasted, prayed, and laied their handes on them and let them goe. When the seuen were chosen to see the whole allowance prouided for, and Act. 6. the goods of the faithfull well dispensed, the Apostles prayed for them and laied their handes on them.

Here first appeareth the ordaining of Deacons, the whole election for the triall of them pertaineth to discretion and diligence to dispose the goods and almes of the Church, the people were consulted for matters not exceeding their reach and appertaining to their calling, but the sentence the Apostles, and none els laied handes, though the presence of Elders and Deacons were then in place with them. Mother though the multitude were meete Iudges of those things which were then required in the Deacons, yet could they no more iudge of the gifts and habilities of Pastours and Prophets, then blinde men of colours, Vnskilfulnes discerneth, ignorance vnderstandeth and disableth to Iudge. For the word and Sacraments the people are to follow their leaders, not to iudge of their talents. Of manners, you thinke, they may iudge, and in that respect their consent needfull to the chusing of Elders. Therof hereafter in place more opportune; wee now speake of the gifts and graces that were requisite to the function of Pastours and Prophets; and those I say the multitude neither could, neither can discerne or examine. Howbeit this is not our question who could best iudge of euery mans gifts, but who then could giue them. For at the first planting of the faith, the Apostles were to make men fitte, whome they found vnfitte: will not to discerne the gifts of such as were fitte; and to that ende had they power with imposition of handes to giue the holy Ghost, to such as otherwise without those gifts, and before those gifts were made vnfitte.

An example will make it playne. When the people of Samaria beleeued the preaching of Philip and were baptized in the name of Christ; The holie Ghost came on none of them till Peter and Iohn came downe and prayed for them, and laied their handes on them; and so by laying on of the Apostles handes, the holy Ghost was giuen (them.) The miraculous

raculous gifts of the spirit, to speake with strange tongues, to heale all diseases, but specially to preach, pray and prophesie by reuelation without all humane learning or labour, it pleased God at the first spreading of the Gospell, to bestowe on many for the edifying of his Church and worke of the ministerie, for so the Apostle writeth, that the manifestation of the spirit is giuen to euerie man to profite (the Church) withall. These gifts the Apostles gaue with laying on of handes, not to all that beleeued, or desired them, but to these persons, whome the spirit pointed out, and prepared for the spreading of the truth, and gaining of the Church, and in such measure as the spirit pleased, to comfort, exhort and edifie the Church withall. In Samaria Peter and Iohn found no meete men to vndertake the charge of the Church after their departure, (for they were latelie conuerted, and though yet trayned in the mysteries of Christian religion, much lesse acquainted with the Scriptures, by which their doctrine should bee directed, and they enabled to teach, conuince and instruct in righteousnesse) but by imposition of handes they did furnish such as the holie Ghost named vnto them, with all things needfull for their callings, making some of them Prophetes, some Pastours, some otherwise, and endowing euery one of them with graces answerable to their functions. In which rule wee may not bee so foolish as to thinke the people did elect, on whom Peter and Iohn should impose handes, but contrarywise the holie Ghost did name by voyce or by prophesie, on whome hee would bestowe his gifts, and on those the Apostles laied handes.

Eph. 4.

1. Cor. 12.

1. Cor. 14.

2. Tim. 3.

The like did Paul at Ephesus to the Twelue disciples, that neuer heard of the gifts of the holy Ghost before. Hee laied his handes on them, and the holy Ghost came on them, and they spake with tongues and prophesied, that is, they were endued with gifts and graces meete for the gathering of the Saints together, and worke of the ministerie. Wee must confesse (saieth Beza, that in this place is described the first founding of the Ephesine Church, whereas before this, there were no orderly assemblies of the godly there; and therefore the Apostle

Act. 19.

Ephes. 4.

7 Beza Annotationes in Act. 19.

stle asketh them concerning those gifts, with which God vsed speciallie to furnish such as were admitted to the gouernement of the Churches; to wit, whether handes were laied on them, or they endued with those giftes of the holy Ghost, by which it might be gathered they were called by God to the sacred ministerie, as namely the gift of tongues & of prophesie. The iudgement of Beza I take to bee very sound and good in this place, and thence if I bee not deceiued, I rightly conclude; that Paul called these Twelue, and laied hands on them to make them Prophets and Teachers in the Church of Ephesus, when as yet there was neither assemblie to elect them, nor Presbyterie to ioyne with him; and consequentlie the imposition of Pauls handes alone without the Presbyterie was most sufficient to make Euangelists, Prophets and Teachers in the Church of Christ.

Yea, what if the Presbyterie might not ioyne with Paul in that action; but to giue the giftes of the holy Ghost with imposing handes was the peculiar signe and honour of his Apostleship? At Samaria was Philip, and euen there hee [1] conuerted and baptized the citie, and yet Philip there present might not ioyne with Peter and Iohn in laying on of handes, but they two did it without Philip. Paul neuer trauelled alone; and at this time [2] Timothie and others did minister vnto him, and yet hee alone laied handes on these Twelue to make them Prophetes. That which hee saieth to the Romanes, I know, [3] when I come, I shall come vnto you with the abundance of the blessing of the Gospell of Christ; may very well beare this sense, that he should come vnto them with the plentifull giftes of Gods spirite to bee powred on them by his handes. That which he saieth to the Corinthians, can haue no other meaning; [4] The signes of an Apostle were wrought among you, with signes, wonders, and powers; for what is it, wherein you were inferior to other Churches? proouing himselfe to be an Apostle by the gifts and graces that God bestowed on them by his handes. Thus much and more is confessed by Beza, a man of no small account, who grounding his opinion on the promise of Christ made onely to the Twelue, & accordingly performed, saieth; [5] All the Twelue assembled on the day

[1] Act. 8.

[2] Acts 19. v. 22.

[3] Rom. 15.

[4] 2. Cor. 12.

[5] Beza, de ministrorum euangelij gradibus, &c.

of

of Pentecost, expecting the promise made, for the good of the whole Church, but not vnto the whole Church, nor to all the Disciples, but properly & peculiarly to these (*twelue.*) Luke 24. 49. Math. 28, 16. & 19. Marc. 16, 14. & 15. Act. 1, 2. & 4. In the processe of the Storie, they are all said to be of Galilee, neither is Peter sayd to stand foorth with any other Collegues then with these eleuen; Act. 2, 7. & 14. & 37. so that it euidently appeareth this solemne sending of the holy Ghost pertained to none other, then to those twelue appointed with a speciall abundance of the holy spirite, to plant Churches throughout the world; by whose ministerie (*or handes*) afterward the giftes of the holie Ghost might bee giuen to such others, as should be their helpers.

That none besides the Twelue receiued the holy Ghost, when they did, or that all the rest receiued the same by the Apostles hands, and not immediately from God, I dare not affirme. S. Austen saieth, [1] The holy Ghost came from heauen, and filled an hundred and twentie (*of them*) sitting in one place. The seuen Deacons were full of the holy Ghost before the Apostles handes were laied on them. And Peter testifieth the same of the Gentiles that heard him preach in Cornelius house. [2] As I began to speake, the holy Ghost fell on them, euen as vpon vs at the beginning. So that God gaue the power of his spirite as well to others, as to the Apostles, and that without the Apostles handes: but I verily beleeue, that at the first none gaue the giftes and graces of the holie Ghost by imposing handes, saue onely the Apostles. And so saieth Chrysostome. [3] Philip baptising gaue not the holy Ghost; and in deed he could not; *Hoc enim donum solorum Apostolorum erat*; for the giuing thereof belonged onely to the Apostles. Am a-gaine, [4] Others receiued power to doe signes, but not to giue the holy Ghost. *Igitur hoc erat in Apostolis singulare*; this was peculiar to the Apostles. So that not onely the Apostles might impose handes on such as should be Prophets and Pastours in the Church, to make them fitte for their callings, by the power and giftes of Gods spirite, without the Presbyterie; but in that case the Presbyterie might not arrogate so much vnto themselues as to ioyne with the Apostles in giuing the holy Ghost, which was the very seale of their Apostleship. and therefore whom the Spi-

1 *August. in epist. Iohan. tract. 2.*

2 *Act. 11. v. 15.*

3 *Chrysost. hom. 18. in Act. ca. 8.*

4 *Ibidem.*

rite appointed, the Apostles ordained with imposing hands without either people or Presbyterie to ioyne with them, to ratifie their election or action. Mens voyces might bee spared when Gods will was reuealed; and the spirite gaue his giftes, not as others consented or liked, but where himselfe purposed and appointed. The holie Ghost then electing and choosing, howe could the Presbyterie take vpon them either to confirme it without presumption; or reuerse it without rebellion against God and his spirite?

Can any bee shewed that was so named by the spirite to receiue imposition of handes from the Apostles?] No doubt the Apostles were directed as well to the persons whom they should choose, as to the places where they should teach. When Paul would haue preached in Phrygia, he [1] was forbidden of the holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia. When he sought to goe into Bithynia, [1] the spirite suffered him not, but the Lord called him by a vision into Macedonia. At Antioch [2] the holy Ghost sayd; Separate mee Barnabas and Paul for the worke whereto I haue called them. Of Timothie Paul saieth, [3] the propheſies *(or Prophets)* spake of him before, that he should fight a good fight. Neither was this priuate to Timothie, but as Chrysostome noteth it, it was vsuall in the Apostles times: [4] *Tunc quia nihil fiebat humanum, sacerdotes ex prophetia veniebant. Quid est ex prophetia? ex Spiritu sancto.* Then, because nothing was done by men, the Pastours were made by propheſie. What is, by propheſie? by the holy Ghost, *(speaking by himselfe, or by the Prophets)* as Saul was shewed by propheſie where he lay hid amongst the stuffe, as the holy Ghost sayd; separate me Paul and Barnabas, so was Timothie chosen. And likewise Theodoret vpon the same words of the Apostle to Timothie, writeth thus; Thou hast not thy calling, saith Paul, [5] by men, but thou receiuedst that order by diuine reuelation. And so the Scholies collected by Oecumenius, [6] By the reuelation of the spirite, Timothie was chosen of Paul to bee his Disciple, and circumcised, and ordained a Bishop. Yea this dured a long time after Pauls death, as Eusebius reporteth out of Clemens Alexandrinus, all the while S. Iohn the Apostle liued. of whom hee writeth, that after his returne [7] out of Patmos vnto Ephesus, hee went to the Churches of the

[1] Act. 16.

[2] Act. 13.

[3] 1. Tim. 1.

[4] *Chrysost. hom. 3 in 1. ca. 1. ad Timotheum.*

[5] *Theod. in 1. ca. 2. ad Timoth.*

[6] *Oecumenius in 2. ca. 1. ad Tim.*

[7] *Euseb. l. 3. ca. 23.*

the Gentils adioyning, some where appointing Bishops, somewhere setting whole Churches in order, ἵνα τὰ λείποντα διορθώσῃ καὶ καταστήσῃ κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους, some where supplying the Clergie, with such as the spirite named, or drawing lots for such as the spirite signified. So that thirtie yeeres after Peter and Paul were dead, the holy Ghost signified to S. Iohn whom hee should take into the Clergie; and for auoiding ambition and contention, he drew them by lots; euen as we read in the Acts was done in the choice of Matthias.

If you aske mee, what was the generall rule for elections and ordinations in the Apostles times; in a doubtfull case I must returne a doubtfull answere. There are three sortes of elections mentioned in the new Testament, By the spirite, By lots, By voices. By lots was Matthias chosen; by voyces the seuen Deacons. By the spirite speaking in his owne person, were Paul and Barnabas called from Antioch to preach to the Gentiles. By the spirite speaking in the Prophets, was Timothie designed. [1]Neglect not the grace which was giuen thee by prophesie with imposition of hands of an Eldership. And againe, [2]This commandement I commit to thee, according to the prophesies, that went before of thee. The Apostles were warned by the spirite, as well of the parties on whom he would bestow his giftes, as of the places whither they should goe, or where they should staie. [3]The spirite spake to Philip, to ioyne himselfe to the Eunuches charet; and [4]to Peter, willing him to goe with Cornelius messengers. Ananias and his wife would needes trie whether the spirite in Peter knew the secretes of their dealings: but their tempting the holy Ghost in the Apostle was sharply reuenged in them both. [5]If I come againe, saieth Paul, I will not spare, seeing you seeke experience of Christ, that speaketh in me. By that spirite were Peter and Iohn directed on whom they should lay handes at Samaria; and so was Paul at Ephesus, when hee laied the first foundation of that Church. And in that sense hee might afterward truely say to the Pastours and Elders of Ephesus, [6]Take heede to the flocke where the holy Ghost made you ouerseers; for it was the holie Ghosts doyng, both to notifie the persons vnto Paul, that should receiue imposition of hands, and to powre out his wonderfull blessings on them to make them meete

[1] 1.Tim.4.
[2] 1.Tim.1.
[3] Act.8.v.29.
[4] Act.11.v.12.
[5] 2.Cor.13.
[6] Act.20.

meete for the calling of Pastours and Prophets, whereto hee had chosen them.

Whatsoeuer the Apostles did, that had a most plentifull measure of Gods spirite farre aboue Pastours, Prophets and Euangelists: yet their followers, for example, Timothie and Tite, were not to impose hands without the people and Presbyterie concurring with them.] I haue heard this often and earnestly asserted, but I could neuer yet see it prooued. The greatest ground of this presumption is, for that the Apostles themselues did so; from whose example their scholers would not rashlie depart. But as we finde by better view, the Apostles did not so. by lots and by Prophets, directed by mens wils, but by Gods spirit, the Apostles choose Elders; or rather by laying on their hands, as the holie Ghost guided them, they did furnish such as before were neither meete nor able to sustaine that charge with the gifts of the spirit fit for that calling: by the voyces and liking of the people, they made no Pastors nor Prophets, that I read; and therfore I must haue leaue to thinke that Tite and Timothie vsed rather the helpe of Prophesie to finde whom the spirit would name, thē the consents or suffrages of the people. for in their times the gifts of the spirite were not quenched, yea the Prophets that were vnder the Apostles, continued vnder them; and these two gifts, the [1] reuealing of secrets, and [2] discerning of spirites, which the Prophets and Euangelists had, (though in lesse measure then the Apostles) serued chiefly to distinguish who were fit or vnfit for the seruice of Christes Church. Whē Prophets failed, the Church was forced to come to voices; but so long as the spirite declared by the mouthes of the Prophets whom hee had chosen, the consent of the people or Presbyterie might not be required.

[1] 1.Cor.14.25.
[2] 1.Cor.12.10.

The Apostle giueth rules to Timothie and Tite, what maner of men must be chosen, & how they must be qualified before they be elected.] Paul doeth not teach the people whom they should elect, but appointeth Timothie and Titus whom they should admit. To preuent ambition and emulation in the competitors, affection and dissention in the electors, lots were first liked by the Apostles, and retained a long time after by S. Iohn; and to disappoint seducing and lying spirites then crept into the world, and into the Church, these rules were prescribed as a touchstone for Timothie and Titus, to discern the spirit of trueth speaking sincerely, from the spirit of

of errour, flattering and admiring the persons of men for aduantage sake. For as God gaue the power & grace of his spirite to his Church in great abundance to illustrate the glorie & enlarge the kingdome of his sonne: so the deuill ceased not to intermixe whole swarmes of false and deceitfull workemen to obscure the brightnes and hinder the increase of Christes Church; and therefore the Apostle setteth downe what maner of men Tite and Timothie shall lay handes on, & whom they shall refuse, lest they be partakers of their sinnes.

Paul *could not feare lest the holy Ghost speaking by the Prophets would name men vnworthie the place.*] Paul saw the nũber of false Prophets already risen, and euery day likely to rise, and foresaw the poyson and danger of their deceits and pretences; and for that cause setteth down a perpetuall canon to the Church for euer, what vices must be shunned, and vertues required in a Pastour and Preacher. Such did the holie Ghost name whiles hee ruled the mouthes of the Prophets; and such for euer should be called euen when the gift of prophesie was decayed.

The Primitiue Church vsed alwayes to elect her Pastors by the suffrages of the people; *and* Cyprian *saieth, it is none other then a diuine tradition, and Apostolike obseruation.*] I shall haue place and time anone to speake of the custome of the Church and opinion of the fathers; till then I reserue the handling of both. I am now searching the Scriptures and viewing the word of God, whether it can thence be proued, that Pastours and Elders were or ought to be chosen by the consent of the people; and for my part I professe I finde none. I see some men men zealously bent to authorize it by the will and commandement of God: I dare not professe to bee so priuie to his will without his word. In the old Testament [1] Aaron was called of God, and al the [2] Leuites according to their families were like wise assigned to their places; the children succeeded in their fathers roomes; the Prophets were inspired from aboue, and none elected; [3] Moses, [4] Iosua and the Iudges were appointed by God, as also the [5] Princes of the twelue Tribes. The seuenty Elders were such as were [6] knowen, (not chosen,) to be Elders and Rulers of the people; and to make Captains ouer 1000. 100. and 10. Moses [7] tooke the chiefe of euery Tribe: to [8] Saul God gaue the kingdome by lottes; and after to [9] Dauid by voyce; their successours inherited or intruded. I see in all these neither

[1] Hebr.5.
[2] Numb.3.
[3] Exo.3.
[4] Numb.27.
[5] Numb.1.
[6] Numb.11.
[7] Deut.1.
[8] 1.Sam.10.
[9] 1.Sam.16.

Politicall

Politicall Magistrate nor Leuiticall Minister chosen by the suffrages of the people. For the new Testament I haue often sayd, the people made no choice there that I reade, but only of the seuē Deacons, and they were to be chosen by the people because they were to be put in trust by the people, and not by the Apostles to dispose the goodes and landes of all the Disciples at their discretions. And though the Apostles did will the people to prouide them meete men to serue their tables; yet this is no reason to conclude they did, or should do the like in the choice of Prophets and Pastors. For the Deacons by your doctrine were to dispence the earthly riches of men, not the heauenly treasures of God, as did the Pastours and Prophets; whose giftes were giuen them by the Apostles hands, and not by peoples voices.

Paul and Barnabas *in euery Church where they came, ordained Elders by the election of the people, as Saint* Luke *writeth in the 14. of the Actes.*] This is the onely place of the new Testament that can be brought to make any shew for the popular elections of Elders; and this is so plaine a peruerting of the Text, that I hope the learned will no more trouble the worlde with it. They imposed hands to make Pastours and Prophets in the Churches as they trauelled; for so the word signifieth with all Greeke diuines; popular electiōs they made none. For I still auouch, that the Apostles as they iourneyed, found none fit for those places, whom the people might choose; but by imposing their hands as the spirite directed, not as the multitude fansied, made men fit, giuing them those gifts of the spirite, that were requisite for their calling. If you doubt the trueth thereof, marke well the ordaining of the first Deacons. The choice was referred to the multitude, whose Officers and Agents the Deacons were; but in laying hands on them, neither Barnabas, nor the rest of the seauentie Disciples, which were then in that fellowship, and Elders in the Church of Ierusalem, had any thing to doe; the Apostles, and none else layed handes on them.

None yet had receiued the holie Ghost but the Apostles; and therefore none could giue the holy Ghost besides the Apostles.] This is a shift that hoodeth some mens eies; but it will neuer holde the hammering. Saint Luke saith, that after the day of Pentecost in which time all the Apostles without question were filled with the holie

holie Ghost, [1] As they prayed, the place where they were assembled together, was shaken, and they were al filled with the holie Ghost. The Apostles were before this replenished with the holie Ghost; now the rest, eth man in his proportion, receiued the gifts of the spirit, to serue the Church of Christ. Vnoubtedly the seauen, and sundrie others had receiued the holy Ghost before this time, though not in that high measure which the Apostls had. The words of the twelue to the rest of the Disciples are these; [2] Wherfore, brethren, looke ye out among you, seuen men of honest report and full of the holie ghost and of wisedome, whome wee may appoint to this businesse. *ergo* these seuen, and moe, (there had otherwise beene no choice) were full of the holy Ghost before this election and imposition of handes. If you confesse that none could giue the holie Ghost by imposition of hands but the Apostles; (which I take to be most true; and to be fully prooued, as wel by their imposing handes on the seauen Deacons in the presence of the whole Church without any Elder or Disciple to ioyne with them, as by the like done at Samaria by Peter and Iohn, and [illegible] by Philip, who yet conuerted and baptized them, and wrought great signes and woonders amongst them,) then you confesse as much as I woulde inferre; that none coulde make Pastours and Prophets by imposing handes but the Apostles; and therefore in that case the Presbyterie might not looke to ioyne with them.

[1] Act. 4. v. 31.

[2] Act. 6.

Many imposed hands besides the Apostles.] To other purposes they did: but to create Elders, there is no proofe that the Presbyterie ioyned with the Apostles in imposition of hands. *Did not the Presbyterie at Antioch lay hands on* Paul *and* Barnabas, *when they sent them to preach the Gospel vnto the Gentiles?*] The Prophets did, the Presbyters did not. [3] Marke was then at Antioch as Saint Luke noteth; yet imposed he no hands, when the Prophets did. Neither did the Prophets call Paul, or send him to preach to the Gentiles; the holie Ghost himselfe spake in the middest of the Congregation, and willed Paul and Barnabas to be [4] separated for the worke, to which he had chosen them; and with prayer ouer them, and for them, they were dismissed.

[3] Act. 12. v. 25.

[4] Act. 13.

[5] Paul *was here ordained, saith* Chrysost. *to be an Apostle, that he might preach with power.*] Chrysost. meaneth that Paul receiued here imposition of hands to attend y execution of his Apostleship amongst

[5] Chrysost. homil. 27. in Act. Apostolorum.

amongst the rest of the Gentiles, which till then the spirite had reserued: but he receiued no power from them to be an Apostle, nor to preach vnto the Gentiles. Paul saith of himselfe that he was an
[1] Galat.1. Apostle[1] neither of men, nor by man; and that the
[2] Galat.2. [2]chiefest (*gaue him nothing or*) added nothing vnto him, that is, neither authoritie nor instruction; much lesse did these three of a meaner calling then the Apostles, lay hands on him to make him an Apostle: that power belonged onely to Christ. Againe, he receiued his Apostle-
[3] Galat.1.v.15. ship of the Gentiles long before, as he saith: [3]When it pleased God to reueale his son in me, that I might preach him amongst the Gentiles, I did not straightway conferre with flesh and blood; but went into Arabia, and after three yeeres came (first)
[4] Act.9.v.26. to Ierusalem. He had beene at [4]Ierusalem, and was presented by Barnabas to the Apostles, before he came to Antioch. For, af-
[5] Act.11.v.25. ter the first sight of the Apostles he went from Ierusalem to [5]Tar-
[6] Act.9.v.15. sus; and thence Barnabas fet him, as [6]a chosen vessell to carrie the name of Christ vnto the Gentiles, when he first brought him
[7] Act.11.v.26. to Antioch. And at Antioch, where [7]he preached a whole yeere before he receiued this imposition of hands, to whome preaches he but to the Grecians, that is, to the Gentiles? Wherefore they did not impose handes on him, to giue him authoritie to preach to the Gentiles; he receiued that commission from Christ long before; & had then twelue moneths and more, preached vnto the Gentiles in the very same place where they imposed hands on him.

To what ende then did they impose hands on Paul and Barnabas?] They had preached there a good time, and furnished the Church with needful doctrine and meete Pastours to take charge of their soules: and then the holie Ghost minding to haue them do the like in other places, willed the [8]Prophets and Teachers there
[8] Act.13.v.2. to let them go, for so the word ἀφιέναι may signifie, and the words following import as much, that the Prophets and Pastours laying
[9] Verse 3. hands on them [9]ἀπέλυσαν sent them away; and they [10]ἐκπεμφθέντες be-
[10] Verse 4. ing sent abroad by the holie Ghost, went to Seleucia, Cyprus and other places.

Imposition of handes to that purpose was not necessarie.] No more was talking: but by these two ioyned with prayer, the Prophets and Pastors witnessed vnto the Church, that they were called away by the holy Ghost, and departed not vpon their owne heads;

heads; and that the worke, they tooke in hand, needed the continuall prayers of the faithful, as well for the good successe of their paines, as protection of their persons amidst so many troubles and dangers, as they were like to sustaine; and therefore with a solemne kinde of prayer for them, and blessing of them (for [1] Imposition of hands, as Austen saith, is nothing else but prayer ouer a man, and to that ende was it heere vsed) they commended them to the grace of God. This was the purpose and effect of that imposition of hands, which Paul & Barnabas receiued at Antioch, as Saint Luke himselfe reporteth: for after they had labored and preached the Gospell in many places, they returned to Antioch, [2] whence they had beene commended to the grace of God for the worke which (now) they had performed. So that when they departed from Antioch, the prayers there made for them, and imposition of hands on them, were nothing els but A COMMENDING THEM TO THE GRACE OF GOD, for the better prospering of the worke which they vndertooke.

[1] *August. de bapt. l. 5 contra Donatist. lib. 3. ca. 16.*

[2] Act. 14. v. 26.

Chrysostome, Oecumenius *and others affirme, that Bishops, which differ not from Elders, laide handes on* Timothie *as well as* Paul.] They take the word Presbyterie, not for Elders as you doe, but for Bishops; and adde this reason, because Presbyters could not impose hands on a Bishop: which directly ouerthroweth your imposition of hands by the Presbyterie.

Yet others ioyned with Paul *in imposing hands which is heere denied.*] The word, as Ierome doeth expound it, admitteth no such sense. And if we follow Chrysostomes interpretation, it rather harmeth then helpeth the Presbyterie. For no Presbyter by his assertion could impose handes. Neither doeth the Text, if you consider it, say, they ioyned with Paul in imposing handes, [3] but grace was giuen to *Timothie* with the imposition of handes.

[3] 1. Tim. 4.

That must needes be, when Paul *also imposed his hands.*] The Presbyterie, that is, the Prophets might lay handes on him as well as Paul, though not at the same time, nor to the same ende. It is no strange thing in the Church of Christ, neither was it then in the Apostles times for a man to receiue imposition of handes ofter then once. [4] On Paul first Ananias layed handes, and after wardes the [5] Prophets of Antioch. [6] Barnabas wanted not imposition of handes when he stoode in the choice with Matthias, without which he

[4] Act. 9.

[5] Act. 13.

[6] Act. 1.

[1] Act. 13. he was not capable of the Apostleship; and yet afterward at Antioch he receiued it the second time. In the Primitiue Church they were first Deacons; and vpon triall, when they had ministred well, and were found blamelesse, they were admitted to be Elders or Priests; and after that, if their gifts and paines so deserued, they were called to an higher degree; and in euery of these they receiued imposition of handes. So that euery one by the ancient discipline of Christes Church before he could come from ministring to gouerning in the Church of God, receiued thrise, or at the least twise imposition of handes. The like, if any man list, hee may imagine of Timothie, that the [2] good reporte which the brethren of Lystra and Iconium gaue of him vnto Paul, whereupon hee [3] woulde that Timothie shoulde go foorth with him; grew vpon triall of his faithfull and painefull seruice in a former and lower vocation, for which hee had imposition of handes; and that mooued Paul to take him along with him; and when hee sawe his time, to impose handes on him for a greater calling. For it is not credible, that Paul would impose hands on him at the first steppe to place him in one of the highest degrees, being so yoong as hee was, without good experience of his sober and wise behauiour in some other and former function.

[2] Act. 16. v. 2.

[3] Verse 3.

Lastly, if it should be granted, that others ioyned with Paul in laying hands on Timothie, we must not conclude it was of necessitie, as if Paules handes had not beene sufficient without them to giue the holie Ghost; or that he had not power in himselfe to choose who [4] should goe foorth with him, and [5] minister vnto him: we must shunne both these as sensible absurdities: but because Timothie was very yong, lest Paul should seeme to be ledde with any light respect in taking him vnto his companie, he might happily be content to heare the iudgements of the Prophets then present, and guided by the same spirite that he was, and suffer their handes as wel as their mouths to concurre with his in prophesying and praying ouer Timothie; that all the Church might know, the spirite of God had pronounced him worthie the place, and not Paules affection aduanced him vnworthie. In that respect, I say, Paul might be willing the Prophets shoulde expresse to the whole assemblie what the holie Ghost spake in them touching Timothie, and

[4] Act. 16.

[5] Act. 19.

permit

permit them with prayers and handes, as their manner was, to confirme the same: otherwise Paul alone had power enough both to impose handes on Pastours and Prophets, as he did at Ephesus; and to make choice of his companie, as he did not long before when he vtterly refused Marke, and retained Silas to trauaile with him.

CHAP. VIII.

The Apostolike power in determining doubts of faith, and delivering vnto Satan.

ANother point in the wee diminishing Apostolike authoritie is; that the [1] Elders assembled in the Councel of Ierusalem together with the Apostles to discusse the matter in question betweene Paul and others, and the letters deciding the controuersie, were written to the Churches a-broade as well in their names, as in the Apostles. This case will soone be answered by Saint Paul himselfe. Paul stoode not in doubt of his preaching, neither needed hee the consent of the Apostles or Elders to confirme that doctrine, which the spirit of Christ had deliuered vnto him: we must remember his earnest protestation; [2] If an Angell from heauen preach vnto you otherwise, then that you haue receiued (of me) hold him accursed. As we said before, so say I againe, If any man, (Apostle or other) preach vnto you otherwise then that you haue receiued (already) let him be accursed. And why? The reason is yeelded in the next wordes. [3] For I certifie you brethren, that the Gospell which I preached, was not of man; neither receiued I it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the reuelatiō of Iesus Christ. What therefore Saint Paul was right well assured Christ had deliuered vnto him; to submit that to the correcting or censuring of men, yea of the Apostles themselues, had not beene in him moderation or sobrietie, but distrust and infidelitie. And for that cause, when God reuealed his sonne vnto him; he did not first [4] conferre with flesh and blood, neither went hee to Ierusalem vnto those that were Apostles before him; least hee should seeme to derogate from the voyce and trueth of Christ; but straightwaie preached the

[1] Act. 15.

[2] Galat. 1.

[3] Galat. 1. 11.

[4] Galat. 1. 16.

the Gospell, which he learned by reuelation, and stoode alwayes resolued, that what the sonne of God had taught him, the sonnes of men ought not to reuoke, and could not amend.

Why then repaired he at length to Ierusalem to the Apostles and Elders, to haue his doctrine examined, & confirmed vnto the Churches by their letters?] Many false brethren came from Ierusalem, and pretending the Apostles names, impugned both the credite and doctrine of Paul, and taught that except the Gentiles were circumcised, they could not be saued; and by enforming the brethren, that this course was obserued at Ierusalem, (for they counted Paul far inferiour to the chiefe Apostles) they hindred the weake from beleeuing, and caused the strong to staggar at the truth of Paules doctrine. To stop the mouthes of these seducers, and to retaine the Churches in their stedfastnes, and remoue this stumbling blocke from before the simple, that Paul taught contrarie to the rest of the
[1] Gal.2.v.2. Apostles; the holie Ghost [1] willed him by reuelation to goe vp to Ierusalem and declare to the rest the Gospell which hee preached; that by their generall confession and letters, the doctrine which he preached, might be acknowledged vnto the Gentiles to be sound and sincere. This was the intent of Paules iourney thither: Not to haue his doctrine reuiled and approoued by their authorities, but to haue it heard and acknowledged by their confessions, that the false report of their discording euery where spread by those deceiuers, might no longer trouble the mindes of the Gentiles.

I ascended (saith Paul of that his iourney to Ierusalem) by re-
[2] Gal.2.v.2. uelation; when he came thither, what did he? [2] I declared (saith he) the Gospell which I preach among the Gentiles, and particu-
[3] Verse 4. larly to the chiefest; [3] for the false brethrens sake, which crept in to spie out our libertie which we haue in Christ Iesus; to whō wee gaue no place by yeelding no not an houre, that the trueth of the Gospel might remaine among st you (that are Gen-
[4] Verse 6. tiles.) And [4] they that were chiefest added nothing vnto mee, but contrariwise, when they saw that the Gospel ouer the Gentiles was committed vnto me, as the Gospel ouer the Iewes was vnto *Peter*, when *Iames*, *Cephas*, and *Iohn*, which are counted to be Pillars, knewe the grace which was giuen mee, they gaue to mee and *Barnabas* their right hands (in token) of fellowship.

What

What needed the presence of the Elders at this meeting?] Some of them had come from Iewrie to Antioch, as sent from the church at Ierusalem, and troubled the minds of the Gentiles with vrging circumcision. Wherefore to knowe the reason of their so doing, and to preuent the like in time to come; the Apostles woulde not haue the matter priuatly handled, but in the audience and presence of the [1] whole Church, and with a generall consent, letters were written in all their names, as well to disclaime the sending of any such; as also to confirme the Gentiles in the course which they had begunne. For these two points their letters impoorte. [2] The Apostles, Elders and brethren, which in the verse before are called the whole Church, to the Brethren of the Gentiles at Antioch, &c. [3] Because we haue heard, that certaine comming from vs haue troubled you with words & entãgled your minds, saying you must be circumcised, to whom we gaue no such cõmandement; [4] it seemed therfore good vnto vs, when we were together with one accord to send chosen men vnto you with our beloued Paul and Barnabas, [5] which shall tell the same by word of mouth.

[1] Act. 15. v. 22.
[2] Act. 15. v. 23.
[3] Verse 24.
[4] Verse 25.
[5] Verse 27.

The Apostles wanted neither authoritie nor sufficiencie to determine the matter. How many doubts doth Paul himselfe resolue to the Romans, to the Corinthians, to others without a Councell? This very question, when after this meeting it troubled the church of Galatia, did Paul alleage the Apostles letters vnto them; or the decision made at Ierusalem? No, he resteth on his owne Apostleship and saith, [6] Beholde, I Paul say vnto you, that if you be circumcised, Christ shal profit you nothing. For I testifie vnto euery man which is circũcised, that he is bound to keep the whole Law. ye are abolished from Christ: whosoeuer are iustified by the Law, ye are fallen from grace. The Councell at Ierusalem decreed it was not needefull for the Gentiles to be circumcised before they could be saued. It seemed good to the holie Ghost and to them not to lay that burden on their neckes. But Paul goeth a degree further and telleth them, they are cut off from Christ, and fallen from grace, if they seeke or admit circumcision. Hee is so farre from standing on the credite of that assemblie; that hee vtterly denieth, they added any thing to him; and auoucheth hee withstoode and reproued Peter to his face for the same cause at

[6] Galat. 5.

Antioch. Yea in that Councell, who decided the controuersie but Peter & Iames? yet because it touched the whole Church of Iurie, and for that many of the Elders then present were after to preach vnto the Gentiles, and to liue amongst them & with them; the Apostles, no doubt, directed by Gods spirit brought ỹ matter to be fully discussed in the open hearing of the whole Church, thereby to satisfie & quiet the consciences of those Iews that were [1] zealous of the Lawe, though they beleeued; and wholy to quench, if it were possible, the heart-burning and detestation the beleeuing Iewes had of the Gentiles, which well appeared by their [2] striuing with Peter for entring into the Gentiles and eating with them; and by their owne [3] report made to Paul long after this Councell was ended.

[1] Act. 21. ve. 20.

[2] Act. 11.

[3] Act. 21.

The last thing wherein the people or Presbyterie seeme to ioyne with the Apostles authoritie, is the putting the wicked from among the faithfull, and deliuering them ouer to Satan, of purpose to reduce them to repentance, or by their example to feare others from the like offences. Of the incestuous Corinthian Saint Paul writeth thus. [4] I verely as absent in bodie, but present in Spirite, haue already decreed, as if I were present; that he which hath doone this, when you are gathered together, and my Spirite in the name of our Lorde Iesus Christ, by the power of our Lorde Iesus Christ to deliuer such a one vnto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the Spirite may bee saued in the day of the Lorde Iesus. Put away therefore from among your selues that wicked man. By this it is collected that the Apostle alone could not excommunicate, nor deliuer vnto Satan; but the Church must ioyne with him; and then for not hearing the Church, the offendor might be taken for an Ethnike and a Publicane.

[4] 1. Corinth. 5.

This place breedeth two great doubts; first, what it is to deliuer vnto Satan; next, by whome this incestuous person was deliuered vnto Satan, whether by Saint Paul, or by the Corinthians. And because the latter point is of more importance to the matter we haue in hand, let that first be examined: then after, what is meant by deliuering vnto Satan.

The least we can imagine of these words is, that Paul being absent requireth them to put the malefactor out of their societie, and

to

to keepe no company with him. For that rule he giueth touching all notorious offendours in the same Chapter. [1] If any man that is called a brother, be a fornicatour, or couetous person, or an Idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such a one eate not. As elsewhere he charged the faithfull to [2] withdrawe themselues from euery brother that walked disorderly, and not after the instruction which he gaue them. And if any man (saith he) obey not our wordes, keepe no company with him, that he may be ashamed. If the Apostle did but this; that is, require them (because he was not present) to remoue that incestuous person from their fellowship; this sheweth he had authoritie ouer them, after that sort in Christes name to command them; but the wordes, which he vseth, are farre more forcible.

[1] 1. Cor. 5.

[2] 2. Thess. 3.

Reproouing their negligence for not doing, what in them lay, to put that offendour from among them, he addeth, ἤδη κέκρικα ὡς παρὼν σὺν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ τὸν τοιοῦτον παραδοῦναι τῷ σατανᾷ. [3] I haue already decreed (*or determined*) as if I were present, by the power of our Lord Iesus Christ to deliuer this *wicked one* to Satan. He asketh not their consents; he prayeth not their ayde; he referreth not the matter to their liking; he sayeth, I haue already decreed; afore he wrote, and afore they read, that part of his Epistle. What to doe? To ioyne with them in deliuering the Trespassour to Satan? No, I haue already decreed to deliuer this *sinner* vnto Satan. By what meanes? By the power of our Lorde Iesus Christ. Then for ought that wee yet finde in this place, the Apostle though absent, decreed as present to do the deed himselfe, and that by the power & might of our Lord Iesus Christ; not by the consent or helpe of the Corinthians.

[3] 1. Corinth. 5.

But their assembling thẽselues was required withall. For he saith; When you are assembled in the name of the Lord Iesus and my spirit *with you.*] The Apostle would then doe it, when the whole Church might beholde it; and be afraide of the like. And though hee were absent in bodie, yet shoulde they finde the force of his Spirite present; euen the might and power of the Lorde Iesus, to deliuer that hainous sinner vnto Satan. Nowe howe should the power & might of Christ, be shewed in excluding a man from the word and sacraments? Pronouncing a few words is sufficient for that matter. Which maketh me to be of Chrysostomes

minde, that he was deliuered vnto Satan [1] *vt eum percelleret vulnere malo aut morbo aliquo*; to strike him with some greeuous plague or disease.

[1] *Chrysost. in 1. Corin. 5. homil. 15*

This power in the Apostles was neither strange nor rare. The Ananias and his wife lied vnto Peter, and thereby would try whether the holie Ghost in Peter knew the secrets of their doings; Peter strake them both [2] dead with the very breath of his mouth, I meane, with the sound of his words. When Elymas the sorcerer [3] resisted the preaching of the trueth, and [3] sought to turne away *Sergius Paulus* from beleeuing the same, [3] immediatly the hand of the Lord was vpon him at Paules worde, and tooke his eie sight from him. That which the Apostle saide of himselfe, [4] wee haue vengeance in readinesse against all disobedience; and euen his wordes next before the rebuking and punishing of this incestuous person; [5] shal I come vnto you with a rodde, or in the spirite of mildnes? and [6] If I come againe; I will not spare: This rodde, This vengeance, This not sparing, importe they no more then a plaine remouuing them that sinned from the fellowship of others: or, as the words lie, had Saint Paul the mightie power of Gods Spirite to reuenge the disobedient and to chastice the disordered: [7] The tokens (saith he) of an Apostle were wrought among you with signes, and wonders, and great workes, (or mightie powers.) And when some of them abused the Lordes supper; [8] for this cause (saith he) many are weake and sicke among you, and many be dead *or sleepe*. Whereby it is euident that in the Apostles times, when as yet there were no Christian Magistrates to correct and punish the disorders of such as professed the Gospell, the hand of God sometimes by himselfe, sometimes by the Apostles did afflict and scourge the wicked and irrepentant sinners, that thereby they might learne not to detaine the trueth of God in vnrighteousnes; and the rest feare to prouoke his wrath with the like vncleannes.

[2] Act. 5.

[3] Act. 13.

[4] 2. Corinth. 10

[5] 1. Corinth. 4.

[6] 2. Corint 13.

[7] 2. Corint. 12.

[8] 1. Corint. 11.

And this is no such new found or vaine exposition, that it should be scorned. Not only Chrysostome, but Ierome, Ambrose, Theodoret, Oecumenius, Theophilact & diuers others embrace it, as most coherent with the Text. Ierome saith [9] *To deliuer him vnto Satan for the destruction of the flesh*] *vt arripiendi illum corporaliter habeat potestatem*, That the diuel may haue power corporally to

[9] *Ierom. in 1. Corinth. 5.*

possesse

possesse him (*or afflict him*) Ambrose saith, [1] This is the deliuering vnto Satan, when the Apostle pronounceth the sentence, & the diuell which is readie to take into his power those that are forsaken of God, hearing the sentence, seazeth on them (*forthwith*) to let them vnderstand they are therefore tormented because they haue blasphemed. Theodoret. *Paul* [2] sheweth that the Lord pronounceth sentence, and deliuereth him to the tormenter, and appointeth how farre he shall proceede, to chastise the body onely. By this place we are taught that the diuell inuadeth them that are seuered from the body of the Church, as finding them destitute of grace. The Commentaries collected by Oecumenius, [3] *For the destruction of the flesh.*] Hee appointeth limits vnto Satan, that he should touch the body only, and not the soule. And he wel saieth for the destruction of the flesh, that is, to waste him (*or pine him*) with some sickenesse. Theophilact, [4] *For the destruction of the flesh*] He doeth restraine the diuel to certaine bounds, euen as, (*he was restrained*) in holie Iob to touch the body onely, and not the soule.

[1] *Ambros. in 1. ca. 1. ad Timoth.*

[2] *Theodor in 1. Corinth. 5.*

[3] *Oecumen. in 1. Corinth. 5.*

[4] *Theophi. in 1. Corinth. 5.*

If we scanne the circumstances, I see no cause why this exposition should be reiected. That he was excommunicated I make no doubt: these words of Saint Paul lead me so to thinke. [5] You haue not rather sorrowed, that he which hath doone this (*leud*) fact might bee put from among you. Purge out therefore the olde leauen: Put away from among you that wicked man. For his excommunication these words had beene sufficient; there needed no further nor other circumstances: but because the fact was heinous and horrible, and such as the very heathen abhorred, and therefore tended to the great slander and reproch of Christs name; the Apostle not content, as I take it, to haue him onely remooued from the company of the godly; addeth, that hee had already decreed to make him an example; and at their next meeting, though hee were absent, by the mightie power of the Lorde Iesus (*hee would*) deliuer him vnto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, to saue the spirite by repentance. Paul decreed this of himselfe, without the knowledge or consent of the Corinthians. To execute that which hee decreed, hee needed, and therefore vsed the mightie power of the Lorde Iesus. For *Virtus* with Saint Paul is often taken for the miraculous power of the holie Ghost, where-

[5] *1. Corinth. 5.*

by the Apostles and others did great workes; and had euen the diuels in subiection vnto them. That which he woulde doe, should be this: to deliuer him vnto Satan in the presence of them all for the destruction of the flesh; to the ende the affliction of his flesh might bring him to repentance, and so saue his soule in the day of Christ. To deliuer vnto Satan, is more then to excommunicate. Many are secluded from the companie of the godly for a time, that are not yeelded vnto Satan; yea many were deliuered vnto Satan without excommunication, as Ananias and Elymas. The end of this action was the affliction or destruction of the flesh; which in excommunication hath no sense, except it be Metaphorically. For excommunication endangereth the Spirite, and toucheth not the flesh. And the lustes of the flesh are not destroyed by excommunication, but by repentance, which of it selfe is no consequent to the other; (for many are excommunicated, that neuer repent;) but affliction and feare of destruction cause repentaunce; and thereby the soule is saued. Forsomuch then as Paul decreed it alone, and that absent; and in performing it, vsed the mightie power of Christ, to the destruction of his flesh, that had sinned; which thinges can not bee vnderstoode of excommunicating or remouing the offendour from the fellowship of the faithfull; and that is before and after in other wordes expressed: I am perswaded, that by deliuering vnto Satan, the Apostle meant to shewe the mightie power, which Christ had giuen him to reuenge the disobedient, when the Spirite of God shoulde see it needefull, to make some men example to others.

[1] 2.Corinth.13 verse 10. Of that power hee thus warneth the rest of the Corinthians. [1] I write these thinges vnto you absent, lest when I am present I shoulde vse sharpenesse according to the power which the [2] 2.Corinth.12 verse 21. Lorde hath giuen mee. [2] I feare when I come, I shall bewaile many of them, which haue sinned already and not repented.

[1] 2.Cor.13.v.2. [1] I write to them which haue heretofore sinned and to others, that if I come againe I will not spare.

But grant that by deliuering vnto Satan, were meant excommunication; what reason is there to affirme; the Apostle alone coulde not doe it? He alone decreed it, and required them though hee were absent, to execute it; yea hee rebuketh them for not putting the Trangressour from amongest them; and else-where he

he saieth of himselfe, that hee did the like. [1] Hymeneus and Alexander I haue deliuered vnto Satan, that they might be taught not to blaspheme. Why shoulde wee not beleeue he could doe it, since he saith he did it? Or that had vengeance in readines against all disobedience, why coulde hee not by the same power deliuer the offenders at Corinth vnto Satan as well as he did else-where Hymeneus and others? [1] 1. Tim. 1.

Excommunication, some thinke, pertained to the whole Church, because our Sauiour saide, [2] Tell the Church. If hee heare not the Church, let him bee to thee as an Ethnike and Publicane; *and therefore they conclude the Apostle neither coulde nor woulde excommunicate without the consent and liking of the Church.*] What I take to be the true meaning of Christes wordes (if hee heare not the Church, let him bee to thee as an Ethnike and Publicane) I haue said before, I shall not needs to repeate it as nowe; Neuertheless, because the ancient Fathers vse as well these wordes of our Sauiour, as those of Saint Paul to expresse the strength and terrour of excommunication, I will not gainesay their exposition; yet this shall wee finde to bee most true, that no Catholike father euer heard or dreamed, that lay Elders or the whole multitude shoulde meddle with the keyes and Sacraments of the Church, but onely the Apostles and their successours. *Dic Ecclesiæ*] [4] *Præsulibus scilicet & Præsidentibus*. Tell it the Church, that is, saieth Chrysostome, the Rulers and Gouernors of the Church. And vpon the next wordes, Verely I say vnto you, whatsoeuer you binde in earth shall be bound in heauen, &c. he writeth thus: [5] *Non dixit Ecclesiæ Præsuli, vinculis istum constringe; sed si ligaueris, hæc vincula indissolubilia manent.* Christ biddeth not the Gouernour of the Church to binde him, but if thou binde him, the band is indissoluble. By these words saith Ierome, [6] Christ giueth his Apostles power to let them vnderstand that mans iudgement is ratified by Gods. Hee forewarneth, saith Hilarie, that [7] whome (*the Apostles*) binde or loose, answerably to that sentence they are bound or loosed in heauen. [2] Matth. 18. [4] *Chrysost. homil.* 61. *ex* 18. *Matth.* [5] *Ibidem.* [6] *Hieron. in* 18. *Matth.* [7] *Hilar. in Matth.* ca. 18.

If this perswade vs not ỳ the Apostles had power without the consent of the people or Presbyterie to excommunicate and deliuer vnto Satan, we cannot denie, but our Sauiour gaue them this power,

power, that [1] whose sinnes they did remit should be remitted; and whose they did retaine, should be retained; yea speaking particularly to one of them, he saith, [2] I will giue thee the keies of the kingdome of heauen; and whatsoeuer thou shalt binde on earth, shall be bound in heauen, and whatsoeuer thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heauen. If then the rest had [3] equall power and like honour with Peter, as Cyprian saieth they had; and if Paul were [4] nothing behind the chiefe Apostles, as him selfe affirmeth he was not; it is euident he had power to binde in heauen, and to deliuer vnto Satan without the helpe of the Presbyterie or people of Corinth. And why? The power of the keys was first seiled in the Apostles before it was deliuered vnto the Church; and the Church receiued the keyes from the Apostles, not the Apostles from the Church. And therefore when Augustine sayeth, [5] If this (*I will giue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen*) were spoken onely to Peter, the Church doeth it not: if this bee doone in the Church, then Peter when hee receiued the keyes, (*represented or*) signified the whole Church: Wee must not thinke by the name of the Church hee entendeth the Lay Presbyterie or the people, but hee doeth attribute this power to the Church, because the Apostles and their successours, the Pastours and Gouernours of the Church receiued the keyes in Peter and with Peter. [6] The keys of the kingdome of heauen we all that are Priests, saieth Ambrose, receiued in the blessed Apostle Peter.

[1] Iohan. 20.
[2] Matth. 16.
[3] Cypr. de vnitate ecclesiæ.
[4] 2. Corinth. 12
[5] August. tract. 50. in Iohan.
[6] Ambros. de dignitate sacerdotali ca. 6.

The Apostles then had the keyes of Christs kingdome to binde and loose both in heauen and in earth; and by the dignitie of their Apostleship receiued the holie Ghost to remit and retaine sinnes as well before as after Christes resurrection, without either Presbyterie or people to concurre with them. [7] O you blessed and holie men, (saith Hilarie speaking of the Apostles,) that for the desert of your faith gate the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and obtained right to binde and loose in heauen and earth.

[7] Hilar. de trinitate lib. 6.

I suppose then it is not much to be contradicted, that the Apostles had from their master a larger commission, fuller instruction, higher power, and greater gifts then the rest of the Doctours, Pastours, Prophets and Euangelist in the Church of Christ; and that the Churches in their time were not gouerned by the voyces and

consents

consents of the greater part concurring with them before any thing could be done, but by their precepts and rules deliuered by speach, or expressed by writing, which the faithfull in euery place as well Pastors as people with all readinesse obeyed: And that in appointing and ordeyning Pastors and Elders; as likewise in retayning sinnes, and binding offenders by deliuering them vnto Satan; or reiecting them from the felowship of Saints, they needed not the helpe or agreement of the people or Presbyterie; but had power sufficient with imposing their handes as the Spirite directed, to make Prophets and Pastors, by giuing them the gifts of the holy Ghost needefull for their seuerall callings; and by the same power, could deliuer the bodies of such as sinned and repented not, to be punished and afflicted by Satan, or remoue them from the Communion of Christes Church, and exclude them from the kingdome of heauen, as their wickednes or wilfulnes deserued. This superioritie they reteined whiles they liued; so moderating their power, that they sought rather to winne the euill disposed with lenitie, then represse them with authoritie, saue when the wicked might no longer be endured, lest others should be infected; and vsing such meekenes and mildnes towards al, that no schisme disordered the Church by their rigour, nor soule perished by their default; labouring more to profit many with their paines, then to preferre themselues before any by their priuiledge, and vtterly forgetting their owne dignitie, whiles they serued and aduanced Christes glory. I obserue as well their patience as their preeminence, lest any man should thinke, I goe about to make them Princes in the Church of Christ, to commaund and punish at their pleasures, and not rather faithfull Stewards and careful Shepheards, to feede and guide the Church committed to their charges.

CHAP. IX.

What parts of the Apostles power and charge were to remaine in the Church after their decease, and to whom they were committed.



T will happely be graunted the Apostles had their prerogatiue and preeminence aboue others in the Church of Christ; but that limitted to their persons, and during for their liues: and therfore no reason can be made from their superioritie to

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force the like to be receiued and established in the Church of Christ for all ages and places; since their office and function are long since ceased, and no like power reserued to their successours after them. I doe not deny but many things in the Apostles were personall, giuen them by Gods wisedome for the first spreading of the faith, and planting of the Churches amongst Iewes and Gentiles, that all nations might be conuerted vnto Christ by the sight of their miracles, and directed by the trueth of their doctrine: yet that all their gifts ended with their liues, and no part of their charge and power remained to their after-commers; may neither be confessed by vs, nor affirmed by any, vnlesse we meane wholy to subuert the church of Christ. To be called by Christes owne mouth, and sent into all nations; to be furnished with the infallible assurance of his trueth, and visible assistance of his spirit; not onely to speake with tongues, cure diseases, worke miracles, know secretes, and vnderstand all wisedom, but to giue the holy Ghost to others that they might doe the like; these things, I say, were needfull at the first preaching of the Gospell, to conuert infidels that neuer heard of Christ before; to confirme the beleeuers compassed with diuers temptations; and to store the whole world then presently with meete Pastours and Teachers: but to maintaine the Church once settled, and faith once preached; there is no cause why either the immediate vocation or generall commission, or mightie operation, and sudden inspirations of the Apostles should alwayes endure. The Scriptures once written, suffice all ages for instruction: the miracles then done, are for euer a most euident confirmation of their doctrine; the authoritie of their first calling liueth yet in their succession; and time and trauell ioyned with Gods graces bring Pastours at this present to perfection; yet the Apostles charge to teach, baptize, and administer the Lordes Supper, to bind and loose sinnes in heauen and in earth; to impose hands for the ordaining of Pastours and Elders, these partes of the Apostolike function and charge, are not decaied, and cannot bee wanted in the Church of God. There must either be no church, or els these must remaine: for without these no church can continue.

The Gospell must be preached, the Sacraments must be frequented, for which purposes some must bee taken to the publike seruice and ministerie of the Church, for [1] "How shall they inuo-

[1] Rom. 10.

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care in whom they haue not beleeued? or how shall they beleeue (*in him*) of whome they haue not heard? or how shall they heare without a Preacher? and how shall they preach, except they bee sent? without sending there can bee no preaching; without preaching the word, there is no ordinarie meanes for faith; and without faith there is no Church. Neither onely the lacke of the word and Sacraments, but the prophanation and abuse of either, how greatly doeth it endanger the state and welfare of the whole Church of Christ? yea, [1] the casting of holy things vnto dogges; and of pearles before swine; how dreadfull a iudgement doeth it procure, as well to the consenters as presumers? [2] A little leauen sowreth the whole masse. So that power to send labourers into Gods haruest, and to separate prophane persons for defiling the mysteries and assemblies of the faythfull, must be retained and vsed in the Church of Christ, vnlesse we will turne the house of God [3] into a denne of theeues, and make the Temple [4] a cage for vncleane and hatefull birdes.

[1] Mat. 7.
[2] 1. Cor. 5.
[3] Iere. 7.
[4] Reuel. 18.

As the things be needfull in the Church of Christ; so the persons to whom they were first committed, cannot bee doubted. [5] Goe teach all Nations, baptizing them, sayd our Sauiour to the eleuen in mount Olivet, whether he ascended. [6] Doe this in remembrance of mee, sayd hee to the twelue that sate at supper with him. After his resurrection when hee appeared to the eleuen sitting together, hee sayd; [7] As my father sent me, so send I you; Receiue yee the holy Ghost, [8] whose sinnes yee remit, they are remitted; whose sinnes yee retaine, they are retained. For though the Lord before his death promised the keyes of the kingdome of heauen vnto Peter, and as then sayde nothing vnto the rest; yet after his rising from the dead, [8] hee gaue all his Apostles like power, as Cyprian obserueth, and [9] they all receiued the keies of the kingdome of heauen, as Ierome auoucheth. [10] Are the keyes of the kingdome of heauen giuen onely to Peter by Christ, (saieth Origen) neither shall any other of the blessed receiue them? If this saying, *I will giue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen*, be common also to the rest; why should not all that went before and follow the after, as spoken to Peter, be common to all *(ibi vox)*? So Augustine: [11] If in Peter had not bene a mysterie of the Church, the

[5] Mat. 28. 1
[6] Luke 22.
[7] Iohn 20.
[8] *Cypr. de vnitate eccles.*
[9] *Hiero. li. 1 aduers. Iouinian.*
[10] *Origen. tract. 1. ex 16. Math.*
[11] *August. tract. 15. in Iohannem.*

Lord

Lord would not haue said vnto him, I will giue thee the keies
[1] Gal. 2. of the kingdome of heauen. [1] The Gospell ouer the vncircumcision (*that is ouer the Gentiles*) was committed to mee, saieth
[2] 1. Cor. 4. Paul, as ouer the circumcision (*or Iewes*) was to Peter. [2] Let a man (*therefore*) so reckon of vs as of the Ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God. The Apostles were Stewards of the word and Sacraments, and had the keyes of Gods kingdome, not onely to dispence them faithfully whiles they liued, but in like sort to leaue them to the Church of Christ, as needfull for the same, vntill the ende of the worlde. Neither neede I spend moe words to proue they must remaine in the Church, since that is not doubted on any side, but rather examine to whome the Apostles left them, and to whose charge those things were committed.

The worde and Sacraments are not so much questioned, to whom they were bequeathed, as the power of the keyes, and right to impose hands, to whom they are reserued. To diuide the word and administer the Sacraments is the generall & perpetual charge of all those that feede the flocke of Christ, and are set ouer his household to giue them meate in season. [3] The Elders that are among
[3] 1. Pet. 5. you, I that am also an Elder exhort, (saieth Peter) feede you the
[4] Act. 20. flocke of Christ, which is committed to you. [4] Take heede to your selues and to all the flocke whereof the holie Ghost hath made you ouerseers, to feede the Church of Christ, saith Paul
[5] Matt. 28. to the Elders of Ephesus. [5] Goe teach, baptize; which our Sauiour hath ioyned, may not be seuered; and the seruice must endure
[6] Ibid. ver. 20. as long as the promise, which is this; (*in so doing*) [6] I am with you alway vntill the ende of the worlde; not with his Apostles so long; they are dead fifteene hundred yeeres before our dayes, but Christ is present with those that succeede his Apostles in the same function and ministerie for euer. Their Commission to doe both ceaseth not, so long as his precept bindeth them, and help supporteth them in both, which is to the worlds end.

The power of the keyes, and right to impose handes, I meane to ordaine Ministers, & excommunicate sinners, (for so I alwaies interpreete those two speeches) are more controuersted then the other two; by reason that diuers men haue diuers conceits of them. Some fasten them to the liking of the multitude; which they call

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the Church; others commit them to the iudgement of certaine chosen persons as well of the Laitie, as of the Clergie, whome they name the Presbyterie; some attribute them onely, but equally to all Pastours and Preachers; and some specially reserue them to men of the greatest gifts, ripest yeeres, and highest calling amongst the Clergie; which of these best agreeth with the trueth of the Scriptures, and vse of the primitiue Church, in place conuenient will soone appeare. It shall now suffice in few wordes to obserue, how neere imposing handes and binding sinnes doe ioyne with the dispensation of the word and Sacraments: that thereby wee may resolue whether laie men may entermeddle with these ecclesiasticall actions or no.

To create ministers by imposing hands, is to giue them, not onely power and leaue to preach the word, and dispence the Sacraments; but also the grace of the holy Ghost to make them able to execute both parts of their function. This can none giue, but they that first receiued the same. They must haue this power and grace themselues, that will bestow it on others. Laie men which haue it not, can by no meanes giue it; and consequently not impose hands, which is the signe and seale of both. Yea what if to giue power to preach and baptize, bee more then to preach and baptize? euen as lawfully to authorize an other to doe any thing, is more then to doe it our selues?[1] *Sacramentum baptismi est, quod habet qui baptizatur. Sacramentum dandi baptismi est, quod habet qui ordinatur.* It is the Sacrament of baptisme, (saieth Austen) that hee hath, which is baptized. It is the Sacrament of giuing baptisme, that he hath which is ordered. Yea Caluin himselfe, a man of no small learning and iudgement in the Church of God confesseth it is a kind of Sacrament, and in that respect not to be giuen by any but onely by Pastours.[2] Surely, saieth he, *(the Papists)* are very leud, in that they dare adorne *(their sacrificing Priesthood)* with the title of a Sacrament. As for the true function of the ministerie commended vnto vs by the mouth of Christ; *Libenter eo loco habeo*, I willingly accept it *(for a Sacrament)* for first there is a ceremonie *(of imposing hands)* taken out of the Scriptures; then Paul witnesseth the same not to be superfluous and emptie, but a sure signe of spirituall grace. And that I put it not third in the number *(of Sacraments)* it was because it is not ordinarie nor common

[1] *August. de bapt. contra Donatist. li. 1. ca. 1.*

[2] *Calu. Institut. li 4. ca. 19. sectio. 28.*

mon to all the faithfull, but a speciall rite for a certaine function; and therefore of imposition of hands he saieth; [1] *Hoc postremo habendum est non vniuersam multitudinem manus imposuisse ministris, sed solos Pastores:* This lastly we must learne, that the whole multitude did not impose handes on their Ministers, but onely the Pastours *did it*. Then may laie men no more chalenge to impose handes then to baptize; yea, to preach and baptize, is not so much as to giue power and grace to others openly and lawfully to doe the like in the Church of Christ; and therefore if laie-men be debarred from the one, they be much more excluded from the other.

[1] Idem Instituc. li. 4. ca. 3. sect. 16.

To excommunicate, is to remoue the wicked and irrepentant from the participation of the Lordes Supper; least by sacrilegious presuming to violate that table, the vngodly should condemne themselues, and defile others. Whose calling it is to deliuer the bread and cup of the Lord to the due receiuers, is out of question; they are for that cause named the ministers of the worde and Sacraments. Nowe to whom it pertaineth to admit the woorthie, to them it belongeth to reiect the vnwoorthie. they that are placed by God to deliuer the mysteries to the faithfull and penitent; are commanded by him to denie them to the faithlesse and impenitent. The charge to deliuer the Sacraments is theirs, the care not to deliuer them, (but where they be willed by God so to doe) must needes bee theirs; you must free them from both, or leaue both vnto them. If it shall be required at their hands, they may not be forced by others; if none can excuse them, none may compell them. We may plainely perceiue, as well by their calling, which they haue from God; as by the account they shall yeeld vnto God, that the deliuering or with-holding the Sacraments is in the Pastours power and charge, and not in theirs, which haue neither vocation nor commission to meddle with the worde or Sacraments. [2] No small punishment (saieth Chrysostome to those that ministred the Communion,) hangeth ouer you, if knowing any man to be wicked, you suffer him to be partaker of this Table. His blood shall be required at your hands. If he be a Captaine, a Consul, or a crowned king that commeth vnworthily, forbid him, and keepe him off; thy power is greater then his. If any *(such)* get to the Table, reiect him without feare. If thou darest not remoue him, tell it me; I will not suffer it. I wil yeeld my life rather, then the Lords

[2] Chrysost. hom. 83. in Mat. 26.

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body to any vnworthy person; and suffer my bloud to be shed before I will graunt that sacred blood to any, but to him that is woorthie.

Againe, it cannot be doubted, but the moderation of the keies, and imposition of hands were at first setled in the Apostles, and exercised by them, as I haue already made proofe by the Scriptures; and neither the people nor laie-Elders succeed the Apostles, but onely the Pastours and ministers of the worde and Sacraments. They can haue no part of the Apostolike commission, that haue no shew of Apostolike succession. They must looke not onely what they chalenge, but also from whom they deriue it; if from the Apostles, then are they their successours; if from Christ, as Colleagues ioyned with the Apostles, wee must finde that consociation in the Gospell, before wee cleare them from intrusion. [1] No man (should) take this honour vnto himselfe, but he that is called of God, as the Apostles were. If they be called by Christ, read their assignation from Christ; if they bee not, surcease that presumption. But in deede how should they bee called to deuide the Sacramentes, that are not licenced to deuide the Sacramentes: or what right haue they to staie the seale, that haue no power to affixe the seale? The worde of God is sealed by his Sacramentes; and whom he hath sent to denounce the one, those hath hee chosen to annexe the other. If in preaching the word, laie-men were no publique parteners with the Apostles; in directing the Sacraments, which are the seales of the Gospell, they could not bee linked with the Apostles. They must be trusted with both, or with neither. And so are Pastours, receiuing by succession the power and charge both of the word and Sacramentes, from and in the first Apostles and messengers of Christ. [2] The Elders that are among you, I exhort, saieth Peter, συμπρεσβύτερος, as a Co-elder (with you) feede yee the flocke of God, committed to you. Pastours then which feede the flocke, haue coparcinerie with the Apostles; Laie-men haue not, and consequently the power and right granted by Christ to his Apostles and their successours, may not be chalenged or communicated to them that haue no fellowship with the Apostolike function. [3] God forbidde, (saieth Ierome) that I should speake any euill of those who succeeding the Apostolike degree, make

[1] Hebr. 5.

[2] 1. Pet. 5.

[3] Hiero. ad Heliodorum de vita Eremetica.

make the body of Christ with their sacred mouth; by whome we become Christians; who hauing the keies of the kingdome of heauen, in sort iudge before the day of iudgement. A monke hath one calling, a Clergie man another. Clergie men feede the flocke, I am fed. It is not lawfull for me to sit before a Priest; he may, if I sinne, deliuer mee to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirite may be saued.

With imposing of hands, it may be the people had nothing to do: but the electing of Pastours, when they came once to bee chosen, pertained chiefly & wholie to them as the storie of the primitiue Church declareth. and so the retaining and remitting of sinnes, the multitude might not chalenge: but with casting notorious and scandalous offenders out of their company, the whole Church did intermeddle, as appeareth by Pauls wordes written to the Church, and not to the Pastours or Elders of Corinth.] I come not yet to the maner of electing Pastours, vsed in the primitiue Church, when prophesie failed, and the miraculous gifts of the spirite ceased; I reserue it, as time and order lead me, to the next age after the Apostles: but with the Apostles, as there was no cause the people should, so is there no proofe they did concurre in choosing their Pastours. for the people might not appoint on whom the holy Ghost should bestow his gifts; that were to tie Gods graces to their pleasures; but if they were to choose, they must elect such as were meete and able, which then were none, vntill by the Apostles handes they had receiued the wonderfull and extraordinarie giftes of the spirite to prepare and fit them for the care and charge of the Churches where the holie Ghost would make them ouerseers. Against this, if any thing can be obiected out of the Scriptures, I would gladly heare it; as yet I finde there neither example of it, nor reason for it. The election of the seuen Deacons, is the onely precedent that can bee found in the word, and that conuinceth vtterly nothing for the choice of Pastours. With money matters not onely at Ierusalem, but in all places the Apostles refused to meddle; auoiding thereby all occasion of sinister reports and suspicion, that they did any way increase or regard their priuate gaine; and for that cause Paul would not so much as carrie the beneuolence of the Gentiles to the poore saints at Ierusalem, without some specially trusted and [1] chosen by the Churches, to see it faithfully done. [2] All seeke their owne, and not

[1] 2. Cor. 8.
[2] Phil. 2.

not that which is Christes; had poisoned so many, [1] thinking gaine to be godlinesse; that Paul to cleare himselfe of that suspicion, and to shew that he [2] sought them and not theirs, [3] did not vse the power he might, in liuing on the Gospell, where he preached the Gospell, but his [4] owne hands ministred to his necessities. And for the same reason the Apostles at Ierusalem would not haue the goods and lands of the disciples passe through their hands; but to be dispensed by some such, as the people liked and named to that purpose. Now for chosing of Pastours, or rather making them fit to be Pastours, which before were not fitte; the people had litle to say, and lesse to doe; but the holy Ghost directed the Apostles by prophesie, or otherwise on whom hee would bestow his giftes, and they should lay their handes; in which case I cannot so much as imagine, how, or why the people should ioyne with the spirite of God, to powre his heauenly giftes on such as hee furnished for the seruice of his Church; or limite the Apostles on whom they should laie their handes; since not man, but God, made choise of those persons.

[1] 1. Tim. 6.
[2] 2. Cor. 2.
[3] 1. Cor. 9.
[4] Act. 20.

As for excommunication, if you take it for removing the vnrulie from the ciuill societie of the faithfull, vntill they conforme themselues to a more Christian course of life; I am not altogether auerse, that the whole Church, where there waneth a Christian magistrate, did, and should concurre in that action. for thereby the sooner, when all the multitude ioyne in one minde to renounce all maner of conuersing with such, will the parties bee reduced to a better minde, for shame and griefe to see themselues reiected and exiled from all companie; and the whole Church shall declare their innocencie before men, by auoiding and shunning the doers of wickednesse; and encrease their zeale and loue of holinesse before God, by hating and detesting vnrighteousnesse in others, and by keeping themselues cleane and vnspotted from the like offences. [5] If any man that is called a brother, bee a fornicatour, or couetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such an one eate not. [6] Yet count him not as an enemie, but admonish him as a brother. This rule as I could wish euery Christian man did for his owne part duely obserue; so I iudge it not amisse, if the whole congregation in defect of a Christian magistrate, ioyne with the Pastor in inflicting, reuoking, and

[5] 1. Cor. 5.
[6] 2. Thes. 3.

forsaking such disordered & vsuall offenders, as will neither be reclaimed nor ashamed of their lewdnesse; but for deliuering or denying the Sacraments, I take that to be the Pastors charge, and not the peoples. Yet Pastors shall do well after the example of the ancient & godly fathers, Cyprian and others, not only to prouoke repentance in the malefactors, but to tender the offence taken by the multitude so farre, that as the minds of the godly are grieued by notorious impieties, so they may be satisfied and contented by the earnest and vnfained sorow of the repentant, before they be receiued to the Lords table. Against these rules of Christian moderation & circumspection, I dispute not; I onely enquire whether by the word of God any laie persons haue any interest to withhold or yeeld the Sacraments without the allowance and liking of the Pastour. And to expresse what I thinke, I finde no warrant in the Scriptures for it; and the maine consent of the Catholike fathers, and course of the Primitiue Church against it. Some places are detorted and wrested to that effect; but they must be very partiall, that will be led with such weake proofes.

[1] Math. 18. The words of our Sauiour, [1] If he heare not the Church, let him be to thee as an Ethnike and Publicane, which are the onely ground-worke of this opinion, I haue before handled & examined as far forth as needed. If by those words the church of Christ were ment, which no circumstance there enforceth; yet the rulers & gouernors of the Church are thereby intended, as Chrysostome affirmeth, and [2] a foule error it is, as Beza thinketh, to say the whole multitude is there compriled. In deed it is no new rule, neither with the Scriptures, nor with other writers, for the chiefer and worthier part to beare the name of the whole.

[2] *Annotatio in 18. cap. Math.*

The fathers, who often attribute excommunication to the Church, by no meanes endure that laie-men should vse the keies deliuered to the Apostles and their successors. [3] That right is permitted only to Priests, as Ambrose saith; [4] It is the Priests hand that toucheth the soule, and reacheth vnto heauen, as Chrysostome teacheth. [5] When they which chalenge the place of Bishops, and receiued the keies of the kingdom of heauen from our Sauiour, teach; what they bind, is bound in heauen; what they loose, is loosed in heauen; we must acknowledge they say wel, if withall they haue those things, for the which it was said to Peter, The

[3] *Ambros. de penitent. li. 1. ca. 2.*

[4] *Chrysost. de Sacerdotio, li. 3.*

[5] *Origen. tract. 5. in Math.*

gates

gates of hell must not preuaile against him, that will binde and loose. for if he bee bound with the ropes of his owne sinnes, in vaine doeth he (*offer to*) bind or loose, saith Origen. [1] Shal it not be imputed to vs (saith Cyprian with the rest of the Bishops his Colleagues) if so good a souldier should die without peace, and without the Communion? Shall not great slackenesse, or cruell hardnesse be ascribed to vs in the day of iudgement, that being Pastours, we neither in peace would heale the sheepe committed & credited vnto vs, nor arme them in the battell? How doe we teach or prouoke them to shed their bloud in the confession of Christes name, if wee denie them the bloud of Christ, when they be entring the conflict? or how doe we make them readie for the cup of martyrdome, if first in the Church we admit them not by right of Communion to drinke the Lordes cup? It hath pleased vs therefore, the holy Ghost directing vs, that vpon examination of euery mans cause, such as fell in persecution, should be reconciled (*or receiued to the Lords table*;) and if there be any of our Colleagues which doth not thinke it good to giue peace (*that is the Communion*) to the brethren or sisters, persecution approching, he shal in the day of iudgement render account to the Lord of his importune censure, or inhumane rigor. And so againe, [2] when as in smaller faults a man may not come to the Communion, except the Bishop and the Clergie first lay their hands on him (*in signe of reconciliation*,) how much more should the discipline of the Lord be obserued in these most grieuous & extreme sinnes? Likewise Basil; [3] Confession of sinnes must necessarilie be made to them to whom the dispensatiō of the mysteries of God is committed: for so they which in former times repented amongst the Saints, are read to haue done. It is written in the Gospel, that they confessed their sinnes to Iohn Baptist; In the Acts they all confessed their sinnes vnto the Apostles, of whom they were baptized. [4] Power to forgiue (*sinnes*) is not absolutely giuen; but (*limited*) to the obedience of the penitent, and agreement with him that hath the charge of the soule.

[1] *Cypr. li. 1. epist. 2.*

[2] *Idem li. 3. epist. 16.*

[3] *Basil. in regulis contractioribus, quæst. 288.*

[4] *Ibid. quæst. 15.*

[5] *Apud Deum non sententia Sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quæritur, Quomodo ergo ibi leprosum Sacrdos mundum vel immundum facit, sic & hic alligat vel soluit Episcopus & Presbyter.* With God saith Ierome, not the sentence of the Priest, but y life of the partie

[5] *Hiero. in Matth. ca. 16.*

is respected. As therefore (*in the law*) the Priest did make (*that is pronounce*) the Leeper cleane or vncleane; so (*in the Gospell*) the Bishop and Presbyter bindeth or looseth. And againe, [1] *fornicator, adulter, homicida & cætera vitia per Sacerdotes de Ecclesia propelluntur.* The fornicator, the adulterer, the homicide, and all other transgressours, are cast out of the Church by the Priest. S. Augustine; Hee that willingly iudgeth himselfe, least against his will he be iudged of the Lord, [2] *Veniat ad Antistites, per quos illi in Ecclesia claues ministrantur, & à Præpositis sacrorum accipiat satisfactionis suæ modum:* Let him come to the Presidents by whom the keies are ministred vnto him in the Church, and receiue of them that haue the ouersight of the Sacraments, the maner of his satisfaction. [3] It seemed vnpossible that by repentance, sinnes should be remitted, saith Ambrose, but Christ grãted this to his Apostles, & from the Apostles it descended to the Priests function. [4] Loe, saith Gregory, (*the Apostles*) which feared the district iudgement of God, are made iudges of soules. Their places now in the Church, the Bishops keepe. They haue authoritie to bind & loose, that are called to (*that*) degree of regiment. A great honour, but a great burden followeth this honour. Let the Pastour of the Church feare vndiscretely to binde or loose: but whether the Pastour binde iustly or vniustly, the Pastours sentence is to be feared of the flocke.

1 *Idem in ca. 3. ad epist. ad Tit.*

2 *Aug. li. 50. homilarum hom. 50. ca. 11.*

3 *Ambros. de pœnitentia, li. 2. ca. 2*

4 *Greg. in euang. hom. 26.*

The Councils generall & prouinciall, reserue both excommunication and reconciliation to the iudgement & conscience of the Pastour & Bishop; and by no means impart either of them to the people or laie-Elders. The great Councel of Nice. [5] Touching such as are put from the Communion, whether they be Clergie men or Laie, by the Bishops in euery place; let this rule be kept according to the Canon, that they which be reiected by some, be not receiued by others; but let it be carefully examined, that they be not cast out of the church by the weaknes, waspishnes, (*frowardnes*) or rashnes of the bishop. And ẏ this matter may the better be enquired of, we like it wel, ẏ twise euery yere there should be kept a Synode in euery Prouince, ẏ all the Bb. of the Prouince meeting together, may examine those matters; & such as haue cleerly offended their bishop, let thẽ be held iustly excõmunicat by all, vntil it shall seeme good to the bishops in cõmon to giue

5 *Nicen. Concil. ca. 5.*

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an easier iudgement of them. This was the ancient and vniuersall rule of Christes Church; for the Pastour or Bishop to haue the power of the keyes to admit and remoue from the Sacraments such as deserued it; and for the examination and moderation of their doings, neither people nor late-Presbyters were ioyned with them, but a Synode of Bishops in the same Prouince euerie halfe yeere heard the matter, when any found himselfe grieued with the censure of his Bishop, and they according to the right of the cause were to reuerse or ratifie the former iudgement; yea the Bishop had power at the time of death, or otherwise vpon the vnfained repentance of the partie to mitigate the rigour of the Canons; as appeareth in the 12. and 13. of the same Councill. [1] It shall be lawfull for the Bishop to deale more gently with them. And againe, [2] generally for euery (*excommunicate person*) that is readie to depart this life, and desireth to bee partaker of the Eucharist; let the Bishop vpon triall giue him the Communion. And so the generall Councill of Chalcedon. [3] We determine the Bishop of the place shall haue power to deale more fauourablie (*with such as by the Canons should stand excommunicate.*)

[1] *Concil. Nicen. ca. 12.*
[2] *Ca. 13.*
[3] *Concil. Chalced. ca. 16.*

The Councill of Antioch. [4] If any be depriued the Communion by his owne Bishop, let him not be admitted to the Communion by others afore he appeare and make his defence at the next Synode; and obtaine from them another iudgement; except his owne Bishop *or Diœcesan*, bee content to receiue him. This rule to be kept touching late-men, Priests & Deacons, and all others within the compasse of the Canon. The Councill of Sardica. [5] If a Bishop be ouer caried with anger, (which ought not to be in such a man,) and hastily mooued against a Priest or Deacon, wil cast him out of the church, we must prouide that he be not condemned, whe he is innocent, nor depriued the Communion. And the Bishop that hath put him from the Communion, must be content that the matter bee heard, that his sentence may be confirmed or corrected. But before the perfect & exact hearing & looking into the cause, hee that is excommunicated, may not challenge the Communion. The fift Councill at Carthage; [6] Let the times of repentance be appointed by the discretion of the Bishops vnto *Penitents*, according to the difference

[4] *Concil. Antiochen. ca. 6.*
[5] *Concil. Sardicens. ca. 14.*
[6] *Concil. Carthag. 3. ca. 31. & 32.*

of their sinnes. And that no Presbyter reconcile a penitent, without the liking of the Bishop; vnlesse necessitie force it in the absence of the Bishop. And if the fault be publike & blazed abroad, and offend the whole Church, let hands be imposed on him, before (*the rules, or*) Arch (*which seuereth the people from the ministers.*) Concerning those which worthily for their offences are cast out of the assemblie of the Church; Augustine (*then*) Legate for Numidia sayd. May it please you to decree, that if any bishop or Presbyter receiue them to the Communion, which are worthily throwen out of the Church for crimes committed, he himselfe shall be subiect to the same chalenge that they were, declining the lawful sentence of their owne bishop. Sozomene declaring after what penitentiall maner the excommunicate persons in the Primitiue Church stood in an open place, whence the whole assemblie might see them; addeth, that in this sorte, [1] euery one of them abideth the time, how long soeuer, which the bishop hath appointed him. A thousand other places might bee noted both in Fathers and Councils, to shewe that from the Apostles to this day; no late person was euer admitted in the Church of Christ, to ioyne with the Pastours and Bishops in the publike vse of the keies; and therefore the fathers haue exceeding wrong to be made fauourers and vpholders of the late discipline and late Presbytere.

[1] *Sozome. li. 7. ca. 16.*

Cyprian *confesseth, the people consented and concurred with him in the receiuing of Schismatikes, & such lewd offenders to the church and Communion, vpon repentance. His words to* Cornelius *be these:* [2] O if you might be present here with vs when peruerse persons returne from their schisme, you should see what labour I haue to perswade patience to our brethren, that suppressing their griefe of heart, they would consent to the receiuing and curing of these euil (*members.*) I hardly perswade the people, yea, I am forced to wrest it frō them, before they wil suffer such to be admitted. It is an easie matter to make some shewe of contradiction in the writings of the ancient fathers, diuers occasions leading them to speake diuerslie; but it will neuer be prooued they thought it lawfull for late men to chalenge the publike vse of the keyes in the Church of Christ. The causes of excommunication, and times of repentance, were wholie referred to the iudgement of such as had the

[2] *Cypr. li. 1. epistola 3.*

the chiefest charge of the worde and Sacramentes, as wee may perceiue by the former authorities; yet in notorious and scandalous offenses, when the whole Church was grieued, or when a schisme was feared; the godlie fathers did both in remouing and reconciling of such persons, stale for the liking and approbation of the whole people to concurre with them; not to warrant or confirme the sentence that should bee giuen, but to satisfie their consciences, and to preuent schismes. [1] In offering the sacrifice of a troubled heart, let the deuote and suppliant doe not onely that which helpeth for the recouering of his owne saluation, but that also which may doe others good by example: when his sinne hath greatlie hurt himselfe, and scandalized others, *atque hoc expedire vtilitati ecclesiæ videtur Antistiti*, and the Bishop (*or chiefe Priest*) thinke it expedient for the good of the Church, let him not refuse to repent in the sight of many; yea, of the whole people. How dangerous it is to [2] offend the least of those that beleeue in Christ, the Gospell doeth witnesse. Great reason then had those godlie fathers, to see the whole Church satisfied before they released the sentence of excommunication, or time of repentance; and in so doing, they shewed, not what right the multitude or lay-Elders had to sit Iudges with the Bishop, but what care themselues had to remoue from the people all occasions of stumbling; diligentlie teaching their flockes neither to stagger at other mens falles to their owne subuersion, nor to bee straight laced against repentance, through presumption of their owne standing, which were nothing els but to insult at other mens miseries.

[1] *Aug. lib. 50. homiliarum homil. 50. ca. 20.*

[2] *Mat. 18. v. 6.*

The like course S. Augustine aduiseth to bee vsed, for auoiding seditions and factions. [3] When any mans fault is so knowen to all, and abhorred of all, that it hath no partakers, or not such by whom a schisme may rise, slacke not the seueritie of discipline. And then may it bee done without breach of peace and vnitie, and without harming the corne, when the whole multitude of the Church is free from that sinne for which the offender is excommunicated. For then (*the people*) rather helpe the Gouernours (*or Prelates*) rebuking, then the guiltie resisting. Then do (*the people*) keepe themselues from

[3] *August. contra Parmeniani epistolam lib. 3. ca. 2.*

his societie, so as not one of them will eate with him, not of an hostile rage, but by brotherly correction. Then the offender is striken with feare, & recouered with shame, when seeing himselfe held accursed of the whole Church, he can finde no number to ioyne with him to insult on the good, and reioyce in his sinne. But all this notwithstanding, the censure proceeded from the Bishop and Pastour of the place, and not from the people or late-Elders associated with him in pronouncing that iudgement. Examples and testimonies whereof are euery where to bee had both in Austen and Cyprian.

When Rogatianus a Bishop, contumeliously abused by his Deacon complained vnto Cyprian and others of that iniurie, Cyprian writ backe in this wise. [1] You did vs great honour, and shewed your accustomed humilitie, in that you choose rather to complaine of him (*to vs,*) *Cum pro Episcopatus vigore, & Cathedræ authoritate haberes potestatem, quia possis de illo statim vindicari*; whereas by vigour of your Episcopall function, and authoritie of your chaire, you had power (*enough*) to bee straightway reuenged of him. And after a long discourse, that honour and obedience is due to the Priests and Pastours by Gods law, he concludeth; [2] Therefore the Deacon of whom you write, must shew himselfe penitent for his boldnes, and acknowledge the honor of (*your*) Priesthood, and with full humilitie satisfie (*you being*) his Bishop & Gouernour. And if he shall offend & prouoke you any more with his contempts, vse against him y power of your (*calling &*) honor, either *in deposing or excommunicating* him. And because you wrate of an other that toke part with your Deacon in his pride and stiffenes, him also, and if there be any more that set themselues against Gods Priest, you may either represse, or remoue frō the Communion. Yet we wish & desire with mild patience, to conquere the reproches and wrongs of euery one, *potiùs quàm sacerdotali licencia vindicare*, rather then to reuenge them in such sort, as it is easie for Priestes to doe. Speaking of himselfe and his owne cause, hee saieth; [3] The Church here is shutte against no man, the Bishop with-holdeth himselfe from none, my patience, facilitie and mildenesse are open to such as come. I remitte all things, I conceale many things, I doe not examine trespasses against God with a religious

[1] *Cypria. li. 3. epistola 9.*

[2] *Ibidem.*

[3] *Cypr. li. 1. epistola 3.*

and exact iudgement, for the verie desire and care I haue to keepe the brethren together; I my selfe doe almost sinne with remitting offences more then I should.

Auxilius a fresh yoong Bishop, hauing excommunicated a person of good account with his whole family for infringing the liberties of his Church, as he supposed; Saint Augustine treateth with him by letters to know what ground he had out of the Scriptures to excommunicate the sonne for the Fathers, the wife for the husbands, the seruants for their masters offence; and amongst others vseth these wordes. [1] Loe, I am readie to learne; an olde man of a yong, a Bishop of so long continuance, from my Colleague, not yet a yeeres standing: what good reason we may yeelde to God or to men, if for another mans sinne we indanger innocent soules with a spirituall punishment. If you can giue a reason for it, vouchsafe by writing to acquaint me with it, that I may be able likewise; if you cannot, what is it for you to doe (*such a thing*) vpon an vnaduised motion of the minde, whereof being asked, you are not able to yeelde a iust reason? Neither thinke that vniust anger cannot ouertake vs, because we are Bishops; but let vs rather remember wee liue dangerously amidst the snares of temptations, because we are men. Saint Austen blameth neither people, nor Presbyters for the deede; but the Bishop whose hastie iudgement it was; and willeth him, not them, to bethinke himselfe what account he can yeelde to God or man for that Ecclesiasticall censure. And that excommunication pertained to the Pastorall charge, and proceeded from the Episcopall power and seate; the same Father euery where witnesseth. Vpon the wordes of Saint Iohn, I saw seates, and some sitting on them, and iudgement was giuen, he writeth thus. [2] *Non hoc putandum de vltimo iudicio dici, sed sedes Præpositorum & ipsi Præpositi intelligendi sunt, per quos ecclesia nunc gubernatur. Iudicium autem datum nullum melius acciptendum videtur, quàm id quod dictum est, quæcunq; ligaueritis in terra erunt ligata & in cælo &c.* This must not be thought to be spoken of the last iudgement, but the seats of the Presidents, and the Presidents themselues, by whom the Church is now gouerned, are thereby to be vnderstoode. And iudgement giuen cannot better way be taken, the for that which is spoken of (*in the same order*) Whatsoeuer you binde in earth, shalbe

[1] *Augustin. epistola 75.*

[2] *Augustin. de ciuitate Dei lib. 20. cap. 9.*

shalbe bound in heauen; & what you looſe in earth, shalbe looſed in heauen.

May not the word Præpoſiti *ſignifie the Lay Elders, aſwel as Biſhops; ſince they alſo are ſet ouer the Church to gouerne the flocke in their kinde as well as Paſtours?*] The Fathers vſe many words to expreſſe the calling and office of Biſhops, as *Antiſtites, Præſules, Præſidentes, Præpoſiti, Rectores, Sacerdotes*, and ſuch like, but of all theſe *Præpoſitus* with Cyprian and Auſten is the moſt vſuall word for a Biſhop, and hath beſt warrant from the Scriptures. [1] *Ob hoc eccleſiæ Præpoſitum perſequitur, vt gubernatore ſublato, atrocius atque violentius circa eccleſiæ naufragia graſſetur.* For this cauſe ſayeth Cyprian, doeth (*Chriſtes enemie*) purſue him that is ſet ouer the Church, that the Gouernour being made away, hee may with more violence and furie make hauocke in the ſhipwrackes of the Church. And againe in the ſame place, We may not bee ſo vnmindefull of the diuine doctrine, *vt maiora eſſe furentium ſcelera, quàm Sacerdotum iudicia cenſeamus*, as to thinke the wicked enterpriſes of the deſperate to bee of more force, then the iudgements of Prieſtes. [2] Shall wee lay aſide the power and authoritie of Prieſtes, *vt iudicare velle ſe dicant de eccleſiæ Præpoſito extra eccleſiam conſtitutis? de iudice rei? de Sacerdote ſacrilegi?* To let them that are ought of the Church ſay they will iudge of the Ruler of the Church? the guiltie of him that is their Iudge? ſacrilegious perſons of their Prieſt? And elſe-where; [3] what daunger is not to bee feared by offending the Lorde, when ſome of the Prieſtes, not remembring their place, neither thinking they haue a Biſhop ſet ouer them, chalenge the whole vnto themſelues *cum contumelia & contemptu Præpoſiti*, euen with the reproch and contempt of him that is ſet ouer them. And ſo almoſt euery where [4] *Apoſtolos, id eſt Epiſcopos, & Præpoſitos Dominus elegit*. The Lorde (*himſelfe*) choſe the Apoſtles, that is, the Biſhoppes and ouerſeers. And againe, *Epiſcopo præpoſito ſuo plena humilitate ſatisfaciat*; [5] with al humilitie let him ſatiſfie the Biſhop, being ſet ouer him.

Saint Auguſtine vſeth the word in the ſame manner. [6] Their caſe is farre woorſe, ſaith he, to whom it is ſaid by the Prophet; He ſhal die in his ſins, but his blood wil I require at the watchmans hands. *Ad hoc enim ſpeculatores, hoc eſt populorum Præ-*

poſiti

[1] *Cypr. lib. 2. epiſt. 3.*

[2] *Ibidem.*

[3] *Cypr. lib. 3. epiſt. 24.*

[4] *Cypr. lib. 3. epiſt. 9.*

[5] *Ibidem.*

[6] *Auguſt. de ciuitate Dei lib. 1. ca. 9.*

positi constituti sunt in ecclesiis, vt non parcant obiurgando peccata. For to this ende are watchmen, I meane the Pastours of the people placed in the Churches, that they should not spare to rebuke sinne. [1] Our heauenly master (saith he in another place) gaue vs warning before hand, *vt de Prepositis malis plebẽ securã redderet, ne propter illos doctrina salutaris Cathedra deseretur*, to make the people secure touching euil ouerseers, lest for their sakes the chaire of wholsom doctrine should be forsaken. And again, [2] *Habet ouile Domini Prepositos, & filios & mercenarios. Prepositi autẽ, qui filij sunt, Pastores sunt.* The Lords folde hath some ouerseers, that be children, & some that be hirelings. The ouerseers that be children, are Pastors. [3] *Diuina voce laudatur sub Angeli nomine Prepositus ecclesiæ*: By Christes owne mouth the ouerseer of the Church is praised vnder the name of an Angel. [4] *Attendit ouis etiam fortis plerumq; Prepositum suum*; The sheep that is strong for the most part marketh his Leader: & saith in his heart, *si Prepositus meus sic vnuit*: If my leader so liue, why should not I doe that which he doth. The old translation of the new Testament hath ꝑ very same vse of the same word *Prepositi*. [5] *Mementote Prepositorũ vestrorũ, qui locuti sunt vobis verbum Dei.* Remẽber your (*Leaders or*) ouerseers which spake vnto you the word of God. And a gaine, [6] *Obedite Prepositis vestris; ipsi enim pernigilant quasi rationẽ pro animabus vestris reddituri*; Obey your ouerseers, for they watch ouer your souls, as those that shal giue accoũt (*for them.*)

And as the vse of the word is cleere in S. Austen, so is this assertion as cleere, that excommunication is a Pastorall and Episcopall iudgement, and no Laicall or popular action or censure. [7] *Ipsa, quæ damnatio nominatur, quam facit Episcopale iudicium, qua pœna in ecclesia nulla maior est, potest si Deus voluerit in correptionem saluberrimam cedere. Pastoralis tamen necessitas habet, ne per plures serpant dira contagia, separare ab omnibus sanis morbidam.* That which is called condemnation, an effect of the Episcopall iudgement, then the which there can be no greater punishment in the Church, may if it so please God turne to a most wholsom correction. Yet the Pastour must needes separate the diseased sheepe from the sound, lest the deadly infection creepe further. But what neede wee more priuate testimonies, when the publike Lawes of the Romaine Empire will witnesse as much?

[1] *Augustin. epist. 166.*

[2] *Augustin. in Ioan. tract. 46.*

[3] *Ibid. epist. 162.*

[4] *Augustin. de Pastoribus ca. 4.*

[5] Hebr. 13.

[6] Ibidem.

[7] *Augustin. de correptione & gratia ca. 15.*

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1 Nouell constit. 123. ca. 11.

[1] We charge all Bishops and Priests (saieth the Emperour by his authentike constitution) that they separate no man from the sacred Communion before they shewe the cause, for which the holie Canons will it to be doone. If any doe otherwise in remooving any from the holie Communion, hee that is vniustly kept from the Communion, let him bee absolued from his excommunication by a superiour (*Bishop or*) Priest, and restored to the Communion; and he that presumed to excommunicate (*without iust cause*) let him be put from the Communion by the Bishop vnder whose iurisdiction he is, as long as (*the Superior*) shall thinke good, that he may iustly abide that, which hee vniustly offered. No man ought remooue an other from the Communion but a Bishop or a Priest; and he that vniustly did it, was by a superiour and higher Bishop to be put from the Communion for such time as he thought meete.

Euery priuate man by Saint Austens confession, might admonish and reprone, yea, bind and loose his brother; and Theophilact saith

Theoph in Matth. ca. 16.

[2] Not onely those things which the Priests do loose, are loosed: but whatsoeuer, we being oppressed with iniurie, do binde or loose, those things are bound & loosed also.] Eche man by word of mouth, and with griefe of heart, might and shoulde detest sinne, and reprooue sinners; and hee that is afflicted with any wrong, hath best right to release the same. But this doeth not touch the publike vse of the keyes in Christes Church, whereby wicked and impenitent persons are excluded or remooued from the Sacraments, vntill they shew themselues sorrowfull for their sinnes, and willing to amend their lewd course of life. With preaching the word and deliuering the Sacraments, neither people nor lay Elders might intermeddle, but onely Pastours, which had the charge and care of soules committed vnto them.

To whome then did Paul speake when he said to the Corinthians,

1. Corint. 5.

[3] Remooue that wicked one from among you?] If he spake to the people, he meant they should refraine all societie with that incestuous person, and not so much as eate with him: if he entended to haue the malefactor remooued from the Lordes Table; he spake to the Prophets and Pastours that had power and charge so to do. S. [4] Austen doth often expound it, as if he had required them to remooue that euill one from themselues, in not allowing, consenting,

4 August. contra Parmen. in epistolab. 3. ca. 1.

senting, or fauouring so wicked a fact in their hearts. Take which you will, I stand indifferent; howbeit by the wordes of his second Epistle it should seeme, he spake not to the whole Church of Corinth, but to the leaders and teachers there, when he willed them to remoone that wicked one from amongst themselues. For this he writeth of the very same person: [1] Sufficient for this (*offendor*) is the punishment, (*or reproofe*) that proceeded from many (*not from all.*) Wherfore I pray you confirme your loue towards him. For this cause also did I write, that I might see the proofe of you, whether you would be obedient in all things. So that in excommunicating the incestuous sinner, Paul asked not their consents, but tryed their obedience, and they with all care and zeale shewed themselues ready to execute his precept. [1] 2. Corinth. 5.

At least yet the Presbyterie ioyned with the Apostle in excommunicating that malefactour; and of this Presbyterie the Lay Elders were no small part; so that by this precedent of the Apostolike discipline, the Pastours cannot exclude any men from the Sacraments without the liking of the Lay Elders and Presbyters.] What the Presbyterie might doe cannot well be resolued, vntill it be first agreed, of what persons this Presbyterie consisted. Some thinke certaine skilfull and discrecte men as well of the Laitie as of the Cleargie, were appointed by the common choice of the people to deliberate and determine of manners and all other matters pertaining to the regiment of the Church; and that by their aduise and consent, as it were by the decree of an Ecclesiasticall Senate, the power of the keyes was directed, and handes impoled. For this assertion, they shewe the witnesse both of Scriptures and Fathers so cleare, as they suppose, that they cannot be auoyded. Some others confesse there was a kinde of Presbyterie in the Apostles times and long after in many Churches: but thence they exclude all Lay persons as no partes thereof, and account in that number none, but such as had charge of the worde and Sacraments, and ioyntly labored the conuerting of vnbeleeuers to the faith, and preseruing of the Church in trueth and godlines. Which of these two positions is the sounder, in processe will appeare.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

What the Presbyterie was, which the Apostles mention in their writings, and whether any Lay Elders were of that number or no.

IT is not to be doubted, that in the Apostles time, euery citie where the Gospell was receiued, had many Prophets, Pastours and Teachers not only traueling to and fro to exhort and confirme the brethren, but abiding and persisting in the same place, all labouring to encrease the number of the Church, and continue the faithful in their profession. At Ierusalem fifteene yeeres after Christes ascention were [1] Apostles and [2] Elders; At Antioch in the Church were [2] Prophets & Teachers, Barnabas, Simeon, Lucius, Manehen and Saul, besides Marke and others. In Rome when Paul came thither were many approued [3] Labourers and helpers in Christ whom he knew before, besides such as the citie it selfe yeelded; of whome hee had then no such experience, and therefore passeth them ouer vnsaluted by name as then vnknowen. After, when hee came thither, he sheweth who were his [4] workefellowes vnto the kingdome of God, to the Church of Corinth he saith, [5] Let the Prophets speake two or three, and the rest iudge. Being at Miletum he [6] sent for the Elders of Ephesus, whome the holie Ghost had set to watch and feede the Church of God. He writeth to the Saints at Philippi [7] together with the Bishops and Deacons. S. Iames saieth to the Iewes dispersed, [8] If any be sicke, let him call for the Elders of the Church, and let them pray ouer him: noting there were in euery Church not one, but many Elders, whose office it was to pray ouer the sicke, release their sinnes, and ease their infirmities.

This number of Teachers and Helpers in the Gospel was not superfluous, but very requisite in those daies; by reason they were forced to exhort and admonish as well priuatly [9] throughout euery house, as openly when the Church was assembled, for feare of seducers that secretly [10] crept into houses leading away women loden with sinnes, and [11] subuerted whole houses teaching things (they ought not) for filthy lucres sake; and also for that they were daily to win those to Christ that yet beleeued not. In which case they were to refrain no place, nor slack no time to make Christ knowen

[1] Act. 15.
[2] Act. 13.
[3] Rom. 16.
[4] Colos. 4.
[5] 1. Cor. 14.
[6] Act. 20.
[7] Phil. 1.
[8] Iaco. 5.
[9] Act. 20.
[10] 2. Tim. 3.
[11] Tit. 1.

knowen to euery particular person, and house that was ignorant of him. And to this end they needed more aide then otherwise to guide and direct the Church at such times as the Saints mette together. Neither ceased this necessitie with the Apostles; it dured manie hundred yeers after them; which was the cause that in euery great citie the Pastors and Bishops had many Ministers & helpers ioyned with them, to labour the conuersion of miscreants, to strengthen and encourage the Martyrs and Confessours that suffered by thousands for the name of Christ, to visite the sicke and comfort them in their extremities, to catechise the Nouices, to attend the seruice and Sacraments of the Church, to examine the faith, and survey the behauiour of all that repaired to the Lordes Table, and to performe a number of such sacred duties, which for one Pastor or Bishop alone to do in so populous cities and assemblies, as they had, was vtterly impossible.

A Presbyterie then of Prophets, Pastors and Teachers, the Apostles in their times had and vsed in euery Citie, where they planted the Faith and setled the Church: but that lay Gouernours or Elders were part of that Presbyterie, & concurred ioyntly with the Pastors & Prophets in imposing hands, & exercising the power of ỳ keys, & censuring both doctrine & maners; I find no such thing commãded or warranted by the Scriptures; the patrons of ỳ Lay Presbyterie must vndertake the burden to proue their assertion.

The very foundation of the Lay Presbytery so strongly conceiued & eagerly pursued by men in our dayes, is the place of S. Paul 1. Tim. 5. [a] The Elders that rule well are worthie of double ho- [a] 1. Tim. 5.
nor, chiefly they that labor in the word & doctrine. Hence it is resolutely inferred; *ergo*, there were some Elders that labored not in the word and doctrine; and those by comparison of other places are supposed to be [b] Gouernours, which office Paul nameth amongest the spirituall functions of the Church, when he saieth; [c] Hee [b] 1. Cor. 12. [c] Rom. 12.
that ruleth (*let him do it*) with diligence. It is a matter of no small weight to giue Lay men power in euery parish to impose handes and vse the keyes, yea to haue the full and whole gouernement of the Church, aboue and against the Pastours by number of voyces, if they differ in iudgement; and therefore the ground that shall beare the frame of the Lay Presbyterie had need be sure, especially when it is vrged as a part of Christs spirituall kingdom, without

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the which no Church can be Christes, no more then it may with out the trueth of his doctrine. But whether the wordes of Saint Paul 1. Timoth. 5. inferre any such thing or no, this is the matter wee haue now in hand. Some learned and late writers do so conceiue of that place; for my parte, I see so many iust and good reasons against their suppoſall, that I can not yeelde to their iudgement.

The first reason I haue of the weakenes of this place to vphold the Lay Presbyterie is, that many learned and ancient Fathers haue debated and sifted the force of these wordes, and not one of them euer so much as surmised any such thing to be contained in this Text. Chrysostome, Ierome, Ambrose, Theodoret, Primasius, Oecumenius, Theophilact and diuers others haue considered and expounded these wordes, and neuer dreamed of any Lay Presbyterie to be mentioned in them. If then the wordes of Saint Paul stand faire and cleere without this late deuise, as in the iudgement of these learned and ancient Writers they do; What reason after fifteene hundred yeeres, to entertaine a newe platforme of gouerning the Church by Lay men, vpon a bare conceit that the wordes of Saint Paul may sound to that effect as some imagine?

The second reason of my dissenting is; for that Saint Paul naming the Presbyterie but once in al his Epistles, excludeth al Lay
1. Timoth. 4. Elders from that Presbyterie. 'Neglect not the grace which is in thee, which was giuen thee by Propheſie, with the impoſition of hands of the Presbyterie. This is the onely place in all the Scriptures, where the Presbyterie is namely mentioned; and Lay Elders are most plainely remooued hence as no parte of this Presbyterie. For this Christian Presbyterie gaue impoſition of hãds to ordaine Ministers: but Lay-Elders had no right to impoſe hands to that purpoſe; *Ergo*, Lay men were no part of this Presbyterie. That impoſition of hands to make Ministers is a kinde of Sacrament, and reserued solely to Paſtours; if Saint Austens authoritie were not sufficient, Caluins confeſſion is very euident,
Supra pag. 109. which I noted before. They must be Ministers of the worde and Sacraments and succeede the Apoſtles in their Paſtorall charge and function, that must ordaine others by impoſing handes, and giue them power and grace to diſpence both the word and Sacraments.

ments. This Lay Elders in the Apostles times neither did, nor might do, they were therefore no part of that Presbyterie, which Saint Paul speaketh of in his writings. Must we take the worde not for the Colledge of Elders, but for the degree and office which Timothie receiued? Neither so is the force of my reason auoided. For choose which you will to be the signification of the word πρεσβυτέριον, either collectiue for the whole cõpanie of Elders, or distributiue for the degree & office of euery Elder: if collectiue, none could be of that Colledge that might not giue imposition of hands; if distributiue none might take that function and calling on him, but must receiue imposition of handes, as Timothie did. Then Lay men which neither did giue nor receiue impositiõ of hands, are barred both from the degree, and from the societie of Presbyterie, which was in Saint Pauls time.

Beza thinketh best to take it for a nowne collectiue, and adderh, πρεσβυτέριον, *id est, ordinis Presbyterorum; quo nomine eatenus ille omnia significatur, qui in verbo laborabant in ea ecclesia, vbi hoc factum est.* The Presbyterie, that is, the order *or company* of Elders; by which name the whole company is signified, that laboured in the word in that Church, where this was done. Then the whole Eldership or company of Elders in S. Pauls time laboured in the worde. Where now were the Lay Elders that laboured not in the worde? What Presbyterie were they of? Had euerie Church two Presbyteries? I trust not. This whole Presbyterie consisted of Pastours and Teachers; An other Colledge of Lay Elders and no Pastours will neuer be found.

My third reason is, for that the Text it selfe doth clearely refuse the sense which they inforce. If or as they conclude, there were *ergo* some Elders that did not labour in the worde and doctrine, and yet gouerned well; so the wordes are more euident, that they all were worthie of double honour, whether they laboured or gouerned. Which by Saint Paules proofes presently following, and by the consent of all old and new Writers is meant of their maintenance at the charges of the Church. Honour in this place, (saith Chrysostome) *Paul* calleth reuerence and allowance of thinges needefull. Paul will haue (*the rest*) yeelde carnall thinges to them of whome they receiue spirituall, because being occupied in teaching, they can not prouide thinges needefull for them-

1 *Annotat. in 1. Timoth. 4.*

2 *Chrysost homil. 15. in 1. Tim. 5.*

3 *Hiero. in 1. Timothæ. 5.*

themselues. [1] Good & faithfull Stewards, saith Ambrose, ought to be thought worthie not onely of high but of earthly honour, that they bee not grieued for lacke of maintenance. Paul [2] willeth maintenance to be chiefly yeelded to the Pastours that are occupied in teaching. For such is the ingratitude of the world, that take small care for nourishing the Ministers of the worde. [3] As the poore, so the Elders seruing the whole Church, are to be mainteined by the goods of the Church. Paul [4] mentioning the Church treasure, presently exhorteth the Ministers of the Church to be thence maintained. [5] By the name of honour is signified al godly duty and reliefe, after the vse of the Hebrewe (speach.)

[1] Ambrose in 1. Timoth. ca. 5.

[2] Calu. in 1. Timoth. ca. 5.

[3] Bulling. in 1. Timoth. ca 5.

[4] Vilichius in 1. Timoth. 5.

[5] Beza in 1. Timoth. 5.

Now that Lay Iudges and Censors of maners were in the Apostles time found at the expenses of the Church, or by Gods Law ought to haue their maintenance at the peoples handes, is a thing to me so strange and vnheard of, that vntil I see it iustly proued, I can not possibly beleeue it. S. Paul hath laied downe this rule; [6] They that serue at the Altar, should be partakers of the Altar; and by Gods ordinance, they that preach the Gospell, must liue of the Gospell. Where shall we finde the like for the Lay Iudges that laboured not in the worde? They were, (if any such were,) as the sagest, so euery way the sufficientest men that were amongest the people; for feare of faction, contempt and corruption, which easily grow when the weaker and baser rule ouer the richer and better sort. If the Apostle will not haue the poore widowes, so long as they might otherwise be succoured or employed, grieue the Church; would he then put the burden of the Lay Iudges and Elders, in number many, in state able to relieue others, on the necks of the meaner and poorer brethren? there is neither cause, nor commandement in the word so to charge the Churches of Christ with maintaining the Lay Senate, which yet must be done before this construction can be admitted.

[6] 1. Cor. 9.

The fourth reason that holdeth me from receiuing this construction is, that I find diuers and sundrie interpretations more agreeable to the Text, and more answerable to S. Pauls meaning, then this; which is lately so much liked & obtruded to the whole Church as the expresse voice of Gods spirit.

I deriue my first exposition from the Apostles purpose, which

heere is so plaine, that it can not bee doubted. For letting Timothie vnderstand with whome the Church of necessity must bee charged, and what degrees must bee obserued in their maintenance; hee beginneth with widowes, and sheweth which of them are fitte to bee relieued by the Church, and which to bee left to their friendes and kinsfolkes, that [1] the Church be not burdened, but may suffice for those that are widowes indeede. From widowes hee commeth vnto Elders; that is, from the women to the men amongst them that must be found foode and apparell for them and theirs at the charges of the Church, and of them hee saieth, [2] The Elders that rule well, to wit, which guide well the things committed to their charge, let them be counted woorthie of double honour; hee meaneth eyther of larger allowance then the widowes, because their calling was higher, and paines greater; or else maintenance for themselues and their families; which the widowes might not expect. For since they were to relinquish their former trades of life, whereby they succoured their families, and wholy to addict themselues to the seruice of the Church; the wisedome of God prouided for them, as vnder Moses for the Priestes and Leuites, that they which serued at the Altar, should liue of the Altar, both they and theirs. These Elders were of two sorts; some laboured in the woord, some eared and attended for the poore. Both were woorthie of double honour, if they discharged their dueties well, but [3] specially they that laboured in the worde and doctrine. The Church that was to beare the charge; the party to whom he wrate, were acquainted with it before this time, and accustomed to it. Paul requireth the people to doe it willingly and liberally, and warneth Timothie to see it doone. For such as serue the Church are woorthie of it, chiefly the Ministers. There were then, you will say, other Elders in the Church that were not Ministers of the woorde. There were, and those were the Deacons, whom you must either exclude from maintenance, and that you may not; or else comprise in this place vnder the name of Elders.

Happely you thinke this an inuasion and no exposition. It standeth more sitely with the intent of Saint Paul then Lay Elders, and as cleare with the woordes. When the Church at Ierusalem was diuided by Saint Luke (their owne letters) into [4] Apostles,

[1] 1. Tim. 5.
[2] Ibidem.
[3] Ibidem.
[4] Act. 6.

Elders and Brethren; in which of these three are the Deacons
[1] Act.14. contained? Not in Elders? When Paul and Barnabas [1] ordained Elders in euerie Church as they passed, left they the Churches without Deacons, or neglected they the care of the poore?
[2] 1.Tim.5. The next woordes to these, [2] Receiue not an accusation against an Elder, but vnder two or three witnesses; doe they exclude the Deacons, or include them in this rule? If the word πρεσβύτερος an Elder, bee a name of age; why shall the Deacons bee barred that name, when as they were chosen for their age, grauitie and wisedome, as well as the Ministers? If it bee a
[3] 1.Tim.3. name of office; that the Deacons [3] by well ministring gette themselues a good degree, Saint Paul witnesseth: that Lay men had anie office in the Church as heere is imagined, what Text prooueth? This onelie place of all the Newe Testament is produced; and by this, the doubt is rather encreased, then decided.

Besides, that the woordes διάκονοι, πρεσβύτεροι, ἐπίσκοποι bee often so largely taken, that they comprise all Ecclesiasticall functions, might soone be prooued, if it were not confessed by such learned
[4] Annotat. Beza in 1.Tim.4. men as very much fauour this late found construction. [4] These names of Bishops, Elders and Deacons be sometimes generall.
[5] Idemin 1.Pet. ca.5. [5] The name of Elder is generall comprehending all those, that haue any ecclesiasticall function. Then is our first exposition neyther false nor forced, but matcheth as rightly with the woordes of Saint Paul as theirs doeth, and farre righter with the sense.

A second interpretation of the woordes is that which Chrysostome and other Greeke writers embrace; that where in a Minister of the word, good life, good gouernement, and good doctrine are required: the two first are commended; but painefulnesse in ẏ word, is chiefly to be preferred in men of their calling. And so not two sorts of Elders, but two parts of the Pastoral charge & function are implyed in these woordes. Speake I more then you your selues confesse? Is it not your owne distinction, that some are Doctors, which labor in the word, but haue no cure of soules; some Pastors, which besides their publike paines in the word, haue a speciall charge to watch ouer euerie mans soule, where they liue? S. Paul
[6] Hebr.13. verse 7. & 17. to the Hebrews calleth the Ministers of the word [illegible] and

between

betweene προϊστάμενοι which is to stande before, and ἡγούμενοι, which is to goe before, (as Leaders doe,) what difference can you finde? Heare one whose learning you cannot, and iudgement in this case you do not mislike. [1] *Idem valet προϊστάμενοι quod ἡγούμενοι, quia nimirum Pastores gregi præeant.* These two wordes are all one in signification, becaule the Pastours doe *goe before* or leade the flocke. They must as well [2] ποιμαίνειν as προϊστάναι, that is, ouersee, as feede: and both ouerseeing import no more then simply teaching: why should it seeme strange to any man, that we affirme the Ministers of the word should be not only παντὸς πονηροῦ painefull to teach, but ἐπισκοποῦντες watchfull to guide and ouersee, since the Apostle ioyneth them both in good Pastours? [3] We beseech you brethren (saieth hee) acknowledge τοὺς κοπιῶντας ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ προϊσταμένους ὑμῶν ἐν κυρίῳ, those which labour amongst you, and are ouer you in the Lord, and admonish you; and haue them in singular loue for their worke sake. Whereupon a great Patrone of the discipline writeth thus: [4] *Notandum est quibus titulis Pastores designet: primo dicit eos laborare, simul præfectura a nomine eos ornat.* It is to be noted, by what titles *Paul* designeth Pastours: first hee saith, they labour; and withall he adourneth them with the name of *rule and* gouernement. It is then no consequent out of this place, *ergo*, some Elders did not teach, but gouerne; this rather is inferred, *ergo*, more is expected of an Elder then teaching; to wit, good example of life, and watchfulnesse ouer his charge. As if hee shoulde haue saide; Pastours or Elders are woorthie of double honour in that they guide well themselues and their flocke; but chiefely for that they labour in the Woorde, which is the greatest and chiefest parte of their function. And so is our second interpretation warranted both by the true bounde of the Pastorall function, and the like vse of the same woords else-where in the Apostle, and all this confessed by them that are very well learned, and well affected to the Presbyterie.

A third explication of these woords, may be shortly drawen from the force of the woorde κοπιᾶν, which importeth painefull and earnest labour; and then the sense is: The Elders that rule well are woorthie of double honour, chiefely they which be laborious *and painefull in the word.* This is both proper and vsuall force of the woord, when it doeth not signifie bodily labour, but is

[1] *Annotat. Beza in 1. Thess. 5.*

[2] Act. 20. v. 28.

[3] 1. Thes. 5. v. 12.

[4] *Calu. in 1. Thes. 5.*

translated to the word, I thinke no man learned doth doubt. [illegible] is simply to labour, [illegible] is to weary our selues with labour. [1] *Certe plus est [illegible] quam [illegible] significationem [illegible]* [illegible] is more then [illegible] saith Beza, if we respect the proper signification of either; [illegible] wearines is more then labour. He then which laboureth is worthie of his wages; but hee that euen wearieth himselfe with hard labour, is more woorthie. So saith Saint Paul. The Pastours or Elders that discharge their places are woorthie of double honor, chiefly they which refuse no paines & wearie themselues with labour and care to teach and admonish. Speake we absurdly, obscurely, or not answerably to the force of the Apostles words, when we thus expound him?

[1] Beza Annotat. in Matth. 11.

A fourth construction may be had of this Text, & that consonant to the words & intent of S. Paul; & yet no Lay Elders empanelled in the Iurie. [illegible] may be referred to such Pastours and teachers as were abiding in euery Church: and therefore are properly said [illegible] to haue the charge and ouersight of the faithful, as being affixed to the place for that purpose; [illegible] to those that trauelled from place to place to visite and confirme the Churches. The words serue well for this difference, and both sorts were to haue maintenance from the Churches, as well they that trauelled as they that persisted. Touching the vse of the word [illegible], besides that in the 6. of Matthew; the 5. and 12. of Luke; the 4. of Iohn; 20. of the Acts; the 1. Corinth. 14; the 4. Ephes. the 2. Tim. 2: it doth without all contradiction signifie bodily labour and wearinesse; Saint Paul in the 1. Corinth. 15. thus writeth: [2] Christ rising *from death* the third day was seene of Iames, then of all the Apostles; last of all hee was seene of mee as one borne not in due time: for I am the least of the Apostles, and not fitte to be called an Apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God; [illegible], yet haue I laboured more then all they. He meaneth, then the rest of the Apostles, to whom Christ appeared. I demaund whether Paul charged the other Apostles with negligence, or whether he durst affirme, that he had preached Christ more diligently then all they? It were an arrogant presumption so to say; and a lewd imagination so to thinke. What then is the meaning of his words? Though he were an Abortiue and the least of them all, yet had he trauelled further in spreading

[2] 1. Cor. 15.

the Gospel then all they. And why? They were sent to the Iewes dispersed in some few Countries, and none of them passed the limits of Asia, for ought that we reade, saue Peter, who was brought prisoner to Rome to waues the ende of his life; but Paul had the Gentiles allotted to him, and so trauelled not only Arabia and Iurie, but filled Asia, Greece, Italie and Spaine, & many other countries and nations with the Gospel of Christ; and in that signification of the worde [illegible], which is to trauell for the spreading of the Gospel, hee sayeth very soberly, aduisedly and truely, that though he were last called, he had trauelled to preach Christ further then they all.

This worde is often to bee seene in the v. to the Romans. Greete Marie, [illegible], who hath trauelled much for vs. And againe, Greete Triphæna and Triphosa, [illegible], women that labour and trauaile in the Lord. Greete Perys the beloued, [illegible], a woman that hath much trauelled in the Lorde. The women neither did nor might preach in the Church; but many of them trauelled farre and neere, as neede by priuate perswasions (which was more seemely for them to do then for men) with women to embrace the knowledge of the trueth, and repaire to the houses where the Apostles and others did instruct the beleeuers. Rom. 16.

And as there were of women that trauelled for Christ, so were there of men no smal number, both Prophets, Euangelists & Teachers imploying their paines, & hazarding their liues to conuert the faithles, to confirme the faithful. And though some of them happely liued of their owne, and others wrought with their handes to furnish themselues with things wanting, yet because their worke was more painefull and perilfull, then the Pastors that kept their fired places; and as needfull to encrease Christs kingdome; the Apostle willeth the Churches to haue speciall regard to such that they were not left destitute, after they had dedicated not only their labor, but also their liues to the seruice of Christ. Saint Paules comparisons include both when hee sayeth, 1 Corinth. 9. Who goeth on warefare at his owne charges? who planteth a Vine and eateth not of the fruit? Who tendeth a flocke, and tasteth not of the milke? So that hee which trauelleth abroade for Christ in danger, is more worthie of recompence then he that feedeth the flocke at home

haue in greater estimation for their worke sake. Touching further helpe
[1] 1.Cor.16. [1] If Timothie come, see he be without feare among you: for he worketh the worke of the Lorde euen as I doe; and send him
[2] Tit.3. away in peace, that he come vnto me. [2] Bring Zenas the Lawier and Apollos on their iourney carefully, that they lacke nothing. And
[3] Ibidem. [3] let ours learne to be forward in good workes to necessarie vses. And Saint Iohn,
[4] Joann. epist.3. [4] Thou doest faithfully whatsoeuer thou dooest to the brethren and vnto strangers. Whome if thou bringest on their iourney as it beseemeth in God, thou shalt doe well: because for his names sake they went foorth, and tooke nothing of the Gentiles. We therefore ought to receiue such, that we might be helpers vnto the trueth. The summe then of Saint Paules wordes after this fourth exposition is this; The Pastours or Elders that guide well and doe their duties in the places where they remaine, are woorthy of double honour, but chiefely they that trauell from place to place for the wordes sake are to be supported; their paines and needs are greatest.

Thus haue we foure expositions of the place 1. Timoth. 5. consonant to the signification of the wordes, and intent of the speaker, and all excluding the Lay Elders; which wee cannot deduce out of this Text without manifest wrong to the Apostles purpose, and trueth of the Scriptures. For then must all Lay Elders by the word of God haue double maintenance from the Church, which is apparantly false; and the Pastors which labour in the worde, may not meddle with guiding, ouerseeing and ruling the flocke committed to their charge, which is as manifest an vntruth as the former. If the functions of ruling and teaching be two distinct offices, then may none intrude on both; if they be coincident, what needs two sortes of Elders, to execute one charge? Set this place aside, in which I see vtterly nothing for Lay Elders; and where else in the new Testament shall we finde, I say, not a sentence but a syllable sounding for them?

[5] Rom.12. [5] *He that ruleth* (let him doe it) *with diligence.*] Doth he say, the Lay man that ruleth the Church, let him doe it with diligence? *No, but he speaketh of diuers functiõs in the Church, & so some must rule that may neither teach nor exhort, which must needs be lay Elders.*
[6] Rom.12.v.6.] He speaketh indeed of [6] diuers gifts & graces of ye holy ghost, for

for so seuerall words doeth import; of diuers offices hee speaketh not: for then they might not concurre in one man, and consequently, neither might the Prophet teach, nor exhort, nor the Deacon distribute nor shew mercy. Many gifts may conioyne in one man; many offices cannot.

Paul *speaketh of offices to be executed by those that had giftes according; and to that ende bringeth in the example of mans bodie, where the members haue seuerall powers, and seuerall actions.*] I see the comparison, and thence I proove he speaketh of particular gifts and not of publike offices in the Church. [1] As in one bodie, saieth he, we may haue many members; and all the members haue not the same action; so we being many, are one body in Christ, and euery one an others members. I aske now whether onely the officers of the Church, or the whole multitude of beleeuers bee the the body of Christ? The whole no doubt is the body, and not this or that part, though excelling the rest. Then as in mans body, euerie part hath his action; so in Christes bodie, which is the Church, euery member must haue his gift, and not a publike office in the Church. [1] Rom. 12.

But Paul *nameth here onely those giftes that had their publike vse in the Church, and no where els; as prophesie, teaching, exhorting, distributing, gouerning, helping.*] Which of these gifts in the Apostles times was not common, as well to the people, as to the Pastours, and to women as well as to men? Prophesie which is the greatest and vnlikeliest to bee found in all sortes; was it not a common gift to old and yong? men and maides? Shall Ioel make a lie that foretold it? [2] After that, I will powre out my spirite on all flesh; and your sonnes and your daughters shall prophesie; and vpon the very seruants and handmaids in those dayes will I powre out my spirite. Shall Peter be a false witnesse, that saith; This was performed when the giftes of the holy Ghost were powred on the Church after Christes ascension? All those that heard Peters sermon in Cornelius house, receiued [3] the gifts of the holy Ghost, to magnifie God before they were baptized. [4] The foure daughters of Philip, did they not prophesie? [5] Euery woman, saieth Paul, praying or prophesying bare headed, dishonoureth her head. If then prophesie were a gift of Gods spirit, common to all sortes and sexes, as well as a publike office in the Church; and [2] Ioel 2. [3] Act. 10. [4] Act. 21. [5] 1. Cor. 11.

Paul

Paul in the 12. to the Romanes, prescribeth and teacheth the right vse of those giftes, which God gaue to euerie man, that all the members of Christes body might haue their peculiar actions according to the measure of faith; what reason haue we to conuert this place from the priuate giftes of euery member to the publike offices of some few in the Churches, which were not here intended?

Teaching and exhorting seeme not to be priuate gifts; and therefore stand rather for ecclesiasticall functions.] We are so violent in this conceit of discipline, that we neuer remember the Scriptures that contradict it, be they neuer so often or euident. Priscilla the wife of Aquila, did shee not instruct and [1] teach Apollo a Preacher, the way of the Lord more exactly? and doeth not Paul call her [2] his helper in Christ, as well as her husband? The women that laboured so much in the Lord, did they goe idely vp & downe, or did they teach and exhort as they trauelled? [3] If the women will learne any thing, let them aske their husbands at home, saieth Paul, then might the husbands teach them. [4] Let the worde of God dwell in you plentifully in all wisedome, teaching and admonishing your selues in Psalmes and Hymnes and spirituall songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord; is a rule for all Christians of all sortes and degrees, and not for Pastors and Elders onely. [5] Exhort one an other, and edifie one another, euen as you doe; admonish them that are vnrulie; comfort the feeble minded; beare with the weake; bee patient towards all men. These be general precepts for all beleeuers; to all are they prescribed, and by all to be performed. If then prophesie, doctrine and exhortation, be priuate graces of Gods spirit, & to be vsed of all according to the measure of each mans gift, as time & place require, for the good of our selues & others; what probabilitie can there be that the Apostle in this place should reckon Church offices, & not rather moderate & direct the gifts of Gods spirit poured out on his church, and parted amongst all the members of Christes mysticall body?

[1] Act. 18.

[2] Rom. 16.

[3] 1. Cor. 14.

[4] Colos. 3.

[5] 1. Thes. 5.

Distributing is no gift of the spirite, but plainely an office in the Church; and so gouerning and shewing mercy ioyned therewith do fairelie resemble the Deacons, Elders and widowes, that were three ecclesiasticall and publike functions.] Distributing of our owne in singlenesse of heart, is a farre greater gift of Gods spirite, then dis-

tributing

stributing of other mens, as the Deacons did; and here the Apostle speaketh of spirituall gifts. Againe, διακονία which is a ministerie or seruice, is before vsed, and had bene the fittest word for the Deacons office, if the Apostle had purposed to treate thereof. But if we seek for the true meaning of S. Paul in this place, and not to please our owne humors, S. Peters words vttered to the same effect that these are, will helpe vs. [1] Be harbourers one to another without grudging. As euery man hath receiued the gift, minister the same one to another, as good Stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speake, *let them bee* as the words of God; if any man minister *or giue* any thing to another, let him doe it as of the abilitie that God hath giuen *him*, that in all things God may bee glorified. This place, as well as the rest, I finde is racked to serue for the supposed discipline; but if wee marke whereabout Saint Peter goeth, wee shall learne as much of S. Peter here in fewe wordes, as of Saint Paul there in larger speach and more plentifull partes. As euerie man (saieth Peter, *(and not euerie Pastour or Deacon)* hath receiued the gift; *(of Gods grace, and not by any office by mans choice:)* so minister the same one to another *(for the benefite of each other.)* If any man speake *(let him speake to comfort and edifie)* as the wordes of God; if any man minister *(that is, doe good, not in wordes, but in deeds, to an other)* let it be according to the abilitie that God hath giuen *(him, not according to the contributiõs he hath receiued of other men)* that in all things *(euen in all our words & deeds)* God may be glorified. S. Paul with a longer circuit of wordes, expresseth the same sense. As all the parts of our bodies haue diuers actions tending all to the vse and profite not of themselues, but of others; so [2] euery man saieth hee, *(and not onely Teachers and Elders)* according to the grace giuen *(by Gods spirite and not by mans election, should be soberly content with their measure, and vse to the good of others)* whether it were prophesie, teaching and exhorting *(which consist in wordes)* or gouerning and serving with diligence, relieuing and helping with cheerefulnesse *(which consist in deedes.)* for all the members of Christes bodie, though they can not teache, exhorte, and guide; yet may they serue, relieue, and shewe mercie, and these are the giftes of Gods Spirite, not so miraculous, but as precious in his sight as the former,

[1] 1. Pet. 4.

[2] Rom. 12.

and

and proceed from the most excellent gift of Gods spirite passing all
[1] 1.Cor.13. gifts, which is, [1] vnfained loue and charitie.

The Text may more kindly and currantly be referred to the publike offices of the Church.] First then you must point vs foorth seuen
[2] Rom.12. such offices: for [2] there are seuen diuers partes. Next, you must proue that χαρισματα, these gifts of the spirite, belong to the officers of the Church onely, and not to the rest of the faithfull. Thirdly, we must know whether these offices must be diuided, or may be combined in one person; if they bee distinct, no Prophet may teach or exhort; no Teacher may exhort or prophesie; if they may meete and agree in one subiect, then are they no offices, but graces; and he that hath one, may haue all; and so are you further from your purpose, then you were before. Lastly, make them euen ecclesiasticall functions if you list, how then can you chalenge them, or any one of them to laie persons?

Clergiemen may not gouerne the Church.] You must leaue that error for your credites sake, as crossing the Scriptures, which ma-
[3] Iohn 21. keth Pastours to be [3] Shepeheards, [4] Watchmen, Ouerseers, [5] Rul-
[4] Hebr.13. lers and Guiders of the flocke, and infringeth your owne positi-
[5] Act.20. ons, who say that Pastours doe rule and gouerne the Church. He that ruleth, must do it with diligence; the Pastours by these words are appointed to bee watchfull, as those that shall answere for the soules of their flocke, and not the laie Elders.

If it be a priuate gift, to whom doeth it appertaine?] To euery man that hath charge or familie. The father with diligence is to guide his children, the master his seruants, the husband his wife.
[6] 1.Tim.5. [6] He that hath cast away the care of his household, is worse then an Infidel. To feed them, and not to rule them, and traine them in the feare of the Lord, is grossely to neglect them. He that ruleth not
1.Tim.3. v.5. well his owne house, by S. Pauls prescription, must not bee [7] trusted with the Church of God. It is therefore a speciall vertue and grace of Gods spirite to rule well the persons committed to our charge. Let it be gift or office, priuate or publike, it maketh nothing for laie Presbyters.

There remaineth yet one place where Gouernours are named amongst ecclesiasticall officers; and that is 1.Cor.12.] The answere is soone made, if we bee not contentious. Teachers are there named, but Pastours omitted; and therefore well might Gouernours

uersours be mentioned in steade of Pastours. If this content you not, If then we vnie, they be all ecclesiasticall functions that are there specified. [1] Powers, gifts of healing, kindes of tongues, what functions shall we call them in the Church of Christ? *They were ornaments to the Pastorall and Propheticall calling.* And to was gouernement. *To gouerne, is a diuerse and no gift.* To gouerne wisely is a great gift of the holy Ghost, & more needfull for the Church then tongues, healing, or miracles. To the gouerning of the Church belonged more then teaching of maners, or examining of witnesses; wisedome to preuent dangers, to direct doubtfull cases, to discerne spirites, to calme strifes, many other weighty graces were requisite for the gouerning of the Church. This is therefore a principall gift of the holy Ghost; but not a different office from those that goe before. The Apostles, Prophets, & Teachers in the Church, had they not power to doe miracles, to cure the sicke, to speake with tongues? if these three be no diuers offices, but graces, and all three found in euery Apostle, in many Prophetes and Teachers; why should not gouernement, being reckoned in the midst of them, be a gift likewise of the holy Ghost, bestowed on such Prophets, Pastours and Teachers, as pleased the spirit of trueth and grace to vouchsafe that honour?

[1] 1.Cor.12.28.

To make vs vnderstand, that we must not confound the functions in the Church with the gifts of the spirite, much lesse mistake the one for the other; let vs number the gifts of the spirite that are noted in this one Chapter, and see whether the publike functions of the Church can any way be proportioned to them. [2] To one, saieth S. Paul, is giuen by the spirite, the word of wisedome; to another the word of knowledge; [3] to another faith; to another, the gifts of healing; [4] to another, the operation of great workes; to another, prophesie; to another, discerning of spirits; to another diuersities of tongues; to another, the interpretation of tongues. Here are nine gifts of the holy Ghost numbred; in the ende of this very chapter are named two more; helping and gouerning, that were not reckoned before. To the Romanes, are fiue different fro these rehearsed; in all fifteene. I trust there were not so many distinct offices in the Church. The Apostle euen in this chapter [5] setting downe eight degrees and dignities of spirituall gifts, and placing themvs to preach before, after Pastors & Deacons,

[2] 1.Cor.12.v.8
[3] vers.9.
[4] vers.10.
[5] vers.8.

as

as being rather seruing officers in the Church, then miraculous gifts. Many Pastours and Doctors were furnished with many of them; the Apostles had them all, and that in greater measure then any other; which in offices could not be, in gifts might bee. These were therefore neither shall nor perpetuall functions in the Church, as Pastours and Deacons must bee; but miraculous and extraordinarie gifts and graces during onely for a time, and given in what measure and to what persons it best liked the holy Ghost, for the ouerthrowing of Satans kingdome, and gathering of the Saints together, at the first planting of the Church.

What were Gouernours then in the Primitive Church?] for my part I am not ashamed to say, I could easilie presume, I am not easilie proone what they were. The maner and order of those wonderfull gifts of Gods spirite, after so many hundreds may be coniectured, cannot be demonstrated. *Why should they not be Lay-Elders, or Iudges of maners?*] Because I finde no such my where els mentioned, and here none prooued. Gouernours then were, or rather Gouernements, (for so the Apostle speaketh) that is, gifts of wisedome, discretion and iudgement to direct and gouerne the whole Church and euery particular member thereof in the manifold dangers and distresses, which those dayes did not want. Gouernours also they might bee called, that were appointed in euery congregation to heare and appease the priuate strifes and quarels that grew betwixt man and man; least the Christians to the shame of themselues, and slaunder of the Gospell, should pursue each other for things of this life before the Magistrates, who then were infidels. Of these S. Paul speaketh, 1. Cor. 6. [1] Dare any of you, hauing matters one against another, seeke for iudgement before the vniust, and not before the Saints? If you haue any quarels for things of this life, appoint the worst in the Church, (*to be your Iudges.*) I speake this to your shame: Is there neuer a wise man amongst you, that can looke into his brothers cause, but brother goeth to lawe with brother, and that before Infidels? These Gouernours and moderators of their brethren quarels and contentions I finde; others I finde not in the Apostolike writings, but such as withall were watchmen and feeders of the flocke.

[1] 1. Cor. 6.

None fitter then those Gouernours which you last named, are

strange

straine the vnrulie, and chastise the vngodly. for they censured the misbehauiors and disorders of men against men, and why not likewise the sinnes and offences committed against God?] These Gouernours had neither authoritie, necessitie, nor perpetuitie in the Church of God. Rather then the Christians should eagerly pursue one another before Pagans, and by their priuate brabbles cause the vnbeleeuers to deride and detest the doctrine of Christ; the Apostle willeth them to suffer wrong, or els to referre the hearing and ending of their griefes to some wise and discreet arbiters within the Church: but he giueth those iudges no leaue, to challenge the determining of other mens matters, nor power to commaund or punish the disobeier. that were, to erect magistrates in the Church, and to giue them the sword euen in temporall and ciuill causes; which the Apostle neither did, nor could warrant. Besides, in Christian common wealthes where there can bee no doubt of despising or scorning the Gospel for going to lawe, those iudges must cease, since there is no cause to decline the Tribunals of the reuuing Princes, to whom the preseruing of all mens rights, and punishing of all mens iniuries and enormities doeth by Gods lawe generally and wholy appertaine. If these were the laie-Presbyters and Gouernours, which you so much stand on; they must giue place to the magistrates sword, where the state vpholdeth the Christian fayth, as in England it doeth, and God graunt it long may.

Thinke ye that Pastours and Prophets in the Apostles times were hindered from their callings, & combred with examinations of parties principall, exceptions, and depositions of witnesses, and such like Consistorie courses, as were needfull for the triall of the truth when any man accused? How far better is it to refer these things to the hearing of certain graue & good men chosen frō amongst the Laitie, rather then to busie & ouerload the Preachers & labourers in the word with those tedious and superfluous toiles?] The Iudiciarie paines in the Apostles time were not great, nor the processe long. They medled with no matters, but with so notorious, that they scandalized the Church, and infamed the doctrine of our Sauiour with Infidels; and in those cases, where euery man could speake, the proofe was soone made. Againe, the Prophets and Pastors in those dates had the gifts of discerning spirits, and knowing secrets; so that malefactors were soone discouered and conuinced, if

if the case were doubtfull. S. Paul is a witnesse, that to
[1] 1.Cor.14. crets was then incident to the gift of prophesie. [1] If you all pro-
phesie, and there come in one that beleeueth not, hee is rebuked of
all men, and iudged of all men; and so are the secretes of his
heart made manifest; and hee will fall downe on his face and
worship God, and say plainly, that God is in you in deed. Ma-
[2] 1.Cor.13. ter before he ioineth them both together. [2] Though I had prophe-
sie, and knew all secrets. To reueale things hid, and foresee things
to come, were then annexed to the gift of prophesie, not generally
and perpetually, but when and where the necessitie of the Church,
or Gods glory required it should be so. Thirdly, the Apostle hath
[3] 2.Tim.5. plainely committed, [3] the receiuing of accusations euen against
Elders, and [3] open rebuking of such as sinned, vnto Timothie;
and he in sight was no laie man. What warrant haue you then to
take that from Pastours and Teachers, as a burden to their cal-
ling, which Paul chargeth them with; and to giue it to lai-
ders, vpon pretence of some better policie, as if the spirit of God in
Paul had missed his marke in establishing the worst way to gouerne
the Church? That Pastours must iudicially examine and rebuke
such as sinne; we proue it by the euident wordes of S. Paul: Shew
you the like for laie Elders, and wee will quietly resigne you the
cause. Lastly, since the power of the keyes, and ouersight of the
Sacraments, did, and doe clearely belong to Pastours, and not to
laie Elders; I see not how laie men that are no magistrates, may
chalenge to intermeddle with the Pastours function, or ouer-rule
them in their owne charge, without manifest and violent intrusion
on other mens callings against the word and will of Christ, who
[4] Iohn 20. gaue his Apostles the holy Ghost, [4] to remit and retaine sinnes,
so ioyned the word and Sacraments together, that he which may
not deuide the one, may not dispose the other; and so both word and
Sacraments must pertaine to laie Elders, or neither.

I call no man Laie in contempt or derogation either of his gift
or of the estate, in which I know the Church of God hath alwaies
had, and hath many graue and worthie men fit for their wisedome
and grauitie, to beare as great, or greater charge then clergie men.
I vse that name for distinction sake, which I find in the best and
ancient writers: for such as were not by their calling dedicated and
deuoted to the publike seruice and ministerie of the Church in the

...and Sacraments notwithstanding they were and bee the people of God, and his inheritance; euen a chosen generation and royall Priesthood by the inward sanctification of the holie Ghost, to offer vp spirituall sacrifices acceptable to God by Iesus Christ. And so the learned know the word Laie, whence Laie is deriued, importeth euen the Lords peculiar people; which distinction of people from Priests, is neither prophane nor strange in the Scriptures. [2] There shall be, saieth Esay, like people, like Priest. And so saieth [3] Osee; as also [4] Ieremie vnderstandeth the Church into the Prophet, Priest, and People. As for the name of Clergie men, Ierome saieth, [5] *Propterea vocantur Clerici, vel quia de sorte sunt Domini, vel quia ipse Dominus sors, id est, pars Clericorum est.* Therefore are they called Clergie men, or Clerkes, either because they are the Lordes portion (*to serue the Church of Christ,*) or for that the Lord is their portion & part (*to liue on such things as are dedicated to the Lord.*) The Laie hee calleth *Seculares*, Secular men, which word is not so good as *Laici*, the Laitie or people.

1. Pet. 2.

[2] Esa. 24.

[3] Ose. 4.

[4] Ier. 23. & 26.

[5] *Hieron. ad Nepotianum de vita Clericorum.*

The name of Presbyter I vse, not thereby meaning aged and ancient men, of what calling soeuer they be, as the word sometimes signifieth and wherewith I see many that fauour the Presbyterie, deceiued and deceiuing others; but I vse it for those whom the Apostles call πρεσβυτέρους, Presbyters, (whence our tongue following the French, long since deriued Priests) who for their age should be Elders, and by their office are ministers of the word and Sacraments, and ouerseers of the flocke of Christ. And though there can be no doubt, but very often in the Scriptures, πρεσβύτεροι, in Latine *Seniores*, in English Elders, are taken for Pastours, Teachers, and such as laboured in the word, and dispensed the Sacraments; yet some more zealous then discreet, no sooner heare of the word Presbyter or Senior, *an Elder*, in Scriptures or Fathers, but they straight way dreame of their laie Presbyterie, which is the greatest ground of all their errour, and lightest proofe that may possiblie be brought. For which cause I am forced often to distinguish the ministers of the word, from such as some men would haue to bee Gouernours of the Church, by the name of Presbyter, and not of Elder, which in our tongue is more common to aged men, then to Clergie men. But howsoeuer they may play with names, to make some (the like that Elders were Gouernours of Christes

Church in the Apostles times; assuredly no man is able to p[rove] that laie men were publike Gouernours or ordinarie ministers [of] moone sinners from the Lordes table while the Apostles liued; [and] after their deaths the longer we search, the further we are from [find]ing any such Elders.

The whole Church by the very wordes of our Sauiour ought to conclude disobedient and froward persons, from their felowship, as Ethnikes and Publicanes; and binde them both in heauen and earth. We haue answered alreadie that those wordes of Christ by the [con]fession of such as are the greatest defenders of this newe [disci]pline, were spoken of the Iudges and Magistrates of the [Church]. And if by the credite and authoritie of the fathers wee will [needs] haue them spoken of Christes Church, wee must then take the Church for the Pastours and leaders of the Church, that haue re[ceiued] power from Christ to binde and loose in heauen and earth. Lastly, if we intend nothing els by those woordes, (Let him be vnto thee as an Ethnike and Publicane) but refraine all company with him, and eate no more with him, then thou wouldest with an Ethnike and Publicane; this charge pertaineth rather to the whole Church then to any laie Elders or Gouernours in the Church. The Apostles woordes, [1] When you are gathered together, put away from among you that wicked man, are rather directed to the whole Congregation then to any laie Elders in the Church of Corinth; as are also these that folow, [2] I wrate vnto you, that you should not company together with fornicatours; but now I haue written vnto you, if any man that is called a brother bee a fornicator or couetous; an Idolater, railer, drunkard or extortioner, with such an one eate not. Must onely the laie Elders or all the multitude auoyd the companie of such enormous persons? [3] I beseech you brethren (saieth Paul) obserue those which cause diuisions and offences against the doctrine which you haue learned, and decline them. Should none but Elders and Teachers shunne Schismatikes and notorious malefactours, or must the people and hearers doe the like? [4] If any man obey not our sayings, keepe no companie with him, that he may be ashamed; yet counte him not an enemie, but admonish him as a brother. Shall wee thinke the Apostle thought it sufficient for [these] fewe laie Elders to forbeare the company of such disorderly [persons];

[1] 1. Cor. 5.

[2] 1. Cor. 5.

[3] Rom. 16.

[4] 2. Thes. 3.

sons? or doeth hee will the whole Church with one consent to shunne all societie with such wicked ones, that they may bee ashamed?

Then yet the whole Church might excommunicate, and not Pastours onely.] With open reproouing by the word, and excluding from the Sacraments such as notoriouslie sinned, Pastours and Prophets might intermeddle; the people and laie Elders might not; it was no part of their charge: but in banishing malefactours from all fellowship and companie both ciuill and sacred with the faithfull; the Pastours were to direct, the people to assist and execute that iudgement. The Apostle doeth not leaue it to peoples liking as a matter indifferent, till they haue consented, but enioineth it as a necessarie dutie, and [1] commandeth them in the name of Christ Iesus, to withdraw themselues from euery brother that walked inordinately. For as S. Iohn warneth vs; [2] He that receiueth to his house the bringer of another doctrine, or biddeth him good speede, is partaker of his euill deedes. And so is euery one that with countenance, fauour, or familiaritie doeth embolden the wicked to goe on in any other lewdnesse, when by Christian dutie he should reproue such offenders, & if they persist, renounce al societie with them; yea, where there wanteth a beleeuing magistrate, the Pastours shall not doe wisely to proceed to any such rigour against wilfull and obstinate sinners, without the knowledge and consent of the people, for feare of contempt, if the most part mislike, or factions, if the multitude be deuided.

[1] 2. Thess. 3.

[2] Iohannis epist. 2.

If Pastours in such cases were to staie for the liking of the whole Church, is it not more likely that the people did referre the hearing and censuring of all such matters, to certaine chosen Elders of themselues, rather then in a tumult confusedly without any Iudiciall forme determine such causes? That if wee euill, wee make no doubt that laie Elders were Gouernours in the Church of Christ, as well as Pastours.] Indeed, likelihoods and surmises were the best demonstrations, that euer were made for your supposed discipline: but if this bee all, you will neuer cure any thing. The people might well relie themselues on the credite and conscience of their Pastours, and beleeue them in other mens cases, whom they trusted with their owne soules. Againe, they might approoue and confirme their Pastours iudgement in an open assem-

blie without an byroye; things were at that time handled in the Church religiously not tumultuously. Lastly, if the people did appoint certaine wise and sufficient men from amongst themselues to looke into the trueth of euery crime, before they would beleeue the accuser, or reiect the accused from their company; then must your laie Elders claime, not from Christ as authorized by him to vse the keyes, and dispose of the Sacraments, but from the people, as their committies, to heare and report what they found detected and proued in euery such offence as deserued separation from all Christian societie: and their delegation from the people must vtterly cease, where he that beareth the sword, embraceth the faith. For though by the lawes of God and nature, where there is no magistrate, euery multitude may both order and gouerne themselues, as they see cause with their generall consent, so they crosse not superior lawes and powers; yet we must beware when God hath placed Christian Princes to defend and preserue Iustice and Iudgement amongst men, that we not erect vnder a shew of discipline, certaine petit magistrates in euery parish by commission from Christ himselfe in crimes and causes ecclesiastical, iudicially to proceed without depending on the princes power.

I seeke not to charge the fauourers of this new discipline with any dangerous deuise. I had rather acknowledge mine owne weakenesse, that cannot conceiue how laie Elders should bee Gouernours of Christes Church, and yet be neither ministers nor magistrates. Christ being the head and fulnesse of the Church, which is his body, gouerneth the same as a Prophet, a Priest, and a King; and after his example all publike gouernement in the church is either Prophetical, Sacerdotal, or Regall. The Doctors haue a Prophetical, the Pastours a Sacerdotal, the Magistrates a Regal power and function; What fourth regiment can we find for laie Elders? Prophets they are not, they haue no charge of the word, much lesse haue they priestly power; which concerneth sinnes and Sacraments. If they haue any, they must haue Regall; and consequently, when the magistrate beleeueth, laie Elders must relinquish all their authoritie to him, or derive it from him, except they will establish an other regiment against him.

What you giue onely to Pastors making them Monarches to rule the

Church

Church at their pleasures, we impart to laie Elders as Associates with them in the same kinde of gouernement; so that laie Elders with vs doe no more preiudice the Princes power, then Pastours do with you.]
In preaching the word, dispensing the Sacramentes, remitting sinnes, and imposing hands, I trust your laie Elders are not associated vnto Pastours. If in these things they be ioint-Agents with Pastours, then are they no laie Elders, but Pastours. You must giue them one name, if you giue them one office; the same deedes require alwayes the same wordes. If you ioyne not laie Elders in those Sacerdotall and sacred actions with Pastours, but make them ouerseers and moderators of those things which Pastours doe; this power belongeth exactly to Christian magistrates to see that Pastours doe their duties according to Christes will; and not abuse their power to annoy his Church, or the members thereof. Neither is the case like betwixt Pastours and laie Elders. Pastors haue their power and function distinguished from Princes by God himselfe; in so much that it were more then presumption for princes to execute those actions by themselues or their substitutes. To preach, baptize, retaine sinnes and impose hands, Princes haue no power; the Prince of Princes, euen the sonne of God, hath seuered it from their callings, and committed it to his Apostles; and they by imposition of hands deriues it to their successors: but to cause these actions to be orderly done according to Christes commaundement, and to preuent and represse abuses in the doers, this is all that is left for laie Elders; and this is it that we reserue to the Christian magistrate.

The power of the sword in crimes and causes ecclesiasticall, wee wholie yeeld to the Christian Magistrate; and yet laie Elders may censure the Pastours actions by liking and allowing them if they bee good, or by disliking and frustrating them if they bee otherwise.]
God hath not giuen Princes the sword in any causes temporall or ecclesiasticall to goe before or without iudgement, but to follow after, and support iudgement. The sword without iudgement, is force and furie; with iudgement, it is iustice and equitie. You cannot yeeld the sword to the magistrate, and reserue iudgement in these cases to the laie Elders: you then binde the Magistrate to maintaine what your laie Iudges shall determine; and so the sword is not soueraigne aboue them, but subiect vnder

them. Wherefore in ouerseeing the Pastors doings, and redressing their abuses, you must leaue the examination, determination, and execution to the Christian magistrate, and not deuide stakes betweene the Prince and the laie Presbyterie.

Princes haue no skill in such matters; and in that respect it is not amisse for them to take their direction from the Presbyterie.] A noble consideration and woorthie to be registred. The Churchwardens and Side-men of euery parish, are the meetest men that you can finde, to direct Princes in iudging of ecclesiasticall crimes and causes. A most wretched State of the Church it must needes bee, that shall depend on such sillie Gouernours. I omit how farre gentlemen and landlords can preuaile in euery parish with their neighbours and tenants, both to rule them and ouer-rule them at their pleasures. View the villages in England, and tell me how farre you shall seeke, before you shall finde laie Elders, that in any reason ought to bee trusted with the gouernement of the Church. I will not aduauntage my selfe by the rudenesse and ignorance of most part; I hope for very shame you will admit, that Princes are farre fitter in their owne persons, if they would take the paynes to determine ecclesiasticall matters, then husbandmen and Artisants. And if they want direction, or will giue Commission to that purpose, they neede not descend to the plough and carte for helpe or aduise. The woorld will greatly doube of your discretion, and suspect, you sauour of popular faction and ambition, if by Gods lawe you preffe Princes against their will to accept such counsellers and substitutes in ecclesiasticall gouernement. If they bee at libertie to make their choice, they haue store of learned and able men of all sortes within their Realmes, whom they may trust with the censuring and ouerseeing of Clergie mens actions; so as to preferre Ploughmen and Craftesmen to vndertake that weightie charge for Christian Princes, were ridiculous, if not infamous follie. Wherefore the laie Presbyterie must either claime to haue their power and authoritie from Christ without the Prince, and before the Prince; which is somewhat dangerous, if not derogatorie to the Princes right; or els they must staie till the Magistrate giue them power in euery place to gouerne the causes of the Church

Church, and moderate the actions of the Pastours. For since they will needes concurre with the Prince in the same charge and ouersight of Ecclesiasticall crimes and causes; they must derive their warrant, either from the Prince, as his delegates, or from the Princes superiour.

Must not Pastours doe the like?] Princes cannot authorize Pastours to preach the worde, administer the Sacraments, remitte sinnes, and impose handes, these things are exempted from the Princes power and charge; the King of heauen hath appointed for that purpose Messengers of his will, and Stewardes of his mysteries, without taking their authoritie from earthlie Princes; but to redresse the disorders and abuses of these things in others, and to displace the doers; that neither Pastoures nor laie Presbyters may chalenge to doe without the Magistrates consent and helpe, where the State is Christian.

And where the State is not Christian, from whom shall the Pastours derive their power to represse disordered actions in others?] When the Church is not protected and assisted by the sworde, but oppressed and pursued, (as where the Magistrate is an heretike or an Infidell) the whole may detect and disclaime any part as vnsound and vnsufferable. [1] *Idcirco coprehensum est corpus Sacerdotum, &c.* Therefore (saieth Cyprian) is the number of Priestes many; that, if one of our societie should attempt to vphold an heresie, and to spoyle and waste the flocke of Christ, the rest might helpe (*represse him,*) yea, the people haue by Gods lawe, where there wanteth a Christian Magistrate, the desertion, but not coertion of wicked and corrupt Pastours. They may decline them, and forsake them; they may not compell them or punish them. Violence and vengeance belong onely to the Princes sworde; not to any priuate persons or assemblies. [2] Marke them, saieth Paul, that cause diuisions and offences contrarie to the doctrine which you haue learned, and decline them. [3] My sheepe, saith Christ, heare my voyce and folow me. A stranger they will not follow, but flie from him. And so Cyprian and the rest of the Bishops with him being consulted, answere. [4] Separate your selues (saieth God) from the tabernacles

[1] *Cypr. li. 3. epistola 13.*

[2] Rom. 16.

[3] Ioh 10.

[4] *Cypria. li. 1. epistola 4.*

of these wicked men, and touch nothing of all that is theirs, least you perish together with them in their sinnes. Wherefore the people obeying the Lordes precept, ought to separate themselues from a sinnefull (*Pastour or*) ouerseer, and not to participate with the sacrifice of a sacrilegious Priest; since they chiefly (where the publike state embraceth not the faith) haue power to (*admit, or*) choose worthie Pastours, and to refuse vnworthie.

The best writers of our age, and those no small number, interprete the words of S. Paul, as we doe, and affirme that laie Elders were gouernours of the Church in the Apostles time, and part of the Presbyterie.] Some learned and late writers liuing vnder persecution, or in free Cities, where the people and Senate beare the greatest sway, haue liked and commended this fourme of gouerning the Church by laie Elders ioyned in one Presbyterie with the Teachers and Pastours: but I see not how it may bee defended by the word of God, as tolerable, except they deriue the power of that Presbyterie from the whole Church in time of persecution, and in time of peace from the Magistrate; in which case they be no Elders authorized by Christ or his Apostles, to gouerne the Church, but Commissioners deputed by the State to moderate disorders in Pastours and Teachers, and so though they may haue the ouersight of ecclesiasticall causes pertaining properly to the magistrate, yet may they not chalenge any interest or right, if they be laie men, to impose hands or exclude frō the Sacraments, which is the Pastours power and charge. Otherwise, if any late writers be otherwise minded, I say of them as Austen sayde of Cyprian. *Their* [1] writings I hold not as Canonical, but examine thē by the Canonical *writings*; and in them what agreeth with the authoritie of the diuine Scriptures, I accept with *their* praise; what agreeth not, I refuse with *their* leaues. To whose praise I cannot attaine, with whose labors, I compare not mine, whose wits I embrace, with whose wordes I am delighted, whose charities I admire, whose deaths I honour, their iudgements in that they were otherwise minded, I receiue not. God suffereth the best mē to haue some blemishes, lest their writings should be receiued as authentike. The Text should not differ frō the gloze, if both were of like truth and certaintie. In much writing many things scape the best learned, euen as with long watching men oftentimes winke.

[1] *August. contra Cresconium, li. 2. ca. 32.*

It is no wrong to their labours not touch to their credites to say their writings and resolutions be not alwayes Canonicall. [a] The disputations of Catholike, & praise-worthie men (saith Austen) we ought not to esteeme as wee doe the Canonicall Scriptures, that we may not without blemishing the honor due vnto those men, mislike or refuse somewhat in their writings, if happely wee finde that they otherwise thought then the truth warranteth, vnderstoode by Gods helpe, either of others, or of our selues. Such am I in other mens writings; such would I haue the readers of mine to be. [a] August. epist. 111.

Their learning would preuaile much with me, as it doth with others, men I suppose of no ill mind, but zealous for that which they take to be the truth; were it not, that the very places which they draw to this intent, in the iudgement of as learned and more ancient writers and fathers import no such thing: and other places of the Scriptures where Elders are named doe rather contradict then authorize Lay Elders.

Paul sent for the [b] Elders of the Church of Ephesus to Miletum, and gaue them this charge: Take heede to your selues and to the whole flocke, ouer which the holie Ghost hath made you Bishops to feede the Church of God. If all the Elders came to Miletum, they were all Pastours and Bishops; if your Lay Elders came not, why stayed they at home, Paul sending for y Elders? They must loose that name, or take this charge; choose which you will. If they forsooke the name of Elders, I haue my desire; if they vndertooke this charge, they were not Lay, they were Pastours and Bishops. I shall not needs to proue the confinitie betweene [illegible] and [illegible], as if they could feede the flocke, and not be Pastours. The charge that Christ gaue to Peter, as an Apostle, was this; [c] feede my sheepe. If they did that, they were Sheepeheards; if they did not, they were no Elders. And so saith Peter. [d] The Elders that are among you, I exhort, being my selfe an Elder; feede the flocke of God left to your care, and when the chiefe Sheepeheard shall appeare, you shall receiue an incorruptible crowne of glorie. They must toyle with him in Pastorall paines before they shall receiue a Pastorall reward. If it be not their function to feede, it must not be their lot to be called Elders. The communion of the name and charge must [b] Act. 20. [c] Iohn 21. [d] 1. Pet. 5.

goe together. The Apostles woordes to Titus will soone verifie what Elders were in his dayes. [1] For this cause I left thee in Creete that thou shouldest appoint Elders in euery Citie, if any be vnreprooueable: for a Bishop must bee vnreprooueable as Gods Steward; holding fast the faithfull worde of doctrine, that hee may bee able to exhorte with sounde doctrine, and conuince the gainesayers. No Teachers, no Elders by this rule. For they were Gods Stewards to exhort and conuince with sounde doctrine before they tooke that name. Elders might not be appointed in any Citie, but so qualified as is heere prescribed; there was no place then in Creete for your newe founde Elders.

[1] Tit. 1.

And as for Lay Gouernours of the Apostolike Church to bee mentioned by Saint Paul in the 1. to the Corinthians and the 12. Chapter, the ancient and learned Fathers are further from admitting any such, then I am; howsoeuer our late writers bee lighted on them. Nazianzene expounding the woordes of Saint Paul, which our men imagine concerne Lay Gouernours, sayth [2] [illegible] Gouernements, that is, ouer-ruling the flesh. Chrysostome maketh Helpes and Gouernements all one, and saith, [3] It is a great blessing of God, in matters of the Spirit to haue an helper and exhorter. Ambrose saieth, [4] In the first place is giuen the gift of vnderstanding. For they bee Gouernours, that with spirituall raines doe guide men. Theophilact referreth it to the Deacons. [5] *Helpes, gouernements*] that is, to receiue the sicke and guide and dispence the *goodes* of our brethren.

[2] *Nazianzen. de moderatione in disputationibus seruanda.*

[3] *Homil. 32. in 1. Corinth. 12.*

[4] *Ambros. in 1. Corinth. ca. 12.*

[5] *Theophilact. in 1. Corinth. ca. 12.*

Then neither doe the Scriptures any where mention Lay Presbyters; nor the Fathers expounding the places that are brought for them, did euer giue so much as an inkeling of any such persons. The woordes of Paul to Timothie be not only cleared from them by diuers sound interpretations, but produced against them. For they admit no Elders, but such as were for their worke to be maintained at the costes of the Church, and so were neuer any Lay Presbyters. The two other places name Rulers and Gouernours, but expresse neyther what persons or thinges they gouerned, neyther what they were that did gouerne, whether Lay men or Pastours. Lay men had Christian gouernements; but ouer their families; ouer the Church and house of God, none but

in the Apostles daies that were reade, saue Pastors and Teachers, I meane, such as did feede and watch the flocke committed to their charge.

And yet if wee should graunt, that in the Apostles time, for want of a Magistrate to vpholde the discipline of the Church, and punish the disorders and offences of loose brethren; there were certaine graue and wise Elders ioyned with the Prophets and Pastours to admonish the vnruly, examine the guiltie, and exclude infamous and scandalous persons from the common societie of Christians; Is it anie consequent, the like must bee vsed with vs in a Christian kingdome vnder a beleeuing Prince? The Apostolike Churches were planted in populous Cities where they could not lacke meete men to sustaine that charge; ours are dispersed in rurall Hamlets; where there can bee no hope to finde so many fitte Gouernours, as shall bee requisite. To the first Churches came none but such as were willing and zealous, without all compulsion: to ours come all sortes; Atheistes, Hypocrites, and howe manie rather forced by Lawe, then led with deuotion; yea, would God it did not often so fall out that in manie places the richer and wealthier men either regarde no Religion, or secretely leane to the worst. Euerie Church with them had manie Prophetes, Pastours and Teachers, the number, and neede of the people, and tyme so requiring; so that their Presbyteries might bee indifferently weighed without ouerbearing either side; Wee haue but one in eche Parish, and to exact maintenaunce for moe at the peoples hannes, in euerie Village; would breede that sore which no playster would heale. To giue that one a negatiue voyce in all thinges against the Lay Elders; were to fill the whole Realme with infinite contentions and questions. To giue him no voyce, but as one amongest the rest; is to shake the Church in sunder with euerie faction and fansie of the multitude. Lastly, those Churches vnder persecution had none that could iustly challenge to rule the rest; ours hath a Christian Monarch professing the faith; to whome by Gods Lawe the gouernement of all causes and causes Ecclesiasticall doeth rightly belong; and therefore the priuate and popular regiment of the afflicted Churches must cease, since

God

God hath blessed this realme with a publike, peaceable and prosperously gouernement. The greater and stronger power doeth alwaies determine and frustrate the lesser and weaker in the same kinde. What needs we priuate men to punish vices, when we haue princes to doe it? What needs wee Suffrages of Lay Elders to reforme disorders and abuses in Pastors, when wee haue open and knowen lawes to worke the same effect with more force and better speede? In popular states, and persecuted Churches some pretence may be made for that kinde of discipline; In christian kingdomes, I see neither needs nor vse of Lay Elders.

Howbeit, for my part, I doe not beleeue that Lay Elders were vsed in the Apostles times to gouerne the Church. Which imposition of hands, remission of sinnes, distribution of Sacraments. I am right assured, no such proofe can be made they did or should intermeddle; yea the ouersight of those things could not belong, while the Apostles liued, to Lay men; and after their deaths, the Churches planted by them, and ages succeeding them, neuer vsed nor acknowledged any Lay Elders. Which is to me an inuincible demonstration, that the Apostles left them none. For would all the Churches in the worlde with one consent immediatly vpon the Apostles deaths, reiect that fourme of gouerning the Church by Lay Elders, which was setled and approoued by the Apostles, and embrace a newe and strange kinde of gouernement without precept or precedent for their so doing? Howe others can perswade themselues, that the whole Church of Christ fell so generally and presently to a wilfull Apostacie, I knowe not; for my selfe I confesse I had rather forsake the deuise and conceit of some late Writers, were they in number moe then they are, before I will proclaime so many Apostolike men, and ancient and learned fathers to be wretched defilers of the Apostolike discipline, and voluntarie supporters, if not inuentors, of Antichrists pride and tyrannie. Wherefore if they shew me Lay Elders vniuersally receiued for gouernours in the Churches and ages next following the Apostles, I will againe they came from the Apostles; if there were no such after the Apostles, I cannot beleeue they were in the Apostles times.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

What Presbyteries the primitiue Churches and Catholike fathers did acknowledge and whether Lay Elders were any part thereof, or no.

MAny men thinke and write that the first Churches and fathers after the Apostles, retained and vsed Lay Elders for Gouernors; and so witnes (as they say) obscurely Ignatius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine; more cleerely Ambrose, Hierome, Possidonius, and the Canon law; and therefore I doe not well in their opinions to pretend the authoritie of Christes Church against them. If all these Fathers or any of them did clearely mention or witnesse Lay Elders; I would bee farre from contradicting them: but now I cannot admit them, nor in this case the first authors of them, by reason I finde no such Elders expressed or testified in any father or writer of the Primitiue Church. Elders I finde, Lay Elders I neuer finde, and by the name of Elders or Presbyters, the ancient fathers do meane such Teachers and Labourers in the word, as with their counsell and consent did aduise and direct the Bishop of eche Church and Citie in cases of doubt, danger and importance, when as yet neither Synodes could assemble, nor Christian Magistrates be found to helpe and assist the Church against the deadly poyson of heresies, and cruel rage of persecutors, which those dayes did vsually offer. Examine your owne witnesses; if they say not as much, as I affirme, I am well content to yeelde the whole.

Ignatius is the first that is alledged for Lay Elders; and the first if his testimony may be taken, that will vtterly ouerthrowe the Lay Presbyterie. He often mentioneth the Presbyterie, but chiefly in his second Epistle, where he writeth thus, to the Church of Tralis. [1] Be subiect to the Bishop, as vnto the Lorde: hee it is, that watcheth ouer your soules, as one that shall account vnto God, you must therefore whatsoeuer you enterprise doe nothing without the Bishop: but be subiect also to the Presbyterie, as vnto the Apostles of Iesus Christ. You must likewise by all meanes please the Deacons of the mysteries of Iesus Christ. The Bishop is the [2] figure of the father of all; the Presbyters as the [3] Senate

[1] *Ignat. ad Trallianos.*

[2] *vbique.*

[1] συνέδριον. [2] σύνδεσμος. [3] γνωτῶν χριστοῦ. [1] Senate of God, and a [2] knot of the Apostles of Christ, without these the chosen Church is not, nor the company of Saints, nor the assemblie of the holie. What is the Bishop, but [3] one who hath power ouer all, as much as is possible for a man to haue a resembler in power, of Christ, that is, God? What is the Presbyterie but a sacred [4] assemblie, the [5] Counsellers and [6] Consistours of the Bishop? Presbyters or Elders we see heere with all their titles, Lay Elders we see none. To presume upon the quaintie of the worde that they were Lay, is so childish a proofe, that it should not come to wisemens heads: yet lest wee should be carried with that wilfull perswasion, which I see many possesse with, marke what Elders they were, of whome Ignatius spake. He calleth them in this Epistle σύνδεσμον ἀποστόλων χριστοῦ (a knot or company of Apostles *or Messengers* of Christ: and in the next he saith,

[4] σύστημα. [5] σύμβουλοι. [6] σύνεδρον.

[7] In epistola ad Magnesianos.

[7] As the Lord did nothing without *his* father, so *must* not you without the Bishop, μήτε πρεσβύτερος, μήτε διάκονος, μήτε λαϊκὸς whether you *be* Presbyter, Deacon or Lay man. To the Church of Philadelphia he writeth thus: [8] ὑποτάσσεσθε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ ἀλλήλοις, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ σάρκα, καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι τοῖς κατὰ θεὸν διακόνοις, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως τῷ λαῷ: The Presbyters, Deacons and the rest of the Clergie together with all the people, obey the Bishop. And soone after,

[8] Ad Philadelphienses.

[9] Ad Smyrnæos. [9] ὑποτάσσεσθε τοῖς διακόνοις, Let the Lay men be subiect to the Deacons, the Deacons to the Presbyters, the Presbyters to the Bishop. And expressing their office with Saint Peters wordes he saith,

[10] Ad Antiochenos. [10] ὑποτάσσεσθε πρεσβυτέροις ὡς ἀποστόλοις ἐμοῖ: You Presbyters, feed the flock that is with you, till God shew who shall be ruler *or Bishop* ouer you, for I now hasten to gaine Christ. Presbyters then with Ignatius were Pastours and part of the Clergie; and so farre from being Lay men, that all Lay men were subiect vnto them as vnto the Apostles of Christ, and not ioyned with them in the same Presbyterie to gouerne the Church.

Hierome the next of your witnesses (for I take them not in their ages, but as their testimonies ioyne neerest together) writing on Esay, saith, [11] *Et nos habemus in ecclesia Senatum nostrum, id est, cœtum Presbyterorum*: We haue in the Church our Senate, that is the assemblie *or companie* of Presbyters. And againe, [12] *Communi Presbyterorum consilio regebantur ecclesiæ*: The Churches were *at first* gouerned by the common aduise of the Presbyters. The Elders at first did gouerne the Church by common aduise, and

[11] Hiero. in Esa. 3.

[12] Hiero. in Tit. 1.

ground as all with vs; this is it which is doubted and denied by vs, and shall neuer be proued by any, that those Elders were Lay men, which so gouerned the Church. What Elders Ierome meant is soone discerned by his owne words, [1] *Idem est ergo Presbyter, qui Episcopus:* An *Elder* or Presbyter then is the selfe same, that a Bishop is, and before there were factions in religion by the Diuels instinct, and the people began to say, I hold of Paul, I of Apollo, and I of Cephas, the Churches were gouerned with the common aduise of Presbyters. But when euery one thought those, whome he baptized, to be his owne and not Christs; it was decreede in the whole worlde that one of the Presbyters chosen shoulde bee set aboue the rest; to whome the whole care of the Church should appertaine. Ierom auoucheth that Bishops and Presbyters were at the first all one, and saith the Church was gouerned by their common aduise, vntill the Presbyters began to challenge such, as they had baptized, for their owne, and not for Christs, He writeth then of such Elders as did baptize, and feede the flocke, and differed from Pastours and Bishops neither in dispensing the worde nor Sacraments, but onely in wanting power to impose hands. For so, hauing the very same matter in his Epistle to Euagrius, hee saith, [2] *Quid enim facit, excepta ordinatione, Episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat?* What doth a Bishop, saue ordering (or *imposing hands*) which a Presbyter may not doe? Then Presbyters with Ierome did preach, baptize, & administer the Lords supper as well as Bishops; and were indeed Teachers and Pastors by whose counsell at the first the Churches were gouerned. And of such Ierome saieth; [3] Bishops must knowe they are greater then Presbyters, rather by custome, then by the trueth of the Lordes disposition, and ought to gouerne the Church in common. Let any man that hath care of his conscience or credite read the places in Hieromes Epistle to Euagrius, and in his Commentaries vpon the first to Tito, where hee sheweth what Elders did and should gouerne the Church; and if this that I say bee not more then euident, I will hazarde mine before God and man.

1 *Hier. in Tit. 1.*

2 *Hieron. Euagrio: tom. 2. fol. 329.*

3 *Hier. in epist. ad Tit. 1. 2.*

Ambrose is an other that speaketh to the same effect: [4] Among all Nations age is honourable. *Vnde & Synagoga, & postea ecclesia*

4 *Ambros. in 1. Timoth. 5.*

ecclesiæ seniores habuit, quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in ecclesia. Wherefore the *Iewish* synagogue, and after the Church, had Seniours *or Elders*, without whose counsell nothing was doone in the Church. The which by what negligence it is out of vse, I knowe not, vnlesse it be by the slouth or rather pride of the Teachers, whiles they alone will seeme to bee somewhat. Doth likewise is mention of Elders, without whose aduise nothing was doone in the Church; but by Ignatius and Ierome we saw before, they were not Lay men but Cleargie men, by whose counsell the Churches were gouerned. Had wee not Ambrose opinion elsewhere deliuered, that in cases of faith and manners Lay men euen did, neuer might iudge of Priests, of whome yet the Presbyters might and did iudge: what one woorde is heere sounding for Lay Elders? They were aged that were called to the regiment of the Church in former times, and not one, but many. Ambrose maketh that in his time some, whiles they would seeme alone to rule, had excluded or neglected the rest that were wont to bee ioyned with them in consulting and caring for the Church. By this we may prooue that ancient good Bishops in guiding their flocks vsed the helpe and aduise of their Cleargie; that Lay men were coupled with them to gouerne the Church, you cannot prooue. He doth not blame them for refusing Lay Elders to be their Colleagues, but for affecting to be so wise, that they neeued not the aide and counsell of their brethren, who were wont to aduise and assist their Bishop as well in doctrine, as in discipline.

What Ambrose thought of Lay Iudges ouer persons and causes Ecclesiasticall, his Epistle to Valentinian the Emperour will quickely resolue. [1] No man ought to thinke me obstinate (saith Ambrose) when I auouch that, which your father of sacred memory, not only answered in words, but established by his lawes: *in causa fidei vel ecclesiastici alicuius ordinis, eum iudicare debere, qui nec munere impar sit, nec iure dissimilis*: in a matter of faith touching any Ecclesiasticall order, hee ought to bee iudge, that hath neither his calling diuers, nor his right different. Those are the very wordes of the rescript; that is, hee would haue Priests to be Iudges ouer Priests. Yea if a Bishop bee to bee reproued for any other thing, and his manners to be examined, this also would hee haue pertaine to the iudgement of Bishops.

[1] *Ambros. lib. 5. epistola 32.*

Who

When euer heard you, most gratious Emperour; in a matter of faith, that Lay men iudged of Bishops? Shall we then so bowe with flatterie, that wee forget the right of Priestes, and what God hath giuen to mee, shall I commit to others? If a Bishop must be taught by a lay man what to followe, let the Lay teach, & the Bishop heare; let the Bishop learne at a Lay mans hands. Your father a man of ripe yeeres, saide, *Non est meum iudicare inter Episcopos:* It is not for mee to sit iudge amongest Bishops, you shall be olde by Gods grace, and then shall you finde what a Bishop he is, *qui Laicis ius Sacerdotale substernit*, that casteth the right of Bishops vnder Lay mens feete. Would hee call it pride in Bishops to refuse Lay men for their Consorts in censuring all persons and causes of the Church; that greatly praised the Emperour for saying, it was not his part to iudge amongest Bishops? and highly commended the Law that barred all Iudges ouer Priests; saue such as were *pari munere & simili iure*, of the same calling and right that Priests were: The longer we seeke, the further we are from finding Lay Elders. Wee haue nowe a publike and Emperiall Law; that with Ecclesiasticall causes and persons, no Lay man should meddle; but leaue them to Bishops, as best acquainted with the Rules and Canons of the Church, by which such men and matters must be guided.

Tertullian, Austen and Gregorie admit all three one answere. They vse the Latin word *Seniores*, for those whom Hierome and others cal by the Greeke name Presbyteros, such Elders, as were Pastours and Priests. [1] Presbyter in Greeke, saieth Isidore, is in Latine *Senior*, Presbyters *and Elders* being so called not for yeeres and olde age; but for the honour and dignitie which they tooke *when they entred that order*. This name the Translatour of the new Testament giueth them, euen in those places, where the Greeke calleth them, πρεσβυτέρους *Seniores*, *qui in vobis sunt, obsecro consenior*. [2] The Seniors that are amóg you, I beseech being my selfe a Senior, feede ye the flocke of God that is with you. And againe, [3] *Senior electæ Dominæ; Senior Gaio charissimo:* The Senior to the elect Ladie; and the Senior to the most deere Gaius: and yet I trust Saint Peter and Saint Iohn were no Lay Elders. At first, Pastours and Teachers were vsually chosen by their age; as to whome the rather for their wisedome and gra-

[1] *Isidor. originum. lib. 7.*

[2] 1. Petr. 5.

[3] 1 Iohan. epist. 2. & 3.

uitie, reuerence and honour should bee yeelded in the execution of their office; and afterward, when some of rare gifts, though younger in yeeres, were elected to that charge, they retained the name, which vse had accustomed; and so generally men of that profession were and are called Presbyters and Seniors, which in English are Elders. What proofe is this then for Lay Elders, if Latine writers now and then call them *Seniores*; which is common to all Pastours and Ministers of the worde and Sacraments?

The circumstances perchance will somewhat induce, that those Fathers spake of Lay Elders. They will the contrarie verie well; but this they will neuer. Tertullian opening to the Gentiles the manner of the Christian assemblies, and what they did, when they were gathered together, saieth: [1] 'Wee meete in a companie, that wee may ioyne as an armie in our prayers to God. Wee meete to the rehearsing of the diuine Letters *where* with sacred woordes wee nourish faith, wee stirre vp hope, and fasten confidence; and neuertheless confirme discipline by the often instructions of *our* [2] teachers. There are also exhortations, reprehensions, and diuine censures. Iudgement is vsed with great deliberation, as being out of doubt that God seeth *vs*. There *haue wee* an euident foreshewing of the Iudgement that shall one day come, if any so offend that hee bee banished from the fellowship of *our* prayers, assemblie, and all holie companie. The Rulers *of our meetings* are certaine approoued Seniours such as gate this honour, not by rewarde, but by good reporte; for nothing that is Gods may be bought. Praying, reading of the Scriptures, teaching, exhorting, reproouing in their publike assemblies were Pastourall duties; why shoulde not censuring bee the like'? The selfe same persons that were in one, were Rulers in all these actions. Againe, the honour which they had to sitte before the rest in the Church; and was so sacred, that it coulde not be procured by rewarde, but by good reporte, sheweth they were Clergie men, and not Lay persons that did moderate their meetings. The verie worde *Præsidere* with Tertullian is an euident distinction betweene the Pastours and the people. [4] *Disciplina ecclesiæ & præscriptio Apostoli digamos non sinit præsidere*: The discipline of the Church and precept of the Apostle suffer not a man, that

[1] *Tertull. in Apologetico.*

[2] *Præceptorum.*

[3] *Præsident.*

[4] *Tertull. lib. 1. ad vxorem.*

that hath moe wiues then one, *præsidere*, to be a Bishop, which by reason of their function did sit before all others in the Church.

[1] *Quot & digami præsident apud vos, insultantes vtique Apostolo?* How many with the second wife are presidents *and Bishops* amongest you, insulting on the Apostle, that saieth a Bishop shoulde be the husband of one wife? And againe [2] *Eucharistiæ sacramentum non de aliorum manu quàm Præsidentium sumimus:* we take not the Sacrament of the Eucharist at any others, then at the Pastours (*or Rulers*) hands.

[1] Idem de Monogamia.

[2] Idem de corona militis.

Handling this assertion, [3] *Nónne & Laici Sacerdotes sumus?* Wee that are of the Laitie, are wee not Priestes? he saieth *Differentiam inter ordinem & plebem constituit ecclesiæ authoritas, & honor per ordinis consessum sanctificatus à Deo.* A difference betwene the order *of Priests* and the people, the authoritie of the church hath made; and the honor sanctified of God by the setting together of their order. And shewing how many degrees he accounteth in the Cleargie; he saith. [4] *Quùm ipsi anthores, id est, ipsi Diaconi, Presbyteri & Episcopi fugiunt; quomodo Laicus, &c.* When the first men, that is, the Deacons, Presbyters and Bishops flee; how shall the Lay *forbeare fleeing*? when the Leaders flee, which of the Souldiours will stand? Hee is an euill Pastour, Christ confirming it, that fleeth when hee seeth the woolfe, and leaueth his sheepe to the spoyle. Which is neuer more doone then when in persecution, *ecclesia destituitur à Clero*, the Church is forsaken of the Cleargie. *Porrò si eos, qui Gregi præsunt, fugere, quum lupi irruunt, nec decet, imò nec licet; (qui enim Pastorem talem, malum pronunciauit, vtique damnauit;) ideo Præpositos ecclesiæ in persecutione fugere non oportebit:* Then if it bee neither seemely nor lawfull for the Rulers of the flocke, to flee, when the woolues rush in; (for hee that pronounced such a one an euill sheepeheard, did doubtlesse condemne him;) the ouerseers of the Church may not flee in persecution. By this wee may plainely perceiue there were in Tertullians time, no Leaders, Rulers nor Ouerseers of the flocke and Church, but Pastours and Cleargie men; and those either Deacons, Priests or Bishops: Lay Elders are farre from Tertullians wordes, and further from his meaning.

[3] Idem de exhortatione ad castitatem.

[4] Idem de fuga in persecutione.

Why his booke *De Baptismo* should be alleaged for Lay Elders,

uers, I can not so much as gesse. Some men are so infected with the fansie of Lay Elders; that they no sooner reade the word Presbyter, but they straight dreame of their Lay Presbyterie. Otherwise, if we would seeke for a place to crosse their newe discipline, we could not light on a better. [1] *Dandi* baptisimum *ius habet summus Sacerdos, qui est episcopus. Dehinc Presbyteri & Diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi authoritate propter ecclesiæ honorem. quo salvo salva pax est. alioquin etiam Laicis ius est.* To giue *baptisme* is the right of the chiefest Priest, which is the Bishop. After *him* the Presbyters and Deacons, not yet without the Bishops authoritie for the honour of the Church, *that is, the honour allowed him in the Church:* the which being obserued, peace is preserued; otherwise it were lawful for lay men *to doe it*. Heere find we the Bishop to be the chiefest Priest, & without his leaue the rest not to baptize. With his leaue the Presbyters and Deacons might, but not Lay men, saue in cases of extremitie; then as hee thinketh a nie Lay man might. The trueth of his opinion I am not heere to discusse; the tenour of his reporte I haue no cause to distrust; I finde it confirmed by others, that in the presence of the Bishop, the rest might not baptise, as also that none of these three degrees were Lay men. Admit the Bishop to be the chiefest, the Elders and Deacons without his authoritie to doe nothing; and remoue Laie men from the number of Bishoppes, Elders and Deacons; the platfourme of your Lay Presbyterie must needes fall.

[1] *Tertul. de Baptismo.*

Augustine much misliked the fond and lewd excuses that some in his time made, when they were rebuked for their sinnes. [2] *Cùm arguuntur à senioribus*; When they are reproued by (*those their*) Elders for drunkennes, rapine and killing of men in tumults; they answeare; what should I doe, being a Secular man or a souldier? haue I professed to bee a Monke, or a Cleargie man? Heere is the bare name of Elders; but whether they were Lay men or Clearkes, heere is no mention. If this admonition and reprehension were priuate, the Elders may bee, the one or the other, as you will; Euery Christian man hath libertie to reprooue and admonishe his Brother priuatelie for any sinne committed; and it best becommeth age and grey hayres, to mislike the disorders and enormities of yonger and rather heades;

[2] *August. de verbis Domini serm. 19.*

heades; and then the woꝛds of Auſten are, when they be reproo-ued by their Elders. But if the rebuke were open, then *Seniores* were the elder ſoꝛt of ſuch Cleargie men, as had the charge and o-uerſight of other mens liues and manners; and ſate in iudgement with the Biſhop, to exhoꝛt, chaſtice and cenſure licentious perſons. That Lay men in Auſtens time intermedled with the keyes oꝛ ſa-craments, I vtterly deny; and theꝛefoꝛe the woꝛde Elders cannot impoꝛt that, which then was not. The keyes, whereon Excom-munication dependeth, and the Sacraments, from which offendoꝛs are excluded, were then the Paſtours charge, and not the peoples. It is moꝛe then ignoꝛance, foꝛ thoſe that woulde ſeeme learned, to imagine that Auſten euer heaꝛd oꝛ thought any Lay men had an in-tereſt in the open and oꝛdinarie vſe of the keyes and diſpoſition of the Sacraments.

The Iudges that Auſten acknowledged in the Church were no lay Elders, as plainly appeareth by his woꝛds befoꝛe alledged, nei-ther had lay men any iudgemẽt ſeats pꝛouided foꝛ them in ỹ church: [1] *ſed ſedes Præpoſitorum & ipſi Præpoſiti intelligendi ſunt: per quos ec-cleſia nunc gubernatur*: But the ſeates of the Rulers and the Ru-lers themſelues (ſaith Auſten) are vnderſtoode, by whome the Church is nowe gouerned. And leſt you ſhould doubt who gouer-ned the Church in his dayes, Biſhops, oꝛ Lay Elders; noting vpon the 106. pſalme, three tentations that euery religious and faith-full man amongſt the people of God might haue tryall of, hee ſaith, [2] *Fortaſſis dignus eris, cui populus committatur, conſtituaris in gubernaculis nauis, recturus eccleſiam. Ibi quarta tentatio. Tem-peſtates maris quatientes eccleſiam turbant Gubernatorem. Quar-ta iſta noſtra eſt. Quanto plus honoramur, tanto plus periclitamur. Tentatio ergo gubernandi, tentatio periculorum in regenda eccleſia nos potiſſimum tangit*: Happely thou ſhalt be *found* woꝛthie to whom the people may be committed, to ſit at the helme of the ſhip, to gouerne the Church. There is the fourth tentation. The ſtoꝛms of the Sea that ſhake the Church, trouble the Gouernoꝛ. This fourth is ours. The highet our honoꝛ, the greater the dan-ger. The tentation then of gouerning, the tentation of troubles in ruling the Church, chiefly concerneth vs: yet are ye not free. Foꝛ bꝛethiren, though you ſit not at the ſame ſterne, yet ſaile you in the ſame ſhip. Paſtours then in S. Auſtens time, and no Lay

[1] *Auguſt. de Ciuitate Dei lib. 20 ca. 9.*

[2] *Auguſt. in pſal. 106.*

persons did gouerne the Church, and rule the flocke, and by them iudgement was giuen and discipline exercised against wicked and dissolute liuers. [1] *Cùm eis, per quos ecclesia regitur, adest salua pace potestas disciplinæ aduersus improbos aut nefarios exercendæ, &c.* When they that rule the Church may without breach of peace (*that is, danger of schisme*) exercise discipline vpon lewde and wicked offendours; then are wee to bee stirred vp with the sharpenesse of those precepts, that leade to seueritie of repressing (*euill*) that directing our steppes in the way of the Lorde, wee neither slacke vnder the name of patience, nor rage vnder the shewe of diligence.

[1] *August. de fide & operibus ca. 5.*

But Saint Austen in his hundreth thirtie and seuenth Epistle, writeth; *Clero, Senioribus, & vniuersæ plebi ecclesiæ Hipponensis*: to the Cleargie, Elders, and whole people of the Church of Hippo; *where the Elders are reckoned, by themselues, as no part of the Cleargie.*] If naming Elders by themselues, make them no parte of the Cleargie; by that consequent, they be likewise no parte of the people; for they be reckoned asunder from the people. But these inferences haue no sufficient ground; they must be either of the Cleargie or people, and yet heere they bee named betwixt them. The rules of ciuilitie are not alwayes bound to the rules of Logike. They that haue preeminence aboue others, may be saluted aparte from others, though the generall salutation before or after, by force of reason doth include them. Therefore if any man answere, that Austen naming the whole Cleargie of his Church in that Epistle, thought to make a more speciall remembraunce of the better sorte of them, by the title of Elders, it can not be refuted; the wordes doe well endure it. If any dislike that exposition, let him take Elders in Gods name for the better sorte of the Laitie; I meane for the Rulers and Gouernours of the people, as if a man shoulde write to the Cleargie, Aldermen, and Commons of any good Citie; for an Alderman is the right English for *Senior* in Latine, when it doth not import an Ecclesiastical function: and it is not vnlikely, that Austen then absent and writing to the whole Citie, diuided the superiour sorte of the Laitie, from the Inferiour by that stile. Howsoeuer you bestowe the worde, it is euident by the whole course of that Epistle, those

Elders

Elders had no power in the Church, more then the rest of the people. Yea, the hearing of the cause then in question about the accusation of Bonifacius a Priest, for a foule crime obiected vnto him by an other of the Cleargie, did so litle concerne them, that Austen heard the matter himselfe alone, and tooke order in it as hee thought good, and kept it from the knowledge of them all. And in this Epistle giuing a reason why he did not remoue Bonifacius from his degree at the first examining of the matter, hee saieth; [1] *Nomen Presbyteri propterea non sum ausus de numero Collegarum eius vel supprimere vel delere, ne diuinæ potestati, sub cuius examine causa adhuc pendet, facere viderer iniuriam, si illius iudicium meo vellem iudicio præuenire:* The name of his Priest I durst not suppresse or strike out from the number of the Colleagues, lest I shoulde seeme to offer wrong to Gods iudgement, (vnder whose triall the matter yet dependeth) if I shoulde preuent his iudgement with my censure. Reade the Epistle, if he attribute any more to those Elders, then hee doeth to the lowest of the people and Cleargie; if he did not take the whole cause into his owne hands, and set an order in it without their consents or priuities; I wil agnise your Lay Elders.

[1] *August. epist. 137.*

Happely you thinke, Saint Austen did the Lay Elders wrong to keepe this cause from them; and to deale in it without them? I can not let you from so thinking; but all that be well aduised will rather suppose, Lay Elders had nothing to doe with such cases in Saint Austens time; and that the good Bishop did not close vp such horrible offences by wrongfull withholding the cause from the knowledge of the Elders, to whome by order of the Church it then appertained; but hee kept it from them and the rest with good conscience vsing his owne right, [2] *ne atrociter & inaniter contristando turbaret*, as himselfe saieth; Lest hee shoulde trouble their mindes with a grieuous sorrowe to no purpose.

[2] *Iuuenal epist.*

Gregories authoritie is quoted out of the [3] Canon Lawe, for name of Lay Elders: which sure were verie strange; that fiue hundreth yeeres after Christ, the power of Lay Elders shoulde remaine in the Church, and their name all this while not heard of; but I thinke we shall finde no more heere, then wee did before. [4] If (saieth Gregorie) anie thing come to thine eares of anie

[3] *15 quæst. § si quid.*

[4] *Gregor. lib. 11. 49.*

Clerke whomsoeuer, which may iustly offend thee, beleeue it not easely, *sed præsentibus ecclesiæ tuæ Senioribus*, but in the presence of the Elders of thy Church, search out the truth diligently, and if the qualitie of the matter shall so require, let the offendour be punished according to the rigour of the Canons. Elders of the Church I heare, Lay Elders I heare not; and by the Lawes Imperiall long before this established, euen in Ambroses time, a Clergie mans cause could not be examined and determined but by men of the same right and the same calling. And of all others Gregorie is the vnfittest man to prooue that Lay Elders should haue the hearing and deciding of Clergie mens causes; who could not endure, that any thing whatsoeuer pertaining to the Clergie should be committed to the hands of Lay men. [1] *Cauendum est à fraternitate vestra, ne Secularibus viris atque non sub regula nostra degentibus res ecclesiasticæ committantur*; Your brotherhoode must beware that Ecclesiasticall matters bee not committed to Secular men, and such as liue not vnder our profession. The punishement, which by the very wordes must be Canonicall, or according to the Canons, sheweth that these Elders were the discreetest and wisest of his Clergy. For what haue Lay men to do either with the knowledge, or execution of the Canons? What reason to charge the with the Canons, to whom the Canons were not written? Hee meaneth therefore the Elders of his Church, that is, such Clergie men as were of best account and greatest experience in his Church.

[1] *Gregor. lib. 7. epist. 66.*

[2] *Concil. Turonens. 2. ca. 7.*

And so the Councell of Turon decreed, [2] *Quem negligentia eiecit, cum omnium Presbyterorum consilio refutetur*; whom negligence maketh vnworthie of his place, let him bee remooued by the aduise of all the Presbyters. And Gregorie himselfe saieth; [3] Lest there be any dissention amongst brethren, lest any discord be nourished *inter Præpositos & Subiectos*, betweene the Rulers (*of the Church*) and those that be vnder them, *in vnum conuenire Sacerdotes necesse est*; It is needful for the Priests to meete in one place together, that they may discusse such causes as happen, and wholsomly conferre about Ecclesiastic all rules, so as things past may bee amended, and an order set for thinges to come. Of Lay men the Councell of Hispalis sayeth, [4] *Indecorum est Laicum vicarium esse Episcopi, & Seculares in ecclesia iudicare. Vnde oportet nos & diuinis libris, & sanctorum Patrum obedire præceptis, constituentes,*

[3] *Gregor. lib. 7. epist. 130.*

[4] *Concil. Hispalens. 2. ca. 9.*

constitutentes, vt his qui in administrationibus ecclesiæ Pontificibus sociantur, discrepare non debeant nec professione, nec habitu. It is an vnseemely thing for a laie man to be vicegerent to a Bishop; and for Secular men to iudge in the Church. Wherefore we must obey the bookes of God, and the precepts of our fathers being holy men; decreeing that they which are ioyned with the Bishops in the administrations of the Church, should not differ from them neither in profession, nor habite. If laie Elders had bene curtant in Gregories time, and assisted the Bishop in Clergie mens causes, as his Coassellors; the Councill of Hispalis not long after him, did open wrong to the trueth, in saying it was against the booke of God, and rules of their forefathers, that laie men should bee ioyned with Bishops in any causes or matters of the Church: but for any thing we yet see, they spake the trueth, and no more then was long before confirmed as well by the decrees of Councils, as publike lawes of the Romane empire.

[1] *Si ecclesiastica causa est, nullam communionem habeant Iudices ciuiles circa talem examinationem; sed sanctissimus Episcopus secundum sacras regulas causæ finem imponat.* If it be an ecclesiasticall cause (saieth Iustinian the Emperour) let not the ciuill (*or temporall*) Iudges any way intermeddle with the examination thereof; but according to the sacred rules, let the most holy Bishop determine the matter. Nowe who were to be present with the Bishop, when he sate in iudgement, and assist him, the fourth Councill of Carthage declareth in these wordes; [2] *Episcopus nullius causam audiat, absque præsentia Clericorum suorum; alioquin irrita erit sententia Episcopi, nisi Clericorum præsentia confirmetur.* Let the Bishop determine no mans cause without the presence of his Clergie; otherwise the sentence of the Bishop shall bee voyde, that is not confirmed with the presence of the Clergie. With the Bishop sate no laie Elders in iudgement, but his owne Clergie; and those not all, but the grauer and elder sort of them. The Deacons and the rest of the Clergie beneath their degree, might not sit with the Priests, much lesse with the Bishop. The Councill of Nice saieth; [3] *Sed nec sedere Diaconis licet in medio Presbyterorum.* The Deacons may not sit in the company or assemblie of Priests. So that onely Clergie men and Priests sate with the Bishop in Church and Consistorie, and their presence and aduise was required,

[1] *Authentic. 123 de sanctissimis episcopis, ca. 21.*

[2] *Concil. Carthaginens. 4. ca. 23.*

[3] *Concil. Nicæn. ca. 18.*

required, as we see by the Councel of Carthage, before the Bishop might giue iudgement against any man.

This course Gregorie willeth the Bishop of Panormus in Sicelie to obserue, as neerest to the Canons, and freest from all challenge, whē he conuented any Clergie man, not rashly to pronounce; but aduisedly to deliberate with the wisest and eldest of his Clergie, and then to proceed accordingly; for Priests and Deacons the case is cleare, the Bishop alone might not depriue them. The Councill of Hispalis saieth; [1] *Episcopus Sacerdotibus ac Ministris solus honorem dare potest, solus auferre non potest.* The Bishop alone may giue Priests and Deacons their honour; but hee can not take it from them alone. They may not be condemned by one, neither may they loose the priuiledge of their honour by the iudgement of one. but being presented to the iudgement of a Synode, let them bee ruled and ordered as the Canon prescribeth. Ouer the rest, the Bishop alone might sit Iudge without the assistance of other Bishops: but not without the Elders of his owne Church and Clergie. for so the Councill of Carthage decreeth, and Gregorie aduiseth; [2] If any Priestes or Deacons bee accused, let the Bishop of the parties accused, discusse their causes, taking to him a lawfull number, (sixe in a Priests, three in a Deacons) of the Bishops adioyning such as the defendant shall require. The causes of the rest of the Clergie, the Bishop of the place alone, shall heare and determine. Lay Elders I trust are excluded by this Canon, from deciding or debating the causes of any Priestes, Deacons or other Clergie men; and so are they by all the Canons that were euer made in any Councill Prouinciall, or Generall, since the Apostles times.

[1] *Concil. Hispal. 2. ca. 6.*

[2] *Concil. Affric. ca. 20.*

Lastlie, the Canon lawe it selfe is produced for the name of lay Elders. I might take iust exception against the Compiler of those decrees; his corruptions and ouersights doe passe the number of his leaues. Hieromes name is twise abused by him, and twise alleaged by you without any regard, whether those authorities bee found in his workes, or make to your purpose. The first is 16. *quæst. 1.* § *ecclesia*; which place is no where found in Hierome, though his booke *ad Rusticum* bee extant, prescribing the manner how a Monke should order his life. Some of the wordes were patched

patched out of his Commentaries vpon Esaie; and the rest touching Monkes added, which are not at all in Hierome. The second place; *distinct. 95. ecce ego*; is a lustie tale, not of Hieroms, but of some others in his name; beginning with a forged inscription, and ending with a presumptuous vntrueth, and fraighted in the middle with vnsauourie rayling. Hierome wrate in deede to Rusticus a Frenchman, but as yet no Clergie man: that euer he wrate vnto him after he was Bishop of Narbon, neither doe we reade it in any of his workes, neither is it likely; for so much as Leo Bishop of Rome more then thirtie yeeres after Hieromes death, wrate, [1] *Ad Rusticum Narbonensem Episcopum*; to Rusticus Bishop of Narbon. And touching the matter of which, this counterfeit Hierome talketh; [2] Leo writing vnto the Bishops of France and Germanie, conuicteth this prater of manifest falsehood. for where this forged Hierome saieth it was vsed in Rome, in Africa, in the East, in Spaine, France and Britaine, and calleth them proud, enuious, and most iniurious Prelates that otherwise doe; Leo with a Council of Bishops affirmeth it was not vsed, but where men were altogether ignorant of the ecclesiastical rules, and expressely forbiddeth it by a Synodall consent, as contrarie to the Canons.

[1] *Epist. 92. 94.*

[2] *Epist. 88. alias 86.*

Whosoeuer were the author of that sturdie epistle, he turneth your laie Elders cleane out of doores. for as hee affirmeth; that Presbyters or Elders were [3] at first Iudges of the *Churches* affaires, and present at the Bishops Councils; so hee saieth the same Elders must [4] preache in the Church, blesse and exhort the people, consecrate Christ at the Altar, restore the Communion, visite the sicke, *Atque omnia Dei Sacramenta complere*, and finishe all the Sacramentes of God. I shall not neede to put you in minde that heere is no roume for Laie Elders; the woorkes bee so playne, that if you but reade them, I thinke you will quickely resigne all the interest you haue in them.

[3] *Dist. 93. § ecce ego dico.*

[4] *Ibidem.*

Thus haue we perused the prookes that are brought out of ancient Fathers to vphold the Laie Elders; whether these bee great endowementes to enforce your Laie Eldership; I appeale to your owne consciences. You haue not so much as one circumstance in

in any father to inferre they were Laie. The names of *Presbyteri* and *Seniores*, which in English are Elders or Priests, you shewe, whereof we neuer doubted; but those names when they imply age, are common to all men that are striken in yeeres: when they note an office, they are proper to Clergie men. Note then the doubtfull signification of the word Elders; I protest before him that seeth the secretes of all mens hearts, I see no inforcement in any Father yet produced. On the contrarie, though it might suffise me to stand on the Negatiue, that no laie Elders can bee prooued; yet because I seeke not to distinguish wordes, but to search out the trueth, I haue prooued by other places out of the same writers, that they had no such intent, as you pretend; vse your eies and not your fansies, I am well content your selues shall be Iudges.

But the rest that remaine, as Cyprian, Socrates, *and* Possidonius, *doe most clearely speake of Laie men.*] Of Laie men they speake in deed; for they speake of the whole people: but of your Laie Elders, they speake not a word. This short answere might serue for all the places that are behind, neither is there any cause to stand longer in discussing them, were it not that I seeke rather to satisfie the Obiecters as brethren, thē to repell them as aduersaries, for whose sake I will rip vp the circumstances.

[1] Agelius a Nouatian Bishop, readie to die, imposed hands on Sisinnius to be Bishop in his place, being one of the Presbyters that were vnder him. The people of the Nouatians (*misliking or*) complaining of the fact, for that he rather laied not handes on one Marcian, by whose meanes the Nouatians in the time of Valens, enioyed quietnesse, Agelius willing to ease the peoples griefe, laied hands also on Marcian. And when he was a litle recouered, he entred into the Church, and in his owne person said; You haue Marcian to succeed mee, and after Marcian Sisinnius. This is the true report of Socrates words; and in these, what one letter for laie Elders? Sisinnius was no laie man; hee was a Clergie man long before this, as [2] Socrates himselfe recordeth. As for the name of Elders or Presbyters, besides that in all the Church stories it noteth an ecclesiasticall function; and laie men by the Canons could not be made Bishops, except they were first in orders; this very chapter is a manifest testimonie, that none were promoted to beare that name, or haue that place but by imposition of hands.

[1] *Socra. li. 5. ca. 21*

[2] *Li. 5. ca. 10.*

hands. I had occasion before to alleage the words of Marcian, repenting that euer he laied his handes on Sabbatius and others, to make them priests, I will not now repeate them.

But the peoples dislike made Agelius recall his fact: Of all examples, this is one of the weakest and worst. The Nouatians were Schismatikes from the Church of Christ, and no members of it; it skilleth not therefore what soeuer they or their Bishop did. Next, it was but a point of policie in Agelius, to retaine the liking of his followers; for as they departed from the Catholike Church vpon a conceit; so were they as like vpon a Spleene, to returne thither againe, and forsake the Nouatian Bishops. Thirdly, he might iustly feare, and so preuent a Schisme amongst his owne, least some adhering to Sisinnius, and some to Marcian, his Congregation should bee diuided, which was no rare thing in the elections of Bishops. Lastly, if this example were worth the standing on; it is certaine, that Agelius lying sicke in his bedde, made first Sisinnius Bishop without the peoples consent; and meaning to please the multitude, he did as much for Marcian; and when he came to the Church vpon his recouerie, hee asked no consents for Sisinnius; but tolde the people, that according to their desire Marcian should bee next, and Sisinnius should expect till Marcian was dead. In all this proceeding, there is no one part answerable to the Canons of the Church, and as for laie Elders, not so much as any suspicion of them.

The people had alwayes an interest in the choice of their Bishop and Elders, as appeareth in Possidonius *by their preferring S.* Austen *to be an Elder.*] I doe not denie, but after the Apostles and their followers were dead, in whose dayes the holy Ghost named the most of the Pastours and Teachers; the good will and liking of the people was greatly respected in the choice of their Bishops; and when there wanted Presbyters and Deacons needfull for the Church, the Bishop of the place vsed to admonish and exhort the people, if they found any men amongst themselues meete for their good behauiour and towardnesse to serue in the Church of Christ, to bring them foorth or name them, that he might accordingly consider of them, whether by the Canons they were capable of that honour. And when himselfe would preferre such as he knew to be sufficient for their learning, he proposed their names to the people, that their liues and conuersations in time past might be remembred and examined,

examined, least any suspected or infamed for notorious crimes, or otherwise prohibited by the Canons of the Church, might secretely creepe to that degree. This am I farre from refuting or impugning. I wish it rather with zeale to be enioyed, and with care to be obserued, that none might be taken to serue Christ in his Church, but such as are vnreprooueable, and so well tried and reported of, that neither the people of God might bee offended with their enormities, nor the Church burdened with their indignities. But what is this to the Laie Presbyterie? Was Austen made a Laie Elder? or did the Laie Elders preferre him to the Bishop to receiue imposition of hands, or ioyne with the Bishop in laying hands on him? Can any of these thyngs bee thence so much as surmised? view the place.

[1] When Valerius Bishop of Hippo, [1] spake to the people of God, and exhorted *them* about the prouiding and ordering of a Presbyter for the Citie, (the necessitie of the Church so requiring) the Catholikes, alreadie knowing the endeuour and learning of Saint Austen, laied handes on him as hee sate amongst the people, not fearing nor thinking what should follow; and holding him fast, brought him to the Bishop to bee ordered, as the maner was in such cases; all with one consent and desire, praying it to bee done and finished, and earnestlie following it with great zeale and outcries. [2] Valerius which ordered (*or imposed handes on*) him, reioyced and gaue thankes to God that his prayers were heard, which hee had often made, that God would sende him such a man as might edifie the Church with the worde of God, and with wholesome doctrine. And to the same Presbyter hee gaue leaue to preach in the Church in his presence, and very often to expound the Gospell; in deed against the maner and custome of the Churches of Africa; whereupon some Bishops were offended with him. This is the whole narration of Possidonius, touching S. Austens Presbytership, which was no laie function, as we see by the sequele, neither giuen him by any Laie Elders; but motioned and vrged by all the people, and consummated by Valerius, that ordered him without the helpe or assistance of any other to ioyne with him.

[1] Possidon. de vita Augustini. ca. 4.

[2] Ibidem ca. 5.

Cyprian I reserued to the last, though in yeeres he were first; because

because hee is largest, as being alleaged no lesse then fiue times; howbeit the number of allegations doe not helpe forth the matter, but the trueth and force of them is more to bee regarded. Of these fiue, there is one place of some importance; the rest are soone answered. Cyprian writing to the Presbyters and Deacons of Carthage, where hee was Bishop, saieth; [1] *Ad id quod scripserunt mihi Compresbyteri nostri Donatus & Nouatus, & Curdius, solus rescribere nil potui, cùm à primordio Episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine consilio vestro, & sine consensu plebis, mea priuatim sententia gerere.* To that which Donatus, Nouatus, and Curdius our Compresbyters wrate vnto vs, I alone could answere nothing, forsomuch as I haue resolued with my selfe euen from my first entrance into the Bishoprike, without your counsell and the consent of the people, to doe nothing vpon my priuate opinion. If the Presbyters to whom Cyprian wrate, had bene Laie Elders, it were somewhat to the purpose; but Cyprian neuer heard of any such. They were Clergie men to whome hee wrate, and Clergie men of whome hee spake: They sate with him in the Church, with them hee treated in common of the Church affaires, their counsell and aduise hee vsed in all things. This, if you reade Cyprian, cannot bee strange vnto you; if you peruse but the places which your selues haue quoted, you will confesse it.

[1] *Cypr. li. 3. epist. 10.*

Writing to the whole Church of Carthage of one Numidicus, that in persecution was scorched with fire, ouerwhelmed with stones, and left for dead amongst many that were slayne; and yet after found halfe aliue by his daughter, and recouered; Cyprian saieth, [2] Know yee brethren, your selues to be admonished and instructed by this fauour of God, *Vt Numidicus Presbyter ascribatur Presbyterorum Carthaginensium numero, & nobiscum sedeat in Clero, &c.* That Numidicus the Presbyter, should bee adioyned to the number of the Presbyters of Carthage, and sit with vs amongst the Clergie, *(for this as wee see, was the cause of preserving him)* that the Lord might adde him to our Clergie, and adorne with glorious Priests the perished honour of some of our Presbyters. The Presbyters or Elders then of Carthage, were the Clergie, that sate with the Bishop; and with him consulted of matters concerning the good

[2] *Cypr. li. 4. epist. vltima vel 10.*

of

of the Church. To Lucius bishop of Rome, he saieth; [1] The Lord (*by persecution*) shewed which was his Church, who was his Bishop; *qui cum Episcopo Presbyteri Sacerdotali honore coniuncti*, who were Presbyters ioyned with the Bishop in Priestlie honour, & which the true people of Christ. And againe, [2] *Presbyteris & Diaconis non defuit Sacerdotij vigor, &c.* To the Presbyters and Deacons there wanted not the vigor of Priesthood, to compresse those that being vnmindfull of discipline, and rashly running on, began to communicate with such as were fallen (*in persecution.*) These Presbyters & Elders were συμβουλοι και συνεδροι, Counsellers and Coassessors to the Bishop, as Ignatius remembreth; they ruled the Church in common, as Hierome auoucheth; and without their counsell was nothing done in the Church, as Ambrose asserteth; and they had euen the honour and vigor of Priesthood, as Cyprian witnesseth. Of these speaketh Cyprian in euery epistle; of laie Elders no syllable can bee found in all his writings. These Elders be as rare, as the other be rife; the one euery where, the other no where to be prooued or pretended.

[1] *Cypr. li. 3. epist. 1.*

[2] *Li. 3. epist. 5.*

If the people must consent before any thing may be done, why not also the laie Elders?] Nay, if the peoples assent must be sought to euerie thing, what needed laie Elders? Where the whole multitude should be asked, why doe you take a part to exclude the rest? Laie Elders are not the people, but part thereof; all both old and yong, are comprised in that name; and yet Cyprian maketh this rule of consulting the people in euery thing, neither generall for others, nor necessarie for himselfe. He doeth not say that he and others by Gods lawe were bound to doe nothing without the people; but that hee from the beginning determined in all things to take the counsell of the Presbyters, and consent of the people. And why? he was vehemently impugned from his first ingresse to the bishoprike, all occasions were sought to drawe the people from him; many aduantages by reason of his absence from the place in time of persecution, were taken against him, to disgrace him and crosse him in all his doings. To strengthen himselfe, and retaine the loue of his Clergie, and people towards him; what better way could hee take, then in all his enterprises to depend on the counsel of the Clergie, & consent of the Laitie. for by that means he stood assured, that neither Schisme could arise, nor faction preuaile against him.

You

You see where I saue that I say: Euen in Cyprian himselfe, and that not once or twise. That I could not come to you before Easter, the malice and perfidiousnesse of some of the Presbyters hath brought to passe, whiles mindfull of their conspiracie, and retaining their former venime against my being Bishop, yea rather against your suffrages *and election*, they begin a fresh their auncient maner of impugning vs, and renew againe their sacrilegious deuises, with their woonted lying in waite for vs. Against our counsell they rebell, and all Priestly authoritie and power is destroyed by their factious conspiracies. Is it not sufficient, that I haue now bene two yeeres banished from your presence, and separated from your sight? that teares fall night and day from me, because my lucke was not as yet to salute you, or embrace you, whom you made *Bishop* with so great loue and zeale? A greater griefe oppresseth my languishing minde, that in so great a distresse and neede, I can not my selfe come vnto you, whiles I beware, least at our coming, through the threats and secret practises of perfidious persons, a greater tumult rise among you. [1 Cypr. li. 1. epist 8.]

His epistle to Cornelius largely rehearseth and lamenteth their erecting an other Bishop after him, their maintaining a faction against him, their reiecting his letters, and despising his threates, their peruerting and inticing to take part with them as many as they could, with sundry e other practises and conspiracies too long to recite. We, saieth he, in the verie time of persecution wrate our letters, but they were not regarded; after often consulting, we not onely with our consent, but with our commination decreed, that our brethren should shew themselues penitent, & no man hastilie giue peace to such as did not penitence; yet they sacrilegious against God, caried headlong with a wicked rage against the Priests of God, forsaking the Church, and lifting vp parricidiall armes against the Church, doe all they can, (to accomplish their intent with a diuelish malice) that Gods mercy should not cure in his church such as are wounded. [2 Cypr. lib. epist. 3.] [3 Cypr. li. 3. epist. 14.]

And againe, What danger is not to bee feared when some of the Presbyters neither remembring their place, neither thinking there is a Bishop ouer them, with the reproch and contempt of the Bishop, challenge the whole emolument? The di-

graces of my office I can dissemble and beare, as I alwayes haue. But now is no time to dissemble, when our brethren are deceiued by some of you, which seeke to be plausible without regard of restoring them to the health of their soules. What marueill if Cyprian thus besieged, thus impugned, and banished from his Church and charge, did not onely purpose and professe to doe nothing without the full consent of the Clergie and people: but persisted in that course, which he sawe to bee safest for himselfe, and surest against his maligners, to decrease their number and defeate their expectance? but whether hee were bound by Gods lawe so to doe, and all others tied to the same rule, that is the greatest part of this doubt. If it were but a priuate moderation and prouision for his owne securitie, no man is obliged by his example to doe the like. If it bee a generall fourme of gouerning the Church prescribed by the holie Ghost; then neither might Cyprian, nor any man els swarue from that direction, without transgressing the will and worde of God; then all Councils both Prouinciall and Generall, that assembled and concluded in the Primitiue Church without the liking and agreement of the people, did wilfullie breake the commaundement of the liuing God, and all Christian Princes, that in former Ages by their lawes and Edicts intermedled with matters of the Church without the knowledge and consent of their subiectes, presumed without warrant, and offered open wrong to the kingdome of Christ; yea, Cyprian himselfe was the first that callered his owne confession, and when cause so required, yea, sometimes without cause, excluded and ouer-ruled the peoples iust desires.

One example may serue for the present; your owne allegations will afterward more at large euince as much. [1] *Vix plebi persuadeo, imo extorqueo, vt tales patiantur admitti; & iustior factus est fraternitatis dolor, ex eo quòd vnus atque alius, obstante plebe & contradicente, mea tamen facilitate susceptus, peiores extiterunt, quàm prius fuerant.* With much adoe perswade I the people, yea, rather extort from them to suffer such to bee admitted; and the griefe of the brethren is the iuster, for that one or two, being by my facilitie receyued, (the people striuing against it, and contradicting it,) waxed worse

[1] *Cypr. li. 2. epist. 3.*

worse then they were before. Cyprian admitted some to the Church after repentaunce, when the people withstoode it and gainesaied it; and were iustlie grieued with his ouer much remisnesse. Wherein Cyprian did not violate the duetie which hee ought to God, nor tyrannize in the Church with the contempt of his brethren; but relented from his purpose to doe nothing without the peoples consent, for reasons then mouing him, or of his owne inclination leading him to hope their amendment, that were thus admitted with fauour and facilitie to the Church of God.

See whether your owne examples do not procue as much. The first place you alleage, is this. [1] *In ordinandis Clericis, fratres charissimi, solemus vos antè consulere, & mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare.* In ordering of Clerkes most deare brethren, our maner is to consult you first, and to weigh the behauiour and deserres of euery one with common aduise. This vse notwithstanding, where iust occasion serued, he ordered Clerkes without their consents; and so much is expressed in the very next wordes. [2] *Sed expectanda non sunt testimonia humana, cum precedant diuina suffragia*; but the witnesse of men must not be expected, when Gods approbation is precedent. The conclusion is; That where one Aurelius a youth, had twise in stockes and torments professed Christ; Cyprian & his Colleagues that were present with him (for hee was not then at Carthage) had made the said Aurelius, though yong in yeeres, a Reader in the Church; and so much he signifieth by his letters to the Presbyters, Deacons, and people of Carthage; not doubting but they would embrace him, though they gaue no consent to his ordering. [3] Hee deserued a further degree of Clericall ordination, but in the meane time it hath pleased vs, hee should begin with the office of a Reader. Know you therefore, most beloued brethren, that I and my Colleagues, which were here with me, haue ordered him *a Reader*, which I know you will gladlie accept, and wish many such to be ordered in our Church. Cyprian was absent from his owne Church, by reason of persecution then raging; and without the consent either of his Clergie or people, he did order Aurelius, and sent him with letters to bee receiued as a Reader in the Church of Carthage.

[1] *Cypr. l. 2. epist. 5.*

[2] *Ibidem.*

[3] *Ibidem.*

The like he did for Optatus, Saturus, Cælerinus and Numidicus, as your owne authorities doe witnesse. For as by them you proue Cyprian was woont to take the good report and testimonie of the people concerning such as should bee admitted to the Clergie, and with common aduise to examine their worthinesse; so by the selfe same places I shewe, that Cyprian brake that custome, when hee sawe time and cause require; and without the consent of his people or Clergie, ordered such as hee found to be meete for that calling. Whereby wee collect that the consent of the people and Clergie is no essentiall point in ordering Ministers, without the which they may not bee called; but a very Christian and commendable course to keepe off all notorious and enormous persons from that function; and the surest way to saue the Bishop from communicating with other mens sinnes, whiles hee trusted not his owne iudgement or knowledge; but vsed the eyes, eares, and consciences of the whole Church, for the better view, search, and triall of their integritie, grauitie and industrie, to whome the flocke of Christ was to bee committed. This which I say, will appeare to bee true, euen by your owne authorities.

Because many of the Clergie of Carthage were wanting; and those fewe that remained, did skant suffice for the dailie worke of the Ministerie, for which cause it was requisite to haue moe; [1] Know you, (saieth Cyprian writing to the Presbyters and Deacons of his Church) that I haue made Saturus a Reader, and Optatus a Subdeacon, whom a good while since by common aduise we appointed to bee [2] next placed in the Clergie. I haue then in your absence done no new thing; but that, which long agoe tooke a beginning with all our aduises, vpon vrgent necessitie I haue finished. In the like case writing to the Presbyters, Deacons and whole people of Carthage, he saieth of Cælerinus that openlie professed Christ, and valiantlie endured the rage and furie of the heathen persecuters; [3] Exult and reioyce with vs at the reading of our letters, by which I and my Colleagues which were present, signifie vnto you, that Cælerinus our brother is receiued into our Clergie, not by the voyces of men, but by Gods acceptance; because it was neither lawful nor seemely, that he should be without ecclesiastical honor, whom the Lord so

[1] *Cypr. li. 3. ca. 22*

[2] *Clero proximos feceramus.*

[3] *Cypr. li. 4. epist. 5.*

Lord so honoured with the excellencie of *his* heauenly glory. He and Aurelius were appointed for a time to be Readers; but now know you that we haue assigned vnto them the honour of the Presbyterie, & to haue the same allowance with the Presbyters, & to sit with vs, whē they come to ripe & perfect yeeres. Of Numidicus we spake [1] before, why he was taken by Cyprian into the number of the Presbyters of Carthage; and that without the consent or knowledge of the people or Clergie. I suppose it to be cleare by these examples (which are your owne) that as Cyprian for his discharge did take the liking and aduise of the Clergie and people, for the better examining of their liues and behauiours, that were to serue in the Church of Christ; so when he found such as in his conscience he knew to bee fit and woorthie, hee and other Bishops his Colleagues imposed hands on them, without expecting the assent or agreement of the people or Presbyters of Carthage, where he was bishop. [1] Pag. 176.

These be the Fathers which your selues picked out to muster before her Maiesties presence, as pregnant witnesses for the Laie Presbyterie; and these, if you suffer them to tell on their tales, most clearelie refute your Laie Elders. Other places I know are alleaged, or rather abused, to the same purpose; but the mistaking of them is so palpable, that children will not be deceiued with them. for what if the word Presbyter in Greeke signifie an aged man, as well as a Priest; hath it any sound or shew of reason, where the Councils and Fathers vse the word Presbyteri, you should straight enforce they were laie Elders? To innouate the discipline receiued and established euer since the Apostles times, you should haue better grounds then these; you will otherwise hardly discharge your credites before men, howsoeuer you will your consciences before God. For my part, though I compare not with their gifts which first began, and now maintaine this deuise; yet by perusing their prooles, I finde that the preiudice of their owne opinion rather enclineth them to this conceite, then the weight either of Scriptures or Fathers. For were they not ouer willing to embrace this fansie, where there is one place for them to stumble at the ambiguitie of the woorde, there are an hundred faire and plaine testimonies to recall them, and direct them to the ancient and true discipline of Christes Church. So that in this question (whether

there were any Laie Elders to gouerne the Primitiue Church) no diligent or indifferent examiner of the Fathers, can long erre; the case is so cleare, that vnlesse we affect rather our wils then the trueth, we cannot be led away.

The summe of all that is sayd touching Laie Elders, resteth in three pointes; which I wish the learned aduisedlie to consider, and the rest carefully to remember. First, it cannot bee prooued either by Scriptures or Fathers, that in the Apostles times or after, any laie Elders were part of the Presbyterie, or that any such were authorized or acknowledged to bee Gouernours in the Church of Christ. Secondlie, if there were such Censors of maners appointed by the whole Church to remoue the vnrulie, and banish them from the fellowship and companie of the faythfull, least their offensiue behauiour should be a shame and slaunder to the Gospell; yet no Text nor title can be shewed in Scripture, Councill or Father, that they gouerned the power of the keyes, imposition of handes, or any other ecclesiasticall duetie, which concerned the dispensation of the worde and Sacramentes. In those things they were to obey, and not to rule their Pastours. Thirdlie, though the ouersight and restraint of euill disposed and disordered Pastours were then committed to such Elders, for want of beleeuing Magistrates to take care thereof; yet since by the lawe of God, the gouernement of such causes, as well as of ciuill affaires belongeth to Christian Princes, and they haue straighter charge, higher power, and better meanes to represse such disorders, and reforme such abuses in Pastours and others; whatsoeuer pretence may bee made for Laie Elders and Gouernours in time of persecution, they must vtterlie cease and giue place, where the Magistrate receiueth the fayth, and vpholdeth the Church. His power not onely includeth, but excludeth theirs; since they bee Gouernours by consent of priuate men: and the Magistrate hath his power and sword deliuered him immediatelie from God, to which all men, Pastours, Laie Elders, and whosoeuer must be subiect not onely for feare of vengeance, but for regard of Gods ordinance. As for the Iewish Synedrion, to which some men flie for helpe, it cannot bee (as I haue touched before) either Rule or Refuge for the Laie Presbyterie. God erected that as

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the plot-forme of the Iewes common wealth, and made their Elders ciuill Magistrates to execute the Iudiciall part of Moses lawe, as well without, as vnder the king. And therefore as they might not alter it, so wee must not vrge it in Christian kingdomes; it contradicteth the trueth and freedome of the Gospell, to tye all Christian common wealthes to the paterne of Moses pollicie; yea, that position, if it bee stiffelie stood too, maymeth all Monarchies, and reduceth them to popular, or at least to Synedricall Regimentes; the consequents whereof are so desperate and dangerous to all Christendome, that I trust of your selues you will forbeare, and if need bee, disclayme that assertion.

It is agreed on both sides there was a Presbyterie in euery Church, but those you say were Clergie men.] Not in euery Church, but in euery Citie, there were Presbyters assisting and aiding the Bishop, and those were Clergie men. The Churches in villages and countrey townes, had neither Bishop nor Presbyterie; but were subiect to the Bishop of that Citie within whose precincts the villages were; and had a Presbyter or Priest ordained by the Bishop, or sent from the Bishop to teach them, and yeeld them diuine Seruice and Sacraments. And where the Bishops of the Cities were content to ease their owne trauell, and supplie their absence or sickenesse, that in certaine countrey Townes bishops should bee appointed, whom they called χωρεπισκόπους, those countrey Bishops were so restrained by the [1] Canons, that without speciall leaue of the Bishop of the Citie, to which they were subiect, they might execute no part of Episcopal power and preheminence, and in short space after were abolished for [2] presumption and intrusion vpon the bishops office; since which time euery Citie & dioceese adioyning, had but one Bishop. The Councel of Sardica for y West, disliked & prohibited the making of Bishops in villages & small Cities. [3] *Licentia danda non est ordinandi Episcopum, aut in vico aliquo, aut in modica Ciuitate, cui sufficit vnus Presbyter.* None must be permitted to ordaine a Bishop either in a village, or smal Citie, where one Presbyter wil suffice. The Councill of Laodicea did the like for the East. [4] ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἢ ἐν ταῖς χώραις καθίζεσθαι ἐπισκόπους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς λεγομένους περιοδευτὰς πρότερον ἐξετάζειν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει. None must place Bishops in townes & villages, & those that are

[1] *Concil. Ancyr. ca. 13.* [1] *Neocaesarien. ca. 13.* [1] *Antiochen. ca. 10.* [2] *Leo epist. 86.* [3] *Sardicens. Concilii, ca. 6.* [4] *Concil. Laodicen. ca. 56.*

alreadie placed, must do nothing without the consent of the Bishop of the Citie. As then there were no Bishops but in Cities: so was there no Presbyterie to attend and assist the Bishop, but in the same place where the Bishop had his chiefe charge and Church. And therefore your urging of Presbyteries in euery parish and village, is a thing vtterly dissonant from the regiment of the Primitiue Church.

In each populous Citie there was a Bishop to gouerne the people committed to his charge; and a Presbyterie, that is a number of Priests to helpe the Bishop in all sacred actions, and aduise him in all Iudiciall and ecclesiasticall proceedings; and these are called [1] πρεσβύτεροι πόλεως, the Priests of the Citie, by the ancient Councils of Ancyra and Neocesaria. The villages and countrey Townes, as they were conuerted to the faith, and by reason of the number that beleeued, needed a minister of the word and Sacraments, to bee a resident amongst them, and were able and willing to maintaine one; so repaired they to the Bishop of the Citie next to them, and desired of him a fit man to serue their necessities, and became subiect both the people and Priest to that Bishop, who first gained them to Christ, or who first erected and ordered their Churches. By which meanes each Bishop had not onely his principall Church and chaire in that Citie, where hee was Pastour, which the ancient Councils and Stories call παροικία, but had the care and ouersight of the Townes and villages round about that Citie, which they call διοικησις. for παροικία, doeth not import a countrey parish, as our age abuseth the word; and whereon some vnwisely haue collected that euery such parish had and should haue a Bishop, but the greatest Cities with their suburbes, and the chiefest Churches in the world were so termed, as appeareth by [2] Eusebius calling Alexandria, Corinth, Ierusalem, Ephesus, Lions, Carthage, Antioch, and such other famous Cities and Churches by the name of παροικία, the like is extant in the same writer, *li.4. ca.1.4.5.15.19.23. li.5. ca.22.23.27. li.6.ca.1.8. & li.7.ca.28.* and in many other places. And so much the very composition of the wordes importeth; παροικία containing not only the citizens, but all such borderers & strangers as dwelt neere and repaired to any chiefe Church or Citie: and διοικησις comprising all the villages and Churches that were dispersed in diuers places, but vnder the regiment of one Bishop.

[1] *Concil. Ancyranum, ca.13. & Neocaesarien. ca.13.*

[2] *Euseb. li.3 ca.21 ca.4.ca.11.ca.31 li.5.ca.5. li.7.ca. 3.ca.28.*

Ierome

Ierome sheweth that in his time and long before, not onely a citie, but also a Prouince or Region belonged to eche Bishop: in which though Presbyters and Deacons baptized with his leaue; yet he alwayes imposed hands and examined and confirmed their baptisme. [1] *Tu in eo quod recipis Laicum, vnam animam recipiendo saluas; & ego in recipiendo Episcopum, non dicam vnius ciuitatis populos, sed vniuersam cui praest Prouinciam ecclesiæ socio.* You, in admitting a Lay man (*to repentance*) saue one soule by receiuing (*him*;) I, in receiuing a Bishop ioyned to the Church, I say not the people of one Citie, but the whole Prouince (*or Diœcese*) which is vnder him. Then Bishops had not onely the people of one Citie, but of one Prouince or Countrie committed to their charge and subiect vnto them, and their dioceses did reach euen to farre townes and villages where Presbyters and Deacons had cure of soules vnder them, as Ierom else-where remembreth. [2] *Non abnuo hanc esse ecclesiarum consuetudinem, vt ad eos, qui longè in minoribus vrbibus per Presbyteros & Diaconos baptizati sunt, episcopus ad inuocationem Spiritus sancti manum impositurus excurrat.* I deny not (saieth Ierome) but this is the custome of the Churches, that the Bishop shall go euen to those, that a farre off in lesser Townes were baptized by Priestes and Deacons; and impose handes to inuocate the holie Ghost on them. But this imposition of hands on parties baptized, Ierome saith was reserued to the Bishop rather for the honor of his priesthoode, then for necessitie of their saluation. [3] Otherwise, if the holie ghost come only at the Bishops prayers; *lugendi sunt, qui in vinculis, aut in castellis aut in remotioribus locis per Presbyteros & Diaconos baptizati ante dormierunt, quàm ab Episcopis inuiserentur*; Their case, saith he, were lamentable, that being baptized by Priestes and Deacons in villages, castels and places farre distant, die before the Bishop can visite them. No Bishop might order or confirme but in his owne diocese. to do any such thing in an other mans diocese, was no custome of the Church but repugnant to all the Canons of the Church. There belonged therefore to the Bishops, not onely the Cities where their chiefe Churches were, but also Villages, Townes, Castles, and remote places in which Priests and Deacons discharged diuine seruice and Sacraments; and those places the Bishop (vnder whome they were) did

[1] *Hiero. aduers. Luciferianos.*

[2] *Hiero. aduers. Luciferianos.*

[3] *Ibidem.*

at

at certaine times visite, to examine the faith of the baptized, and the manner of their baptisme, lest to Churches and Chappelles farre distant, heresie might haue the easier accesse by the bishops absence. Cleargie men then there were in euery diocese, that ministred the word and sacraments in villages and smaller Townes; but none were of the Presbytery that assisted and aduised the Bishop in Ecclesiasticall causes, saue onely the Clergie and Priests of that Citie, where the Bishop had his Church and Seate.

The rurall Bishops (for such you confesse there were) *had they no Presbyteries to assist them in ecclesiasticall actions and censures?*] They needed none; for they were Bishops in word, but not in deede; they enioyed the name, not the power and preeminence of Bishops; but were in all things restrained as other Priests were, and subiected to the Bishop of the Citie, in whose circuite they were. The Councell of Antioch saieth of them: [2] Those that are in Townes and Villages, called rurall Bishoppes, though they haue receiued imposition of handes, as Bishops; yet it seemeth good to this sacred Synode, they shoulde acknowledge their (*degree or*) measure, & content themselues with the care of their own churches, & not to presume to impose hands on a Priest or Deacon without the Bishop of the Citie, [3] to which both himselfe and his charge are subiect. The Councell of Laodicea commanded the rurall Bishops, [4] to doe nothing without the liking of the Bishop of the Citie. So that they were in all things ruled and gouerned by the Bishops of their Cities vnder whom they were, and not directed by any Presbyters of their owne.

[2] *Concilii Antiochen. ca. 10.*

[3] ὑποτασσόμενος καὶ τῷ κατὰ πόλιν ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις.

[4] *Concil. Laodicen. ca. 56.*

If it seeme strange to any, that the ancient Councels shoulde endure the name & title of a Bishop, to be giuen; to whome the power and office of a bishop was not giuen, he must consider for what causes they first permitted rurall Bishops to be made. The one was, to supplie the wants that often happen in the absence or sicknesse of the Bishop. In which cases being but viceregerents in some things, there was no reason they should haue the same power and prerogatiue the right Bishops had, without their leaue or liking. For that had beene to erect another Bishop in the same Diocese besides, and against the true Bishop; and not to place a substitute vnder him. The next cause was, to content such as were Bishops amongst

amongest Schismatikes, who woulde rather persist in their factions, then returne to the catholike church with the losse of that honour and calling they had before. And therefore to such the Bishop of the citie might either allowe the name and title of Bishops, if it so pleased him, or else appoint them the places and charges of rurall Bishops. And so the councell of Nice decreed: [1] If any of the Nouatians will returne to the Catholike Church either in Village or Citie where there is already a Bishop, or Priest of the Catholike Church; it is cleere that the Bishop of the Church shall haue the authoritie and dignitie of the Episcopall function; and hee that was reputed a Bishop amongst the Nouatians, shall retaine the honor of a Priest, vnlesse it please the Bishop *(of the Church)* to imparte with him the honour of that title. If hee like not so to doe, let some place of a rurall Bishop or Priest be prouided for him, that hee may seeme to continue in the Clergie, and yet not be two Bishops in one Citie.

[1] *Concil. Nic. li. ca 8.*

Touching Presbyteries then, though they were needefull for greater cities, where they might well be maintained; yet in villages and smaller Townes, there was neither vse of them, nor prouision for them; by reason the countrie churches were smal and could not finde many; and the parties that liued in such places, were subiected to the bishop of the diocese, and in all things directed by him. The citie of Rome at the first had vnder one [2] Bishop, 46. Priests, 7. Deacons, 7. Subdeacons, 42. Acoluthes; Exorcists, Readers and Sextens 52. (in the whole 155.) all founde through the goodnesse and grace of God, at the charges of the church there, besides 1500. widowes and afflicted persons, in like sort sustained by the oblations of the people. The number of Priests so encreased afterward, that Ierome saith of them: [3] *Diaconorum paucitas honorabiles, Presbyteros turba contemptibiles facit;* The scarcitie of Deacons maketh them to bee more esteemed, the multitude of Priests causeth them to be lesse regarded. In Constantinople the number of the Clergie was growen so great, ỹ the church was not able to maintaine thē; & therefore the Emperor by his lawes was forced to limite how many there should be of euery degree; and so he [4] appointed 60. priests, 100 deacons, 90. subdeacons, 110. readers, 25. singers, 100. sextens, in summe 485.

[2] *Euseb. lib. 6. ca. 43.*

[3] *Hiero. in epist. ad Euagrium tom. 2.*

[4] *Nouella constitutione 3. vt determinatus sit numerus clericorum.*

Clergie

Clergie men to attend the seruice of the Church vnder the bishop. The number of Clergie men that were in other Cities is not so precisely described, but the proofe of their Presbyteries is euerie where occurrent.

The Presbyteries of Alexandria [1] from Marke the Euangelist to the [2] killing of Proterius after the great Councell of Chalcedon, and of Antioch, from the preaching of Paul to the [3] burning of the saide citie by the Persians, are often remembred in the Ecclesiasticall [4] histories, and diuerse Presbyters of either Church that were famous men and writers in the Church of God named by [5] Eusebius, [6] Ierome and [7] Gennadius; as in the Church of Alexandria amongst others, Clemens, Origen, Heraclas, [8] Pierius; in the Church of Antioch, Geminus, [8] Malchion, [8] Lucianus, Chrysostome and diuerse vch. The Church of Carthage had [6] Tertullian and [6] Cyprian, who being after made Bishop of the same Citie and forced to bee absent, wrote [9] many Letters to the Presbyters and Deacons of Carthage. In the Church of Lions in France was Irenæus a Presbyter vnder Pothynus, whome he succeeded in the Bishopricke. At Hippo Saint Austen was first [10] a Presbyter vnder Valerius, and being Bishop himselfe had vnder him [11] a number of Presbyters that were [11] Colleagues and Clearkes. Ignatius remembreth the Presbyteries of Smyrna, Philodelphia, Philippi, Magnesia, Trallis and Ephesus, in his Epistles to the same Churches. Of other Cities and ages the like might be shewed: but because it is a thing rather vrged then doubted by you, I will spare that paines as superfluous. He that readeth either the Councels or the Stories of the Church, shall soone perceiue euery Bishop had Presbyters and Deacons in the same Citie with him and vnder him.

1 *Hiero. ad Euagrium.*
2 *Euagrius lib. 2. ca. 8: & lib. 3 5. ca. 9.*
4 *Euseb. li. 6. ca. 2. & ca. 42. lib. 7. ca. 11. & 29. & 32.*
5 *Socrat. lib. 1. ca. 5.*
6 *Hiero. de scriptoribus ecclesiast.*
7 *Gennadius de viru illustribus.*
8 *Hiero. Magno tom. 2. fol. 327.*
9 *Cypr. lib. 3. epist. 6. 10. 14. 17. 18. 19. 21. 22. 24.*
10 *Augst. epist. 148.*
11 *137.*
11 *110.*

We be far from denying there were Presbyteries in euery Church; but that they consisted onely of Cleargie men, neither do we beleeue it, nor can you proue it.] Wee neuer learned to proue the negatiue; we affirme they were Clergie men, and that we proue; you thinke there were also Lay men amongst them, which wee denie; that must you proue. Your want of proofe in that point, maketh our assertion good. You haue all this while scanned the Fathers, and ouer-looked the Councels; bring now but one for lay Elders, we giue you the rest. Their generall silence is a full inference a-

gainst

gainst you, which anouch they had such, and can not shewe where they mention any such. Yet this will I doe; name me but one father or Councell that speaketh of the office and worke of Presbyters; and you shall presently see, he meaneth Clergie men. Or if that please you not, looke in the maner of ADMITTING Presbyters into the Church, their SITTING, SERVING and CONVERSING in the Church, their MAINTAINING by the Church and their REMOVING from the Church, and you shall cleerely finde, there were no Presbyters ioyned with the Bishop in any Ecclesiasticall affaires but Clergie men. They were ordained by imposition of hands; and so were not Lay Elders: they sate with the Bishop in the chancels apart from all Lay men: they baptized, and consecrated the Lords Supper; and so might not Lay men: they liued vnder stricter rules then Lay men did, as not to haue strange women about them, not to change diuers, not to resort to spectacles or vittailing houses, not to trauell without letters of licence and such like (which al lay men were free from:) they were maintained at the charges of the Church; and so were not Lay men: and when they were deprined of their honor and office, they were suffered to communicate amongst Lay men. These were the Presbyters of the Primitiue Church; other then these, no Councell, no Father doeth any where mention, that were vnited or associated vnto the Bishop; and these in sight could bee no Lay men. Proofes if you require, I protest without vaunting, a whole volume might soone be made of them. Some you had, more you shall haue; if they seeme tedious, I must be pardoned: your importunitie hath thereto forced me.

Of Origen Eusebius saieth; the Bishops of Ierusalem and Cesaria, [1] *manus illi ad Presbyterium imposuerunt*: had layed handes on him to make him one of the Presbyterie. Cornelius saith Nouatus [2] was aduanced to the Presbyterie by the fauour of the Bishop, *qui manum ipsi ad sortem Presbyterij imposuit*, that laied hands on him to giue him the lot of the Presbyterie. The fourth Councell of Carthage sheweth the manner how a Presbyter shall be ordained with imposition of handes. [3] *Presbyter quum ordinatur, Episcopo benedicente & manum super caput eius tenente, etiam omnes Presbyteri adstantes manus suas cum ipso Episcopo super caput illius tenent.* When a Presbyter is ordained, the Bishop

[1] Euseb. li. 6. ca. 8.

[2] Idem li. 6. ca. 38.

[3] Concil. Carthag. 4. ca. 3.

Bishop blessing the parrie and holding his hand on the parties head, let all the Presbyters that are present, hold their hands on his head neere the Bishops hand. Of Sabatius when hee was ad-
1 Socrat. lib. 5. ca. 22. vanced to the dignitie of a Presbyter, Marcian said; 1 *Satius fuisset si spinis manum inposuissem, quam quod Sabbatium ad Presbyterium euexi.* I had beene better haue layed my hands on thornes, then on Sabbatius when I made him Presbyter. Ordination the with the Latin Fathers importeth as much as laying on of hands both with the Greeke; and was an essentiall ceremonie taken from the Apostles words and vsed from the Apostles times in making of Presbyters, and calling any to be of the Presbyterie; which if your Elders must receiue, they be no Lay men: if they must not, they be no Presbyters. More authorities that Presbyters were made with imposition of hands, if any desire, let him reade the 13. Canon of the Councill of Ancyra: the 9. Canon of the Councill of Neocesaria; and likewise of the Councill of Antioch, the 6. of the Councill of Chalcedon, the 10. of the Councill of Sardica, the 27. and 56. of the Affricane Councill.

In sitting in the Church, the Presbyters were likewise seuered from the people. For they had a place enclosed from all the Laitie, where the Lords table standing in the middest, the Bishops chaire and the Presbyters seates were round about. This place
2 Sozom. li. 7. ca. 24. Sozomene calleth 2 ἱερατεῖον, the Sacrarie, which diuided the Bishop and Presbyters from the people; and of this Cyprian saieth,
3 Cypr. lib. 4. epist. 10. 3 Let *Numidicus* be ascribed to the number of the Presbyters of Carthage, and sit with vs amongst the Cleargie. The councill of Laodicea calleth it βῆμα, by reason it was somewhat higher then the rest of the church that all the people might behold it; and saith
4 Concil. Laodic. ca. 55. 4 The Presbyters must not go and sit in their stalles, before the Bishop come; but enter in with the Bishop, vnlesse the Bishop
5 De consecrat. distinct. 2. § Sacerdotum. be sicke or from home. The Canon Law calleth it 5 *Presbyterium*, the place for Presbyters. Into this place when Theodosius the Emperour would haue entred to receiue the communion, S.
6 Theodoret. lib. 5. ca. 18. Ambrose then busie in diuine seruice sent him this word, 6 ἔσω θυρῶν βασιλεῦ, μόνοις ἔξεστιν ἱερεῦσιν εἰσιέναι. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἔξω τῶν κλεισίων ἑστάναι. These inclosures, O King, onely Priests may enter; they are shut vp
7 Concil. Nicen. ca. 18. and exempted from all others. 7 The Deacons might not sit amongest the Presbyters, but stand, as the generall councill of

Nice

stice telleth vs; much lesse was there any place there for Lay Elders.

The seruice of the Presbyters in the Church declareth also there were no Lay men amongest them. For they blessed, baptized, and ministred the Lords Supper in the absence of the Bishop, and assisted him being present in those actions. [1] It is come to the hearing of this sacred and great Synode, saith the counell of Nice, that in some places and cities the Deacons deliuer the sacraments to the Presbyters. This neither the Canon nor custome alloweth, that they which haue no power to offer the sacrifice, should giue the bodie of Christ to them that offer. [2] I heare (saith Ieroni) that some are growen so senslesse, that they preferre Deacons before Presbyters. What meaneth the seruant of tables and widowes to exalt himselfe aboue them, at whose prayers the bodie and blood of Christ are consecrated? To all Lay men the Deacons might deliuer the Sacraments, to Presbyters they might not; the Presbyters therefore were no Lay men. And if Presbyters were therefore better then the Deacons, because they did offer the sacrifice at the Lords table, which the Deacons might not, it is euident the Presbyters were no lay men.

Besides this, the Presbyters were tied to many rules, to which no Lay man was tied. For example, no Presbyter might go from his owne Church and Citie to any other place, by the great counell of Nice ca. 15. and the counell of Antioch ca. 3. but Lay men, I trust, might change their dwellings. Againe, [3] no Presbyter by any meanes might haue any straunge woman in his house, but his mother, sister, aunt, or such like: but Lay men in that case were left to their libertie. There are a number of such rules, to which all Presbyters were bound, and from which all Lay men were free. The councils therefore neuer compiled any Lay man vnder the name of Presbyters.

For their maintenance, the case was first ruled by Saint Paul, as I haue touched before, and afterward obserued in the primitiue Church, as we may perceiue by the allowance prescribed to Presbyters in [4] Cyprians time, by [5] Cornelius letters reporting the number of Presbyters that were maintained in the Church of Rome, & likewise by [6] Eutropius Latins limiting what number there should be maintained in the Church of Constantinople. This maintenance since

[1] Concil. Nicen. ca. 18.

[2] Hiero. Euagrio.

[3] Concil. Nicen. ca. 3.

[4] Cyp. li. 4. epist. 5.

[5] Euseb. li. 6. ca. 43.

[6] Cod. Theod. li. 16. tit. 2. de numero Clericorum.

fuch all the Elders of the Church had, and Lay men neuer by the Canons of the Church had, nor by Gods law could haue: it is certaine the ancient Councels and Fathers did not attribute the honor and place of Presbyters to Lay Elders. And why Presbyters were depriued of their office and function for any fault committed; they might vpon their submission be restored amongst Lay men to the communion, as [1] Cyprian and [2] Athanasius testifie, but in no wise be restored to the degree and calling of Presbyters; and consequently they might bee Lay men, when they could not be Presbyters by the Canons.

[1] Cypr. li. 2. epist. 2. & lib. 4 epist. 2
[2] Athanas. Apologia 2.

But why labour I so much to exclude Lay Elders from the Presbyters of the Primitiue Church, when as you haue neither reason nor authoritie to include them? It may suffice any sober minde, that where Presbyters are so many thousand times named in Councels, Fathers and Stories; and so sundrie Rules and Canons extant describing and limiting euerie part of their vocation and conuersation; you haue not for all this so much as one circumstance to proue there were Lay Elders amongst them, nor a sentence or syllable of anie ancient Writer to fulfille your assertion.

Three mistake a Text of the word Presbyter, many learned men haue mistaken it before.] There is no man lesse willing then I am, to decrease the fame, or discredite the iudgements of any late Writer, that hath otherwise well deserued of the Church of God; but an etudent truth I must preferre before the opinions and commendations of men, be they neuer so learned, if they be otherwise minded. And in this case the truth is so cleere, that I must needs say, not their learning, but their affection carried the to the contrarie part: for who, that hath but opened the Fathers, doth not find, that *Presbyters* were Clergie men, not Lay men; and in the middle betweene the Bishops and the Deacons, vnderstand the one and the other the elder: and that the name was Presbyters without any other addition amongst Ecclesiasticall Writers, doeth distinguish a Clergie man from a Lay man? Ignatius, which you so much name, because he nameth the Presbyterie so often, doeth not distinct the Church into Lay men, Deacons, Presbyters, and Bishops? This particion amongst good Lay men, were either Deacons, or Presbyters, [illegible]

[illegible]

the rest; much lesse might Presbyters be Lay men, to whom as wel the Deacons, as all the Laitie must be subiect. Tertullian obiecting to the heretikes, that their order and gouernement was rash, light and vnconstant, for proofe thereof saieth; [1] *hodie Presbyter, qui erat Laicus*, amongst you, to day a Presbyter, to morrowe a Lay man. If one man might be both, as you make your lay Presbyters to be; that could not bee absurde and strange in heretikes, which was perpetuall as you thinke, and generall in the Church of Christ. He also maketh the same partition of the Church that Ignatius doth, into Lay men, Deacons, Presbyters, and Bishops; and expressing the same parts in two words; he calleth them [2] *Grex & duces, ecclesia & Clerus*, the flocke and the Leaders; the Church (*or assemblie*) and the Clergie; and elsewhere [3] *ordo & plebs*; the order and the people; and [4] *Ecclesia ordo & Laici*, the order of the Church and the Laitie. And the ving that Presbyters were no Lay men, but chosen and taken out of Laie men, and so made Clergie men; hee saieth, [5] *Nisi Laici ea obseruent, per quæ Presbyteri allegantur? quomodo erunt Presbyteri qui de Laicis allegantur:* vnlesse Lay men obserue those things which must be respected in the choice of Presbyters; howe shall any Presbyters be chosen out of Lay men? Presbyters were of the order of the Church, Lay men were not: yea Presbyters were opposed to Lay men: in the diuision of the Church, and to bee taken from the number of laie men, before they could come within the order of the Church to be Presbyters. Your lay Presbyters then make a plaine contradiction to the Fathers wordes, and a confusion of the parts, which they distinguish.

[1] Tertull. de præscriptio. aduers. hæreticos.

[2] Idem de fuga in persecutione & de baptismo.
[3] Idem in exhortatione ad castitatem.
[4] de monogamia.

[5] In exhortat. ad castitatem.

The Fathers in those places by Presbyters meant Priestes.] In deede they could not meane your laie Presbyters whom they neuer knewe: but had there beene laie Presbyters in their times, as you imagine there were; how ridiculous, confused, and repugnant to themselues were not onely these partitions and conclusions of theirs, but euen the Rules and Canons of all the Councils: for what worde doeth any Councill or Father vse for a Priest, but Presbyter? Nay, what one worde could they haue to distinguish those that haue charge of the word and Sacraments from Bishops and Deacons, but onely by calling them *Presbyteros*? Therefore all Councils prouinciall and generall do by that name without any

other adiection seuer them from Bishops and deacons; and where-soeuer we find *Presbyteros* in any ecclesiastical writer, we presentlie know, they were neither laie men nor deacons. For proofe hereof take what Councill or Father you list, that maketh mention of them; and see whether you shall not confound all their writings, if you obserue not this rule.

The Councill of Nice decreeing that none shoulde immediatly vpon their baptisme be admitted to the office of a Bishop, [1] εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἢ πρεσβυτερίαν, or to the Presbyterie, giueth this reason. The Apostles precept is euident, that he should not be νεόφυτον newly conuerted (*to the faith*) or newly inserted into the Church. For there is need of time that he should be catechised, and after baptisme (*another time*) of long triall. In which time, if any fault be proued against the man προσκόπτῃ τῷ κλήρῳ, let him bee kept from the Clergie. By these wordes hee which was admitted to the Presbyterie, was admitted to the Clergie, and he that was kept from the Clergie, was likewise kept from the Presbyterie. Then had laie men no places in the Presbyterie. Againe, speaking of such as were Bishops amongst the Nouatians, and content to returne to the Catholike Church, the same Councill saith, Let the Bishop [2] prouide such a one τὸν τοποτηρητὴν, ἵνα ἔχῃ τὸν τόπον τοῦ κλήρου ὅλως διαμένειν, the place of a Presbyter, that he may seeme still to remaine in the Clergie. The Nicene Councill made account, if hee were a Presbyter, hee must needes be a Clergie man; they neuer heard of Presbyters in the Church of Christ that were Laie men. The Councill of Antioch. [3] If any dissolue the rule of the great Nicene Councill for the feast of Easter, let them be excommunicated; thus wee decree touching Laie men. But if any τῶν προεστώτων τῆς ἐκκλησίας, of the Gouernours of the Church, either Bishop Presbyter or Deacon (where a Deacon is expressely contained in the word προεστὼς vsed by Paul) celebrate Easter with the Iewes, he shalbe deprined of his office, and banished from the Church. Laie men had neither the same preferment nor punishment that Presbyters had. For Presbyters were Rulers of the Church, laie men were not; Presbyters were deprined of their Ministerie and remoued from the Church, Laie men were onelie excommunicated. Presbyters then were no laie persons. Sometimes one penaltie serued for both Laie men and Presbyters; and yet then were they

[1] *Nice. Concil. can. 2.*

[2] *Ibidem can. 8.*

[3] *Concil. Antioch. can. 2.*

they seuered by two diuers names. [1] If any be excommunicated by his Bishop, let not others receiue him, till he be reconciled to his owne Bishops or make his answere at a Synode: This definition to be in force for Lay men, Presbyters, Deacons and all others vnder the Canon. The Councill of Laodicea. [2] The sacred or priestly men from the Presbyter to the Deacon, and so along the Ecclesiastical order must not enter into tipling houses. Then Presbyters were sacred, and within Ecclesiasticall orders; and before any such might be lay men, you must haue a new Metamorphosis for them. The Councill of Affrica; [3] Presbyters and Deacons deprehēded in any greeuous crime, which necessarilie depriueth thē of their function, shal neuer haue hāds imposed on thē as Pœnitents or lay persons. All lay persons vpon repentance might be reconciled with imposition of hands; No Presbyters depriued for anie grieuous sin might be reconciled with imposition of hands, therfore no Presbyter was a Lay person. The first generall Councill kept at Constantinople; [4] He that taketh a second wife after baptisme, or marrieth a widowe or a woman diuorced, or a bond woman, cannot be either Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, or in any other sacred order. No lay Elders were tied to these rules; all Presbyters were: there was great odds then betweene lay Elders and Presbyters.

[1] Concil. Antioch. ca. 6.

[2] Concil. Laodic. ca. 24.

[3] Concil. Afric. ca. 27.

[4] Conc. Constan. 2. ca. 3.

If you trust not these Councils for ỳ vse of the word Presbyter, the lawes imperiall will direct you. The Christian Emperors giuing many priuiledges to Clergie men, doe likewise expresse who shall enioy them, [5] *Presbyteros, & Diaconos, & Subdiaconos, Cantores, & Lectores, quos omnes Clericos appellamus*: Presbyters, Deacons, Subdeacōs, Singers & Readers; al these we cal Clergy mē; & all these accordingly had the prerogatiues & immunities of Clergie men, by the Romane lawes. Now if no late Elder could claime anie Clericall priuiledge in the Romane commonwealth vnder the name of Presbyter, as doubtedly he could not; I much maruell how by force of ỳ very same word in ỳ Fathers, who vse it as strictly as the Emperours do, Lay men should claime to haue ỳ gouernment of ỳ church. But indeed it is a meere conceit of our age; transforming Clergy men into lay men, contrary to ỳ words & meaning, as wel of Fathers as of lawes and canons, rather then they wil loose their holde of the Late Presbyterie, which they haue framed after

[5] Nouell. constit. 123. de sanctiss. episcopis.

their owne fansie, and not by the direction or deposition of any Council or Father. For they all with one consent vse the word Presbyter, as the ciuill Lawes and sacred Canons do.

In what sort Ignatius, Tertullian, Cyprian and Athanasius vse the word Presbyter, we haue seene before; the rest doe fully concord with them. Irenæus: [1] We must obey those Presbyters in the Church, which haue their succession from the Apostles; and with the order of their Presbyterie yeelde wholsome doctrine to the information and correction of others. Such Presbyters the Church doth nourish. Origen: [2] There are in the Church of Christ that loue the chiefe places, and labour much, first to be Deacons, not such as the Scripture describeth, but such as deuoure widowes houses vnder pretence of long prayer. And such Deacons couet to attaine the chiefe chaires of those, that are called Presbyters. And some not therewith content, practise many ways to be called bishops by men; which is as much as Rabbi. Howbeit he that exalteth himselfe, shal be humbled. Which I wish al would marke, but specially the Deacons, Presbyters and Bishops, which thinke these things are not written to them. A Deacon being already in sacred orders could by no meanes become a lay Elder; the rounes therefore which they altered vnto, were the chaires of Clergie men, & these were called the Presbyters of the Church. Of these he saith else-where, [3] Though I bee taken for a right hand, and bee called a Presbyter, and seeme to preach the (true) word of God; yet if I do any thing against the Discipline of the Church, or rule of the Gospell, the whole Church with one consent must cut mee off being their right hand, and cast me from them. Then were Presbyters not only right hands in the Church, but also preachers of the word; and that not some, but all. [4] All Bishops, and all Presbyters or Deacons do teach vs, and in teaching do reproue & sharply rebuke.

[5] *Quatuor genera capitum sunt in ecclesia; Episcoporum, Presbyterorum, Diaconorum & fidelium.* There be foure sorts of men in the Church (saieth Optatus) Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons and the beleeuers. Out of which of these foure will you fetch your laie Elders? From the beleeuers? Then were they no Presbyters. Will you comprise them in Presbyters? Then were they no Lay men. For Optatus in the same place chargeth the Donatists with subuerting

1 *Irenæus lib. 4. ca. 43. & 44.*

2 *Origen. 24. Mat. or Matth. ca. 23.*

3 *Idem homil. 7. in lib. Iosue.*

4 *Idem homil. 1. in psal. 37.*

5 *Optat. lib. 2. ad Parmenianum de schismate Donatistarum.*

subuerting of soules for making Presbyters to be Laymen. [1] *Instituistis Diaconos, Presbyteros, Episcopos: feciſtis Laicos. Agnoſcite vos animas euertiſſe*; you founde Deacons, Presbyters and Bishops: you made them Lay men. Acknowledge then you subuerted soules. If you doubt I force his wordes against his meaning, heare what himselfe saith touching those foure parts of the Church. [2] *Quid commemorem Laicos, qui tunc in Eccleſia nulla fuerant dignitate ſuffulti? Quid Miniſtros plurimos? Quid Diaconos in tertio, quid Presbyteros in ſecundo ſacerdotio conſtitutos? Ipſi apices & principes omnium aliqui Epiſcopi inſtrumenta domine legis impiè tradiderunt*. What shall I reckon Lay men, which were then aduanced with no dignitie in the Church? What (*neede I repeate*) the Seruitours (*of the Church?*) The Deacons in the third, the Presbyters in the second degree of Priesthoode? The chiefe and toppe of all, euen many Bishops wickedly deliuered the instruments of Gods Lawe (*to the fire.*) Lay men had no degree nor dignitie in the Church; much lesse the honour or office of Presbyters. For they were plainely Priests. Had you but one such place for Lay Elders as heere is against them, we would neuer striue with you about them.

[1] *Ibidem.*

[2] *Optat. ad eundem lib. 1.*

Nazianzene telling howe the goodnes and prouidence of God brought that learned and famous man Basil, [3] *τὸν ἐφεξῆς τῶν προεδριῶν δρόμον*, to the sacred seates of the Presbyterie, *τὸν ἐν ὕψει κατηφορικὸν magna inclinans*, by the order and course that should be obserued in spirituall climing, saieth; [3] Hee first read the sacred bookes to the people, and expounded them, not disdaining this place of the Chancel, and so (*came*) to the chaire of the Presbyters, and after of the Bishops. The Seates then of the Presbyterie in Nazianzens time, were not onely sacred and seuered from the people, but the right orderly way to ascend vnto them, was first to passe through other Ecclesiasticall [4] Degrees and Offices, as Cyprian calleth them, and so to rise to the highest, and not for Lay men to sit in them as fellowe Presbyters with the Bishops. [5] *Nec Presbyterio quidem adeſſe permittitur in myſteriis, quorum tamen ipſi quoque ſacrorum adminiſtri ſunt*. The Presbyters themselues are not permitted to be present in the mysteries, and yet they doe administer the Sacraments; saith Iulius to the Bishops at Antioch. [6] I am a Bishop (saieth Hilarie to Constantius) con-

[3] *Nazianz. in laudem Basil. magn.*

[4] *Cypr. lib. 4. epiſt. 2.*

[5] *Athanaſ. Apolog. 2.*

[6] *Hilarius in lib. quem ipſe tradidit Conſtantio.*

tinuing in the Communion of all the Churches and bishops of France though I be in banishment, *& ecclesiæ adhuc per Presbyteros meos communionem distribuens*, and still distributing by my Presbyters the communion of the Church (or to the Church.)

1 *Ambros. in 1. Tymoth. ca. 3.*

1 *Presbyteri & Episcopi una est ordinatio, vterq; enim sacerdos est.* The ordering of a Presbyter is the same that a Bishops is, saith Ambrose, for both are Priests.

2 *Hiero. ad Euangelium.*

2 *Aut igitur ex Presbytero ordinetur Diaconus, vt Presbyter minor Diacono comprobetur, in quem crescat ex parvo: aut si ex Diacono ordinatur Presbyter, noverit se lucris minorem, sacerdotio esse maiorem.* Either let a Deacon be made of a Presbyter (saith Ierome) that he may be proued to be lesser then a Deacon, to whose place he riseth as from the lower degree; or if a Presbyter be made of a Deacon, then is he inferior to the Deacon in gaine, but in Priesthoode superior.

3 *Hiero. ad Nepotianum de vita Clericorum.*

3 *Quod Aaron & filios eius, hoc Episcopum & Presbyteros esse noverimus.* What Aaron and his sonnes were, that we must remember the Bishop and Presbyters are. There is but one Lord, one Temple, one Ministerie. And answering this obiection of Iouinian; that

4 *Hiero. lib. 1. aduers. Iouinianum.*

4 Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons were appointed by the Apostle to be the husbands of one wife and to haue children, he saith: In appointing the ecclesiastical order, because the church of the Gentiles was yet raw, (the Apostle) gaue lighter Precepts to those that were lately conuerted, lest being terrified (at the first) they should not be able to endure it. And expounding the same

5 *Idem in epist. ad Tit. ca. 1.*

wordes of Paul to Tite; he saieth, 5 The Apostle commaunding this to Bishops and Presbyters (that they should be the husbands of one wife) no doubt released it vnto others. Al Lay men might take a second wife, but no Presbyter by Ieroms construction: there were therefore no Lay men that were Presbyters in his time.

When 6. of the bishops came from Tyrus, to examine matters against Athanas. the Presbyters of Alexandria perceiuing their malice protested against their proceedings, & wrate their Letters vnto them subscribed with their names, in this wise, 6 I Dionysius

6 *Athanas. Apologia. 2.*

Presbyter send these letters; & I Alexãder Presbyter, and so with 18. more names, 14. of them hauing the title of Presbyters, & 4. of Deacons. Whereupon Athanas. saith, 7 *Literæ & nomina Clericorum ciuitatis hæc sunt.* The letters & names of the Clergy men of the city are these. The Clergy of Mariot wrate in this maner. To

7 *Ibidem.*

the

the holy Synode of Bishops of the catholike church, al the Presbyters & Deacons of Mariot send greeting. Then al the Presbyters of Mariot were Clergy men by Athanas. owne woyds, as also the Presbyters of the citie. The Comment. upon Mat. ioyned with Chrysostoms, in applying ỳ parable of ỳ talents, affirme that Presbyters haue 5. talents; Deacons 2; the people 1. The 5. talents of the Presbyters he reckoneth thus; [1] *Bene viuendo, solicitè præsidendo ecclesiæ, verbum veritatis syncerè prædicãdo, baptizando, offerẽdo.* Good life, careful ouerseeing the Church, sincere preaching the word of truth, baptizing according to Christs rule, & offring an vndefiled sacrifice & praying for the sins of the people. But if a Presbyter or Deacon be found a sinner, he is accounted as a lay man that hath but one talent. Good life is that talent which is common to al mẽ, be they lay or Clergy; but Presbyters had 4. other talents proper to their calling, & so linked together, that they may not be seuered. To whom thẽ preaching, baptising & offring at the Lords table do belong; to thẽ also careful ruling & gouerning the church doth appertain. Now your secular Elders if they be Presbyters, they must vndertake al 5. talents: if they be lay, they must neither preach, baptize, nor administer the Lords supper, nor consequently be Presbyters, or gouerne the Church. For al Presbyters receiued those 5. talents or seruices in the church from their lord & master, but no lay man receiued them at Gods hand; I conclude therefore no lay men were Presbyters in Chrysostoms age.

[1] *Homil. 53 in 25. ca. Matth.*

[2] How many bishops (saith S. August.) do I know that are most holy & godly men, how many Presbyters, how many Deacõs, & such like Ministers of the diuine sacraments? And speaking of his own Presbytership, saith, [3] Nothing is in this life, & specially in this time more hard, laborious & dangerous, thẽ the office of a bishop, or a presbyter, or a deacõn: but ẇ God nothing more blessed, if it be in such sort discharged, as our chiefe ruler willeth. The way I could not learne, either in my childhood or youth; & when I began to learne, violence was offered me for my sinnes; (what els should I thinke?) that the second place of gouernement shoulde be committed vnto me, who yet knewe howe to holde an oare: and nowe finding what is necessary for him, which ministreth the worde of God and Sacramentes to the people, I am not suffered to arrayne it, (for want of time.)

[2] *August. de Moribus ecclesiæ catholicæ l. 1. ca. 30.*

[3] *August. epist. 148.*

Presbyters in Austens time had their office in the Church, to ministre the Sacraments, and propose the word to the people; and to such Presbyters, was the second place of gouernement committed. Lay Elders had neither to do with the one, nor with the other part of that charge.

Socrates recording that the Councill of Nice inclined to make a Lawe for the restraining of Clergie men from their wiues, saieth; [1] It seemed good to the Bishops to bring a newe Lawe into the Church, ὥστε τοὺς ἱερωμένους, λέγω δὴ, διακόνους, καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ ἐπίσκοπους μὴ συνοικεῖν ταῖς γαμεταῖς, ἃς ἐν λαϊκοῖς ὄντες ἠγάγοντο. that consecrated men, I meane Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons shoulde not sleepe with their wiues which they had married whiles they were lay men. But Paphnutius standing vp contradicted with a loude voice, that this heauie yoke ought not to bee layed on the sacred men. It shall not neede to proue vnto such as be learned, that ἱερεὺς is to be consecrated a Priest vnto God; ἱερεὺς is the plainest worde the Grecians haue for a Priest, and ἱερώμενος for one that is consecrated to that seruice. Those Socrates most euidently diuideth into these three, Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons; and saith by way of restraint, λέγω δὴ, I meane namely and specially these three degrees. The purpose was that they shoulde not sleepe with their wiues which they had married, ἐν λαϊκοῖς ὄντες, when as yet they were Lay men, that is as Sozomene expoundeth it, [2] ἃς πρὶν ἱερᾶσθαι ἠγάγοντο, which they had married before they were consecrated. Now set this together, and you shal find they were laie men, πρὶν ἱερᾶσθαι, before they were consecrated; and therefore ἱερώμενοι once being consecrated they ceased to bee Lay men any longer, but Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons were ἱερώμενοι men consecrated, they were *ergo* no Lay men. Much more might be saide; but this may suffice for those that haue not wedded their iudgements to their appetites: as for such, nothing will serue, except it please their humors; and therefore I leaue them.

[1] Socrat. lib. 1. ca. 11.

[2] Sozom. lib. 1. ca. 23.

You proone that Lay Elders were not called by the name of Presbyters in the Primitiue Church, but that no such were admitted to gouerne the Church, you doe not proone.] Giue me leaue to tell you what I proone, repell it if you can. I proone that you greatly deceiue your selues and abuse the fathers, when you make the world beleeue they had Lay Presbyters ioyned with the Bishops to gouerne

uerne the Church. for it is apparant by their writings they had no Presbyters but Clergie men, and of such their Presbyteries consisted, and not of any Laie men, whom they particularly and perpetually exclude not onely from the name, but also from the order, office, seates, power and honour of Presbyters.

Though they were not knowen by that name, yet were they called Seniores, *the Elders of the Church, as* Tertullian, Ierome, Ambrose, Austen *and* Gregorie *doe witnesse; yea, though wee should graunt the Church had no such laie Elders in Ieroms and Ambroses dayes, yet they both confesse there were such in the first Age of the Church, and that the Church should be governed by their aduise and counsell. Their wordes are so plaine, they cannot be shifted. And thence I make this demonstration. Laie Elders in Ambroses time were out of vse, as himselfe affirmeth, through the slouth, or rather pride of Bishops; but Clergie Presbyters were not out of vse in Ambroses time; there were therefore laie Elders in the first Churches, without whose aduise nothing was done, besides the Presbyters that continued in Ambroses dayes. this Argument is insoluble.*] You are vsed to make fewe good Arguments, that take this to bee so strong. The force of these places I haue examined before; and there shewed that they were wrested cleane against the intent of the writers; but because I am to end the discourse of laie Elders, and so to relinquish them to their inuenters, I will not bee grieued to recapitulate the strength of your authorities, and search out the sureuesse of this last syllogisme.

The first thing that I obserue in your authorities, is this; that with your owne proofes, you ouerthrow your owne purpose. To conuince that laie Elders dured in the Church til Gregories time, which was 600. yeeres after Christ, you produce amongst others S. Ambrose, who saieth that in his time 230. yeeres before, such Elders were out of vse. If there were no such Elders in Ambroses age, how could they dure till Gregories dayes, that liued more then 200. yeeres after him? This knot is more insoluble then your syllogisme.

Another of your witnesses, I meane, S. Ierome, in the verie same place that you cite, laieth the whole plot of your laie Elders in the dust. for both touching the persons that ruled the Church, and the time which they continued, he crosseth all your assertions. The

persons

persons by whose common aduise the Church at first was gouerned, were Presbyters, and those by your owne confession were no laie men. Or if you make any bones to confesse so much, S. Ierome will auouch no lesse. I must alleage his wordes once againe, and some of them in Latin, because you shall the more sensiblie see your errour, and the rest not distrust my translation. [1] *Antequam fierent studia in religione, & diceretur in populis, ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephæ; communi Presbyterorum consilio ecclesiæ regebantur. Postquam verò vnusquisque eos quos baptizauerat, suos esse putabat, non Christi; in toto orbe decretum est, vt vnus de Presbyteris electus superponeretur, cæteris ad quem omnis ecclesiæ cura pertineret, & Schismatum semina tollerentur, &c.* Before there were factions in religion, and the people began to say, I hold of Paul, I of Apollo, and I of Cephas; the Churches were gouerned by the common aduise of the Presbyters. But when euery man thought those, whom he had baptized, to be his owne, and not Christes; it was decreed in the whole world, that one chosen out of the Presbyters should be set aboue the rest, to whom all the care of the Church should appertaine, and the seedes of diuision rooted out. These wordes are so plaine, they neede no demonstration to helpe them. Before Schismes grew in religion, the Churches were gouerned by the common aduise of Presbyters; but when the baptizers drewe the people into factions, Bishops were throughout the world elected, and aduaunced aboue Presbyters to take the whole care of the Church. They were both Presbyters and baptizers that gouerned the Church, before Bishops were decreed; *ergo*, they were no laie Elders. This were enough: but Ierome to shew what Presbyters they were, alleageth foure places of the Scripture, and thereby prooueth they were Teachers and Pastours. I must set downe his wordes; but as short as I can, that men may be perswaded, or ashamed of their errour in this part committed.

[1] *Hiero. in 1. ad. epist. ad Titum.*

The very next wordes in Ierome, ensuing the former, are these; [2] *Putat aliquis non Scripturarum, sed nostram esse sententiam, Episcopum & Presbyterum vnum esse? relegat Apostoli ad Philippenses verba dicentis, &c.* Doeth any man thinke this is not the position of the Scriptures, but ours; that a Bishop and Presbyter are both one? Let him read the words of the Apostle to the Philippians,

[2] *Hiero. in 1. ad. epist. ad Tit.*

where

where he saieth; [1] Paul and Timothie to all the Saints that are at Philippi, together with the Bishops and Deacons. In one Citie there could not be many Bishops as we name them: but because they called the same men Bishops that were Presbyters, therefore he speaketh of Bishops as of Presbyters, without any difference. In the Acts the Apostle at Miletum [2] sent to Ephesus, and called the Presbyters of that Church, to whom he sayd; Looke to your selues, and to all the flocke where the holie Ghost hath made you Bishops to feed the Church of God. Here marke diligently, how calling for the Presbyters of Ephesus only, he afterward termed them Bishops. In the epistle to the Hebrewes, the care of the Church is equally deuided amongst many. for he saieth to the people, [3] obey your Rulers and bee subiect to them; they are those that watch ouer your soules. And Peter in his epistle saieth; [4] The Presbyters that are amongst you I beseech, my selfe being your fellow Presbyter, feede yee the Lordes flocke that is with you. These things I bring to shewe, that anciently Presbyters were all one with Bishops, and that in tract of time, to plucke vp the rootes of dissention, all the charge (*of the Church*) was committed to one. The Presbyters that gouerned the Church in the Apostles times, did ATTEND and FEED the flocke, and WATCH OVER SOVLES, as those that should giue account for them, and had all those qualities that the Apostle required in Bishops. The same charge, and the same grace conclude the same function. And therefore, if any were Clergie men in the Apostles times, these Presbyters were not Laie men. But these gouerned the Church as Ierome saieth; Laie men therfore they were not, by Ieromes owne confession, that did then gouerne the Church.

[1] Phil.1.

[2] Act.20.

[3] Hebr.13.

[4] 1.Pet.5.

The persons we see, who they were; now for the time how long they continued Gouernours of the Church. Before schismes did arise, the Church was gouerned by their common aduise; but schismes and diuisions grewe euen in the Apostles times, as it is euident by [5] Pauls owne report, and by Saint [6] Iohns like wise. Wherefore Ieromes wordes doe not inferre that Presbyters ruled the Church any longer then the Apostles times, nor so long neither. If I seeme to take a nice aduantage of the time, let Ierome expresse his owne meaning. In his epistle to Euagrius, debating at large

[5] 1.Cor.1.11. and ca.11.18.

[6] Rom.16.17. & 1.Ioh.2.18.

that

that bishops and Presbyters were all one in the Apostles time; and alleaging both the same and sundry other proofes for his intent, he addeth; [1] *Quod autem postea vnus electus est qui cæteris præponeretur, in Schismatis remedium factum est, ne vnusquisque ad se trahens Christi ecclesiam rumperet. Nam & Alexandriæ à Marco Euangelista vsque ad Heraclam & Dionysium Episcopos, Presbyteri semper vnum ex se electum in excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant.* That after one was elected and aduanced aboue the rest, this was to remedie Schismes, least euery man drawing the Church of Christ to himselfe, should rent it in pieces, So at Alexandria from Marke the Euangelist, to Heraclas and Dionysius Bishops there; the Presbyters alwayes chose one of themselues, and placed him in an higher degree, and called him a Bishop. Laie Elders Ierome neuer knew any to bee Gouernours of the Church: the Pastours and Teachers that vnder the Apostles gouerned the Church by common aduise, were forced for the preuenting and repressing of schismes, to transferre the whole care of the Church to one, whom they called a Bishop. this began at Alexandria, euen from Marke the Euangelist.

[1] Hiero. Euagrio. in. 2. fol. 329.

Ieromes testimonie you haue heard. Now choose whether Ambrose shall contradict him, and giue him the lie; or rather be reconciled and expounded by him. Ambrose saieth the Church had [2] *Seniores quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in ecclesia*, Elders without whose counsell nothing was done in the Church. These, say you, were laie Elders. If wee aske you how you proue they were Laie, you be at a non plus. They were Pastours and Teachers say we. If you aske how we proue our assertion; wee first shew you the iudgement of Ambrose elsewhere, that in [3] matters of faith, or any ecclesiasticall order, Laie men should not iudge and gouerne Priestes, which yet the Gouernours of the Church must doe. I speake still of the priuate regiment of Elders, not of the publike power of the Magistrate. Next we shew you the verdict of Ierome, confirming his resolution by many places of the Scriptures, that the Churches at the first were gouerned by Presbyters, which were Pastours and Teachers. Haue we no further proofe then this, I conuent your owne consciences, which of our assouries standeth on the surest ground; yours that leaneth onely to your owne wits and wordes; or ours, that beside the confession of

[2] Ambros. in. 1. Tim. 1.

[3] Ambros. li. 5. epist. 32.

of the same father, hath a most ruident attestation of another father as ancient and learned as the former. You would seeme to be religious and wise; craze not your credites, with a non obstante, that your fansies must prevaile, whatsoever Councils or fathers say to the contrary.

For the rest we need no better exposition then Ierome, in the very place which your selues alleage. [1] *Nos habemus in ecclesia Senatum nostrum, Coetum Presbyterorum.* We haue in the Church our Senate, that is the assemblie of Presbyters. Els where he saieth; [2] *Iudices domus Israel non sunt alij nisi Episcopi, Presbyteri, & Diaconi.* The Iudges of the house of Israel are none other, but the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons. And these three words when they come together, import the order and degrees of ecclesiasticall offices. [3] *Episcopus, Presbyter & Diaconus non sunt meritorum nomina, sed officiorum.* Bishop, Presbyter & Deacon, are not names of desertes, but of offices; and those Clericall, not Laicall. [4] *Fit Clericus, & per solitos gradus Presbyter,* saieth Ierome of Nepotianus. He became a Clergie man, and so a Presbyter by the accustomed degrees. And againe, [5] *Qui pascitis greges, Episcopi & Presbyteri, & omnis ordo ecclesiasticus.* You Bishops and Presbyters, and all the ecclesiasticall order, which feed your flockes. If therefore Gregorie call the Presbyters *Seniores ecclesiæ,* the Elders of the Church, in respect of the rest of the Clergie; or if Austen write vnto them, *Clero & Senioribus,* to the Clergie and Elders; or if Tertullian writing to the Ethnikes, who vnderstood not the order and offices of the Church, say in commendation of the Christian meetings, *Præsident probati quique Seniores,* The Rulers of our assemblies are certaine approoued Elders; what inference can hence be made, that they meant late Elders, since they vse neither words nor circumstances, but such as will agree to the graue Iuiser, and Elders sort of the Clergie, other wise called Presbyters? Yea, Ambrose himselfe will tell you, that amongst the Clergie the Presbyters were called *Seniores,* the Elders, as next in honour, age and iudgement to the Bishop. Speaking of ecclesiastical officers and ministers, he saith; [6] *Videamus ne Diaconi domos, non visitent aegrotos, non curent egenos, non sollicitent viduas? Quid enim Seniores, hoc est cum Episcopo; vel, si grauior est causa, cum Presbyteris. Quid præstant? Vt demus obtrectandi locum Secularibus?* There is no cause

[1] *Hiero. in Esaia, ca. 3.*

[2] *Idem in Micheæ, ca. 3.*

[3] *Idem aduers. Iouinianum, li. 1.*

[4] *Idem in epitaph. Nepotiani.*

[5] *Idem in Ieremia ca. 6.*

[6] *Ambros. officiorum, li. 1. ca. 20.*

cause for the yongers to resort to the houses of widowes & virgins, except it bee to visite them; and that with the Elders, I meane with the Bishop, or if the matter be vrgent, with the Presbyters. What need wee giue occasion to scrupulous (or Laie) men to backbite? How thinke you: were there not Elders amongst the Clergie, and those the same men that were otherwise called Presbyters?

Yet my demonstration is vnanswered.] Your mistaking of Ambroses both meaning & wordes, is a very simple kinde of demonstration; you do not marke the Text which you bring. Ambrose doeth not say, the Church had once Elders, which now are vanished; but nothing at the first was done in the Church without their aduise, which now is out of vse, whiles the Pastours will seeme alone to be wise. The men remained that were before, but lesse regarded, and lesse consulted then at first. And so your demonstration is nothing els but a misconstruction of your Authors wordes.

Since you leaue me no better handfast in Ierome *and* Ambrose, *for laie Elders, I will requite you with the like for Bishops, which is this, that as the Church at first was gouerned by Presbyters without laie Elders; so was it likewise without Bishops. If I forgoe the one, you must also forgoe the other; and then gaine you little if Bishops must be remooued from the gouernement of the Church as well as laie Elders. And this is so cleere, that no cunning can obscure it.*] I did all this while looke when you would reuiue your spirits with this Mythe date; you were euen at last cast with your laie Elders. But if we cannot iustifie the state of bishops by the Scriptures and Fathers, better then you doe laie Elders, we will quietly disclaime them.

Ieromes wordes are wonderfull plaine, that Bishops in the Apostles times did not differ from Presbyters; and are more aboue them rather by the custome of the Church then by the truth of the Lords disposition, and ought to rule the Church in common.] I am in feare from reiecting or declining Ieromes authoritie in this point, though he seeme very fauourable to you, that if you will stand to his censure, I will doe the like; but before wee wade deeper, let vs laie forth the state of the question, that we may thereby perceiue what the sacred Scriptures and ancient Fathers doe either teste or confute.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

To whom the Apostles departing or dying, left the gouernement of the Church; whether equally to all Presbyters, or chiefly to some; and how farre the conceites of late writers herein, varie from the auncient Fathers, whose wordes they pretend to follow.

THat order and discipline are not onely profitefull, but also necessull in the Church of God; and as well amongst Pastours and Teachers, as learners and hearers, might many wayes be confirmed, if it were not on all sides controuled. They that most dissent in the kind of gouernement, doe first agree on the vse of gouernment; they would els not striue for that which might still be wanted, and neuer missed in the Church of Christ. [1] μέγιστον γὰρ ἅπαντων τῶν ὄντων καὶ ἡ διάταξις. Order, saieth Nazianzene, is the mother and preseruer of all things. The vtilitie and necessitie whereof, as in all states and creatures, so specially in the Church of God, and in the Pastours and Gouernors thereof, hee that liketh at large to examine, let him read Nazianzens oration plentifully and purposely written of that Argument. Onely I aduise with him, that vnder a shew of religion and zeale; [2] No man bee wiser then hee should, no man vprighter then the lawe, clearer then the light, straighter then the rule, nor forwarder then the commandement. If order and discipline be necessarie for all persons and ages in the Church of Christ; the gouernment of the Church must not cease with the Apostles, but dure as long as the Church continueth, that is, to the worlds ende; and consequently so much of the Apostolike power, as is requisite for the perpetuall regiment of the Church, must remaine to those that from time to time supplie the Apostles charge, and succeed in the Apostles roomes.

[1] *Nazianz. de moderatione in disputationibus seruanda.*

[2] *Nazianz. vt supra.*

Afore we enter to the text of the first institution of Bishops, we must carefully distinguish these three points. The things which must be deriued from the Apostles to their helpers and successours in all Ages and Churches; the persons to whom they were committed; and the causes why. If we wauer in these, wee shall neuer get any certaine resolution of the matter in question.

What

What the things are which must abide for euer in the Church, I shewed ‖ before; it shall suffise now to rehearse them; namelie, power to preach the word and administer the Sacraments, the right vse of the keies, and imposition of hands, for the placing of fit men to vndertake the cure of soules, and remouing of vnfaithfull and vnfit men from infecting and offending the Church. These must not faile in the Church, so long as there is a Church: for the want of any one of them, is the confusion, if not subuersion of the Church. These foure partes in this chapter for brieuties sake, I often reduce to two branches, which are, Doctrine and Discipline; Comprising in doctrine the preuiding of the word, and dispensing of the Sacraments; and referring the rest, I meane the publike vse of the keies, and imposition of hands, to the discipline or regiment of the Church.

‖ Cap. 9. fol. 107.

The parties to whom these ecclesiasticall duties might possible be committed, wee then also numbred, and found foure sortes of them; the people, the laie Elders, the Presbyters & the Bishops. The people must needs be excluded from intermedling with Pastorall duties. for if all should be Teachers, who should be hearers? if there were none but shepeheards, what should become of the flocke? Yee that hath put a difference betwixt the [1] Stewards and the household, the [2] labourers and the harueft, the [3] watchmen and the Citizens, the [4] builders and the stones, the [5] Sower and the ground, the [6] husbandmen and the tillage, the [7] leaders and the followers; euen the same Lord hath prohibited these degrees to bee confounded, which he hath distinguished. [8] Are all Apostles? are all Prophets? are all teachers? I thinke not. If the whole bodie were the eie, where were the hearing? if the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? Intrusion vpon men, is iniurious; vpon God, is sacrilegious. The examples of [9] Korah, whome the earth swalowed; of [10] Vzza stricken to death, and Vzziah plagued with the leprosie for offering or meddling in the Priests office are well knowen. Chrysostome speaketh of the last, [11] He entered (the Temple) to vsurpe the Priesthood, and hee lost his kingdome. He entred to become more reuerend, and hee became more execrable. So vile a thing it is not to abide within the boundes that God hath appointed vs, either of honour or knowledge.

1 Math. 24.
2 Luke 10.
3 Ezech. 33.
4 1. Pet. 2.
5 Math. 13.
6 1. Cor. 3.
7 Hebr. 13.
8 1. Cor. 12.
9 Num. 16.
10 2. Sam. 6.
11 Chrysost. homil. 5. de verbis Esaiæ vidi Dominum.

What I say of the people, I say likewise of laie Elders, for so much as they are but a part of the people; and looke what the whole is prohibited, euery part is interdicted. If Laie men may intermeddle with ecclesiasticall functions, why not the people? If the people may not, why should the Elders, since both are Laie? If they renounce the execution, and chalenge the superuision of ecclesiasticall duties; they flie from one Rocke, and fall on another; they cleare themselues from the worde, and entangle themselues with the sword. Gouernours of the Church that bee neither ministers nor Magistrates, I yet conceiue none; if any mans skill bee so good, that hee can describe vs a gouernement betwixt both, that shall wrong neither, I would gladly giue him audience. Howbeit wee need not trouble our heads with the maner of gouernement that laie Elders must haue distinct from the Priestes and Princes calling, before we haue better proofe for the persons, that shall enioy this priuiledge. When you make it appeare there were such officers in the Church of Christ, wee will then intreat you to bound out their office by the word of God, or writings of the auncient fathers; till then wee stand resolued there were neuer such Gouernours nor gouernement established by the Apostles, nor acknowledged by their after-commers in Christes Church. The places pretended both in Scriptures and Fathers for such Elders, wee haue leasurablie perused and examined, and wee finde not so much as the footesteps of any Laie Elders. Presbyters we find and Rulers; but no reason to leade, they were laie Presbyters or Rulers. Against thē we find all the Christian & ancient Councils, lawes and fathers ỳ euer mentioned any Presbyters. If I shuffle any writers wordes, or dazel the Readers eies, shew me the place, I will yeeld to mine errour. In the meane time I take him to witnesse that is Iudge of all secrets, I endeuoured to walke soundly and simplie, without swaying or leaning to either side, more then the euidence of the trueth enforced me.

Two sortes are left, (for I still professe that laie Elders were neuer admitted to meddle with any such matters) to whom the Apostolike power and charge, which must alwayes remaine in the Church, may be communicated and imparted; and those are Presbyters and Bishops. By Presbyters, I meane those, whom all the Catholike Fathers and Councils with one consent call *Presbyteros*,

byteros, placing them in the middle betweene Bishops and Deacons, when they deuide the Clergie into *Episcopos, Presbyteros & Diaconos*; Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons. Late Writers I ouerskip as meere strangers to all antiquitie. So that when I speake of Presbyteries, I vnderstand thereby the assemblies of such Presbyters, as were Clergie men, and in euery Citie assisted the Bishop in the seruice of God, and aduised the Bishop in all other affaires of the Church. Thus much I premonish, least the often vse of the word Presbyter in this chapter should either perplexe or vnsettle the Reader.

The times must likewise be remembred. The Apostles both in teaching and gouerning the Churches, when they were present, had helpers; when they were absent, had substitutes; after their finall departures or deathes, left successours. So that the things originally descending from the Apostles, and continually remayning in the Church, are the charge of the worde and Sacraments, and the power of keyes and handes: the persons to whom they were committed, either Presbyters or Bishops: the times when, the presence, absence, departure or death of the Apostles. If wee neglect or confound these partes, wee shall but roate in the aire, at the right gouernement of the Church; if wee obserue them, wee shall force the Question to an Issue that will not deceiue vs. And first for the worde and Sacraments.

It may not bee denied, but as the worde and Sacraments are the most essentiall seedes of the Church, so the handling and sowing thereof in the Lordes ground must bee the generall and principall charge of all Pastours and Presbyters; that eyther feede or rule the flocke of Christ. for whether they be Apostles, Euangelists, Prophets, Pastours or Teachers, I meane such as [1] Paul reckoneth to the Ephesians, for the worke of the Ministerie; or as the holy Ghost in other places calleth them [2] Bishops and Presbyters, this power is common to them all. Without the worde and Sacraments, the [3] Saintes are not gathered, the [3] Church is not edified, [3] faith is not perfited, heauen is not opened; wherefore in preaching the worde and administring the Sacramentes, the Scriptures know no difference betwixt Pastours and Teachers, Bishops and Presbyters. Nay not

[1] Eph. 4.
[2] Tit. 1.
[2] 1. Pet. 5.
[2] Act. 20.
[3] Eph. 4.

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our Saviour deliuered both in one ioynt Commission to his Apostles, when he willed them to goe and [1] teach all Nations baptizing them; Paul sheweth that preaching the worde, was of the twaine the greater and worthier part of his Apostolike function. [2] Christ sent mee not to baptize, but to preach the Gospell; not that hee might not or did not vse both, but the latter was the chiefer. So Iohn [3] preached the baptisme of repentance; not deuiding the offer of the worde from the confirmation of the Sacrament, but ioyning them both together as coherent and consequent the one to the other. for God doeth not send his messengers to make emptie promises; but ratifieth the trueth of his speach with the seales of his word, which are the Sacraments. And therfore hee that hath charge from God to preach the one, hath also leaue to performe the other. Whom God hath placed in his church, that by his mouth we should beleeue, by his hands also we may bee baptized, as appeareth by Philip conuerting and baptizing, not onely the [4] Eunuche, but the whole Citie of Samaria; and for that cause S. Austen fully calleth as well Presbyters as Bishops, [5] Ministers of the word and Sacraments.

[1] Mat. 28.
[2] 1. Cor. 1.
[3] Luke 3.
[4] Act. 8.
[5] August. epist. 148.

A newe distinction is lately deuised, that Pastours in Saint Paul were such as had not onely the word and Sacraments, but also the Church and charge of soules committed vnto them; and Teachers those that laboured in doctrine, but receiued no charge neither of Sacramentes, nor soules. In deede Ambrose taketh them for [6] Catechizers of Infants; and at Alexandria there were [7] moderators of Schooles resembling our Vniuersities, for the training and instructing of such as in time were likely to profit the Church of God; but these were not ecclesiasticall functions in the Church; they were profitable members of a common wealth that so did, but no necessarie workemen in the ministerie. And though there were such for a season at Alexandria, yet all other Cities and Churches had not the like; and they that gouerned those Schooles and taught the Catechumenes there as Pantenus, Clemens and Origen, were Lay men, and neuer vsed at Alexandria to teach the people in the Church, as appeareth by Demetrius worthy then Bishop of Alexandria, finding great fault with the Bishops of Ierusalem and Cesaria, for suffering Origen after he had been Catechist of Alexandria, to expound the Scriptures before the

[6] Ambros. in 4. ca. ad Ephes.
[7] Euseb. li. 5. ca. 10

people in the Church, His woꝛdes are theſe; [1] It was neuer heard, nor euer ſuffered, that Laie men ſhould teach in the Church in the preſence of Biſhops. With no face could the Biſhop of Alexandria haue diſliked Origens fact, if it had bene vſuall in his owne Church: and the Biſhops that wꝛate in defence of the matter, doe not auouch it was a generall oꝛ perpetuall rule in the Church of Chꝛiſt foꝛ a Catechizer to teach in the Church; but alleage three inſtances where they ſawe the like vſed, and confeſſe they knew no moꝛe. Wherefoꝛe, vnleſſe their examples and reaſons were ſtronger and ſurer, I preferre the iudgement of Ierome, Auguſtine, Chryſoſtome, Theodorete and others befoꝛe this late conceite, who thinke the Apoſtle expꝛeſſed one office by two names, to ſhew what things belonged to the Paſtoꝛall charge. Auſten. [2] Paſtours and Doctours, whom you greatly deſired I ſhould diſtinguiſh, I thinke to bee all one, as you doe; not that wee ſhould conceiue ſome to be Paſtours, others to bee Doctours, but therefore he ſubioyned Doctours to Paſtours, that Paſtours might vnderſtand doctrine pertained to their office. [3] Euery Paſtour is a Doctour, ſaieth Ierome. [4] Paſtours and Doctours (ſaieth Chryſoſtome) were (*they*) to whom the whole people were committed, and they were inferiour to thoſe that went about preaching the Goſpell, becauſe dwelling in more quietneſſe, they were employed onely in one place. (*Paul*) [5] calleth them Paſtours and Doctours (ſaieth Theodorete) which were deputed and faſtened to a Citie or village. Oecumenius: (*by Paſtours and Teachers*) [6] Paul meaneth Biſhops to whome the Churches were committed.

[1] *Euſeb. li. 6. ca. 20*

[2] *Aug. epiſt. 59.*

[3] *Hier. in Epheſ. ca. 4.*

[4] *Chryſoſt. in ſermo. 11. in Epheſ. ca. 4.*

[5] *Theodoret in Epheſ. ca. 4.*

[6] *Oecumen. in Epheſ. ca. 4.*

But grant Paſtours and Doctours were diſtinct offices in the Church, as you imagine, what gaine you by it? You may thereby proue an inequalitie of eccleſiaſticall functions, you proue nothing els. [7] Obey your Ouerſeers, ſaieth Paul, and bee ſubiect to them. they watch ouer your ſoules to giue account (*for them.*) Obedience and ſubiection to the Paſtour is due from the whole flocke, and all degrees thereof which are no Paſtours, but Teachers, as you ſay, were no Paſtors; they were therefore inferiour to Paſtors, and ſubiect to their ouerſight. Now take your choice; if Paſtors were all one with Doctors, you haue loſt one of thoſe offices which you affirme to bee perpetuall in the Church: if they

[7] Hebr. 13.

were

were distinct from them, they were superiours vnto them; and so betwixt ministers of the word, (for such were Teachers by Saint Pauls rule) you establish a difference of degrees.

Thus much for the worde and Sacraments; the dispensing whereof no doubt was common to all Apostles, Euangelists, Prophets, Pastours, and Teachers; and so to Presbyters and Bishops, notwithstanding the moderatiō and ouersight of those things were still reserued to the Apostles, as well absent as present, euen when the power and charge thereof was imparted to others.

The discipline and gouernement of the Church, I meane the power of the keies, and imposing hands, are two other partes of Apostolike authoritie which must remaine in the Church for euer. These keyes are double; the keie of knowledge annexed to the word; the keie of power referred to the Sacraments. Some late writers by vrging the one, abolish the other; howbeit I see no sufficient reason to countervaile the Scriptures and Fathers that defend and retaine both. The keie of knowledge must not be doubted of, our Sauiour in expresse wordes, nameth it. [1] Woe be to you interpreters of the lawe; for yee haue taken away the keie of knowledge; yee entered not in your selues, and those that were comming in, you forbade. The keie of power standeth on these words of Christ to Peter. [2] I will giue thee the keies of the kingdome of heauen, and whatsoeuer thou shalt binde on earth, shall be bound in heauen: and whatsoeuer thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heauen. And likewise to all his Apostles, [3] Whatsoeuer ye binde in earth shall be bound in heauen, and whatsoeuer ye loose on earth, shall be loosed in heauen. And after his resurrection in like maner to them all. [4] Receiue ye the holie Ghost; whose sinnes soeuer yee remit, they are remitted vnto them; and whose sinnes yee retaine, they are retained. And least we should vnderstand these places of the preaching of the Gospell, as some new writers doe; Saint Paul hath plaine wordes, that cannot be wrested to that sense. Speaking of the incestuous Corinthian that was excommunicated and deliuered vnto Satan, he saieth; [5] Sufficient for that man is this rebuking of many; so that now contrarywise yee ought rather to forgiue (*him*) and comfort (*him*) least hee bee swallowed vp with too much sorowe. To whom you forgiue any thing, I also

[1] Luke 11.
[2] Math. 16.
[3] Math. 18.
[4] Iohn 20.
[5] 2. Cor. 2.

so (*forgiue:*) for if I forgaue ought to any, I forgaue it for your sakes in the sight of Christ. As Paul deliuered this offender to Satan, and shut both the Church and heauen against him; so now vpon the detesting and forsaking of his sinne, hee restored him to the peace of the Church, communion of the Lordes table, and hope of Gods kingdome, from which before hee was excluded. And this Paul did not by preaching the word vnto the penitent; for as then hee was absent from Corinth, but by forgiuing him in the sight of Christ and his Church, as by his Apostolike power hee might. Both these keyes, the one of knowledge, the other of power,

[1] *Ambros. serm. 66.* [1] Ambrose mentioneth in his 66. Sermon, and likewise Origen in his 25. tractate vpon Matthew, adding a third keie, where hee

[2] *Orige. tract. 25. in Matth. ca. 23.* saieth; [2] Blessed are they that open the kingdome of heauen, either by their word, or by their good worke. for liuing well, and teaching rightly the word of trueth, they open the kingdom of heauen before men, whiles they enter themselues, and prouoke others to follow.

The meaning of these late writers it may bee, is not wholie to cast away the keie of power; but onely to drawe the wordes of Christ spoken to Peter and the rest of his Apostles, rather to the preaching of the Gospell, then to excluding from the Sacraments: and yet to the Church or Presbyterie, they reserue the power of the keies, that is, ful authoritie to excommunicate notorious and rebellious sinners. These men foresee, that if the power of the keies bee giuen to the Apostles and their successours; then haue laie Elders (who doe not succeed in the Apostles roumes and functions,) nothing to doe with the Apostles keies. Because this was enough, to marre the Laie Presbyterie, therefore the Patrones thereof conueie the wordes of Christ to another sense, and builde the ground-worke of excommunication vpon the 18. chapter of Saint Matthewes Gospell; where the Church is named, and not the Apostles. But this deuise is both a preiudice to the Apostles, and a Preamble to the laie Presbyterie; which all the Catholike Fathers with one voyce contradict, as I haue [3] before at large declared.

[3] *Supra ca. 9. fol. 115.*

Omitting the Laie Burgesses of the Church, as hauing no interest in the Apostles keies, it resteth in this place to bee consid-

ered,

red, to whom those keies were committed; whether equallie to all Presbyters, or chiefflie to Pastours and Bishops. The like must bee done for imposition of handes; whether that also pertained indifferently to all, or specially to Bishops. Before wee make a full resolution to these questions; we must search the time when Bishops first began; and by whom they were first ordained, and authorized. In which inquisition wee will begin with the report and opinion of the auncient Fathers; and so descend to the positions and assertions of such as in our age impugne and gainesay the vocation and function of Bishops.

Epiphanius report is this; [1] The Apostles could not suddenlie settle all things. There was *(present)* need of Presbyters and Deacons; for by those two the necessities of the Church might bee supplied. Where there was none found woorthie of the Bishoprike, the place remayned without a Bishop. But where there was neede, and fitte men found for the Episcopall function, Bishops were ordained. Euerie thing was not perfect from the beginning: but in processe of time, things were fitted for the furnishing of *(all)* occasions; the Church in this wise receiuing the perfection of her gouernment.

[1] *Epipha. contra Aerium, li. 3. hæres. 75.*

Ambrose somewhat differing from Epiphanius saieth; (*Apostolus*) [2] *Timotheum Presbyterum a se creatum Episcopum vocat, quia primi Presbyteri Episcopi appellabantur; vt recedente eo sequens ei succederet. Sed quia cœperunt sequentes Presbyteri indigni inueniri ad primatus tenendos, immutata est ratio, prospicimus concilio, vt non ordo sed meritum crearet Episcopum, &c.* Paul calleth Timothie created a Presbyter by himselfe (or with his owne handes) a Bishop, because the first Presbyters were called Bishops: so as (the first) departing, the next succeeded him. But for that the Presbyters which followed, beganne to bee found vnwoorthie to beare the chiefe regiment; the maner was chaunged, a Councill prouiding that not order but desert should make a Bishop appoynted by the iudgement of many Priestes, least an vnfitte person should rashlie vsurpe *(the place)* and bee an offence to many.

[2] *Ambros. in Epist. ad 4.*

Ieromes opinion is euident by his words, which I repeated before, & in effect hee affirmeth thus much; [1] Before there were factions in religiō, a Presbyter & a Bishop were both one; & the care of the Church was equallie deuided amongst many: but when the Teachers and Baptizers began to haue disciples after them, it was decreed throughout the world, that to stop the rising of Schismes and diuisions, one of the Presbyters should bee elected and exalted aboue the rest, to whom the whole care of the Church should pertaine; and hee was called a Bishop or Ouerseer. And so by the custome of the Church rather then by the trueth of the Lordes disposition, Bishops are greater then Presbyters, with whom they should rule the Church in common. I haue not altered or neglected any word in Ierome that is materiall.

[1] *Hiero. 3. in ca. 1. epist. ad Tit. & in epistola ad Euagrium.*

Some of our time, whom for their learning and paines in the Church of God I otherwise reuerence, though I follow not their iudgement in this point, [2] collect out of Ambrose and Ierome, that in the Apostles times Bishops did not differ from Presbyters; onely there was in euerie place a President of the Presbyterie, who called them together, and proposed things needefull to bee consulted of; and this kinde of Prioritie went round to all the Presbyters, euery man holding it by course for a season, (which some thinke was a weeke) euen as the Priestes of the lawe had their weekely courses to serue in the Temple. This kind of moderating the Presbyteries by course for a weeke or a moneth, they take to bee Apostolike; all other sortes of regiment vsed after in the Church, they suppose to be mens inuentions, and therefore they call the one fourme of gouernement diuine, the other humane.

[2] *In responsione ad tractationem de gradibus ministrorum Euangelii ab Hadriano Saravia editam.*

I could wish that in men of great giftes, affection and preiudice did not often ouer-rule learning and iudgement; but the greatest men in Christes Church (excepting alwayes the Apostles) haue enclined some to priuate opinions, some to knowen errours; and therefore later writers must thinke it no dishonour to haue their reasons weighed before they be receiued. for my vnderstanding I would gladly learne, where I shall reade, that Bishops in the Apostles times gouerned by weekes or yeeres; & that this kind of Prioritie went by course in euery place to all the Presbyters.

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I see it alleaged out of Ambrose, but I finde no such thing affirmed by Ambrose. He saith, [1] *Primi Presbyteri Episcopi appellabantur, vt recedente eo sequens ei succederet:* the first *(that is, the chiefest or eldest)* Presbyters were called Bishops, so as hee departing *(or leauing the place)* the next succeeded him. He doth not say, the first departed at the weekes or yeeres end; nor the next succeeded, and so round euerie man in his course; but when the first departed or left his place, (as by death, deprivation, desertion, translation, persecution, continuall sickenes or any other occasion) they did not choose another to succeede him, but the next in order and standing to him that departed, tooke his place. By this you may imagine that the Apostles at the first in euerie place where they came, tooke care to order the Presbyteries in such sorte, that euerie man might bee placed according to the measure of the gifts and graces, which he had receiued of the holie Ghost, and withall appointed the eldest or first to moderate their meetings vntill further order should be taken: and when the place was voide by death or otherwise, the next to succeede him without anie other or further consent or election of the people or Presbytery. But what can be more against Ambroses wordes and sense, then that a weekelie or monethly gouernement went round about to all the Presbyters by course, since he affirmeth, that not all, but onely the first Presbyters were Bishops? If all were Bishops by course, how could onelie the first haue that place? if all were first, who was second or third? By *primi Presbyteri*, the first Presbyters, he doth not meane all the Presbyters that were in the first age of the Church vnder the Apostles; for then they should all be Bishops, and none Presbyters, which is a contradiction in the verie wordes; but by *primus* and *sequens*, the first and the next, he meant those that were so placed in order by the Apostles.

[1] *Ambros. in 1. Thess. ca. 4.*

Let Ambrose himselfe tell you so much. [2] *Hic enim Episcopus est, qui inter Presbyteros primus est; vt omnis Episcopus Presbyter sit, non tamen omnis Presbyter Episcopus. Denique Timotheum Presbyterum ordinatum significat; sed quia ante se alterum non habebat, Episcopus erat. Vnde & quemadmodum Episcopum ordinet, ostendit. Neque enim fas erat aut licebat vt inferior ordinaret maiorem. Nemo enim crebat, quod non acceperit.* Hee is a Bishop, which is first amongst the Presbyters, so that euery Bishop is a Presbyter,

[2] *Ambros. in 1. epist. ad Timoth. ca. 3.*

Presbyter, but euery Presbyter is not a Bishop. (*for example*) Paul signifieth that he made Timothie a Presbyter, but because he had none other before him, hee was a Bishop. Whereupon (*Paul*) sheweth him howe hee should ordaine a Bishop: for it was neither meete, nor lawful, that the inferiour should ordaine the greater (*for superiour.*) No man can giue that which he hath not receiued. Euerie Presbyter was not a Bishop, saieth Ambrose, *ergo*, that office went not round by course along all the Presbyters. Againe, Timothie was therefore a Bishop, because he had none other before him; but if they went round by order, Timothie had many weekes another aboue him, and afore him, and then Timothie was no Bishop, but when his course came. Thirdly, if euery Presbyter were a Bishop in his turne, how fond a reason were this, which Ambrose maketh, that Timothie must be a Bishop before he could impose handes to ordaine a Bishop, since it is not lawfull for an inferiour to ordaine his superiour, and no man could giue that which he had not receiued? For if that office went by order, euerie man receiued Episcopall power to impose handes in his course, and consequently might giue it. Wherefore it is no part of Ambroses meaning or saying, that the Episcopall honour and dignitie was in the Apostles times imparted to all the Presbyters of euerie Church in their turnes; euerie of them enioying it a weeke or a peare; it is a dreame of yours, and so farre from all proofe and likelihoode, that for your learning and credites sake you shoulde not father it on Ambrose. What Ambrose prooueth for vs against the maine groundes of your newe Discipline, in place where, wee will not forget.

To returne to the ancient Fathers, and sincerely to declare their reportes without shortening or lengthening them for either side, Epiphanius speech is in part cleere, in part obscure. Obserue three points in him that appeare to be true, and accord with the iudgement of the rest of the Fathers. The first is, the Apostles coulde not at the newe planting of the Churches settle and dispose all thinges in such perfection, as in time they did. So saieth Ambrose, [1] *Postquam omnibus locis Ecclesiæ sunt constitutæ & officia ordinata, aliter composita res est, quam expectata.* After that Churches were established in all places, and offices

[1] *Ambros. in Ephes. ca. 4.*

fices (*distinguished or*) digested, they tooke an other order then at beginning. And why? The first regarde the Apostles had, was to gaine vnbeleeuers to Christ; the second, to gouerne such as were gained. And these two respects might best be performed by two contrarie courses. To encrease the Church, the more workemen, the better. For when the Harueſt is great, if [1] the Labourers bee fewe, the roumes can not be filled. To guide the Church, the fewer, the better; except it bee with counsell to aduise. For diuerse men haue diuers minds, and diuers meanings, and in a multitude of Gouernours, emulation and dissention are no rare sprynges. Wherefore no marueil though the Apostles tooke besides themselues as many helpers as they coulde to conuert the worlde vnto Christ; and yet tooke not vnto themselues as many Rulers as they coulde in euerie place to gouerne the beleeuers. By order of nature men must bee gotten together, afore they neede bee gouerned; and so in the building of the Church the number of Preachers at the first was more requisite then the choice of Gouernours. And for that cause Epiphanius second position is verie true, That Presbyters and Deacons (the one to labour in the worde and dispence the Sacraments, the other to releeue the poore and attend to diuine Seruice) were euerie where appointed by the Apostles. These were sufficient to beginne the Churches, and these were fittest to increase the Church. And therefore in many places, the Apostles left none other but these. If you aske, who then gouerned the Churches in those beginnings, I answere, the flocke was both augmented and directed by the Presbyters that laboured in the worde. The chiefe gouernement to impose handes and deliuer vnto Satan rested yet in the Apostles, who often [2] visited the Churches which they planted, and ordained Presbyters (as they passed) to supplie the wantes of euerie Church. The third point in Epiphanius reporte is this; that although it be not extant in the Apostles writings, that in euerie place where they came at first they left Bishops; yet the Scriptures do witnesse that Paul furnished some places with Bishops, as Ephesus and Creete with Timothie and Tite. Thus farre I see not what you can refell in Epiphanius.

[1] Luc. 10.

[2] Act. 15. & 14.

Perchance,

Perchance you will deride Epiphanius simplicitie, that could not discerne betwixt an Euangelist and a Bishop; for (as you maintaine) Timothie and Tite were Euangelists and not Bishops, and had an extraordinarie and no ordinarie calling. You can not charge Epiphanius with ignorance in this behalfe, but you must doe the like to the eldest and best learned Fathers of the Primitiue Church, namely, Eusebius, Ambrose, Chrysostome, Ierome, Oecumenius, Primasius and others; which affirme as Epiphanius doth, that Timothie was a Bishop ordeined by S. Paul. but thereof anon; as also whether an Euangelist might bee a Bishop or no; which conclusions of yours, though they be most fonde and vnsure, yet they be lately taken vp for Oracles.

That which may be doubted in Epiphanius, is this. The cause why Bishops wanted in some places was, saith he, the lacke of fit men to beare the office. It may be some will thinke it strange, that amongest so many Prophets, Pastours and Teachers as were in most of those Churches which Paul planted, not a fit man could be found for the Episcopal function, and yet afterward meete men were found for all the Churches in the worlde: but as that which Epiphanius saith, might be some cause of wanting Bishops at the first; so, if I be not deceiued, there were other causes that moued the Apostles not straighe wayes to place Bishops in euerie Church where they preached, which I will specifie, when the testimonies of Ambrose and Ierome be throughly perused.

Ambrose at first sight seemeth somewhat to dissent from Epiphanius, in that he thinketh the Churches had both Presbyters and Bishops left them by the Apostles; and the Presbyters were placed in an order, according to the deserts and worthines of eche man, by the Apostles and others that founded the Churches; and this rule delinered, that as the first and chiefest Presbyter (who was Bishop in name, and superiour in calling to the rest) failed, so the next should succeede in his rowme, and enioy the Episcopall chaire and power after his departure. And when some Presbyters did not answere the expectation which was had of them, but scandalized the Church, that course of standing in order to succeede was changed, and Bishops were chosen by the iudgement and liking of many Priests, to cut off vnworthie and offensiue men from the place. I could admit this report of Ambrose, but that he expresseth

presseth not when, and by whome this change begunne, he saieth, *Prospiciente Concilio*, A Councell (*foreseeing or*) prouiding, that not order, but merite should create a Bishop; but what Councell? If he meant a Councell of the Apostles, which is not expressed, but may well bee intended; (for the wordes stand indifferent to any Councell,) no testimonie can be weightier for Bishops then this of Ambrose; which is brought against them. If he meant others after the Apostles deaths, what authoritie had they to change the Apostolike gouernment; or by their decree to bind the whole world? But this I reserue till Ieromes witnesse bee repeated and examined.

Ierom in his wordes [1] before cited auoucheth three special things. first, that til dissentions sprang in the Church, Bishops and Presbyters were all one, and the Churches were gouerned by the common aduise of Presbyters, amongst (*whom*) the care of the Church was equally diuided. Next, that to roote out schismes rising verie fast through the Preachers and Presbyters factions, by a decree throughout the whole worlde, one of the Presbyters was chosen in euery Church, and set ouer the rest, and to him the whole care of the Church did euer after appertaine. Thirdly, that this subiection of the Presbyters vnder the Bishop, and maioritie of Bishops aboue Presbyters grewe rather by the custome of the Church, then by the trueth of the Lords disposition, for they should rule the Church in common. [1] pag. 215.

These wordes of Ierome may be either verie true according to the time that they be referred vnto, or verie false. If you so construe Ierome, that all the while the Apostles liued, Bishops were al one with Presbyters, and had no more charge nor power in the Church then Presbyters; you make Ierome contradict the Scriptures, himselfe, & the whole aray of all the ancient Fathers and Apostolike Churches, that euer were since Christs time; for all these affirme and proue the contrarie. But if you so expound Ierom that the Apostles for a time suffred the Presbyters to haue equall power and care in guiding the Church (themselues alwayes sitting at the sterne, and holding the helue whiles they were present in those parts of the worlde) till by the factions and diuisions of so manie gouernors the Churches were almost rent in peeces; and thereupon the Apostles forced, and set an other ouer in the Church then

was

was at first, and with the good liking of all the Churches, (either troubled with contentions, or iustly fearing the like euents in time to come) did commit eche place to one Pastour, leauing the rest to consult and aduise with him for the health and peace of the people, and by this example taught the whole Church what perpetuall rule to obserue after their deaths; Ierome saieth as much as I can, or doe desire. I come nowe to the quicke; let the Christian Reader marke this issue well in Gods name, and what side bringeth soundest and surest proofes, there let the verdict go.

Ierome prooueth by many Scriptures, that a Presbyter and Bishop were names indifferent, and often vsed to the same persons. Paul calling for the Presbyters of Ephesus saide vnto them; [1] Take heede to your selues, and to all the flocke, in which the holie Ghost hath set you ἐπισκόπους (Ouersees or) Bishops to feede the Church of God. Inscribing his Epistle to the Philippians, he saieth, [2] To all the Saintes which are at Philippi with the Bishops and Deacons. And so to Tite. [3] I left thee in Creete to ordaine Presbyters in euery Citie, if any be vnreprooueable for a Bishop must be vnreprooueable. Peter likewise writing to the Iewes dispersed, saieth, [4] The Presbyters which are amongst you I beseech, which am also a Presbyter, feede the flocke of God committed to you, ἐπισκοποῦντες, ouerseeing it, not constrainedly, but willingly.

[1] Act. 20.
[2] Philipp. 1.
[3] Tit. 1.
[4] 1. Pet. 5.

All the Presbyters that fed the flocke are in these places called Bishops: I grant it fully; the words are cleere. That hence you conclude you; *ergo*, the offices were then all one: Nay, *ergo*, the names then were common. Otherwise, how thinke you by this argument: Peter calleth himselfe [5] συμπρεσβύτερος, a fellow Presbyter with the rest; are therefore the Apostleship and the Presbytership both one office: Of Iudas Peter saieth in the Acts [6] τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λαβέτω ἕτερος, his Bishoprike let an other take. Will you grant, that an Apostle doth not differ from a Bishop: Admit you the one, and I will receiue the other. Names may be common, though offices be distinct.

[5] 1. Pet. 5.
[6] Act. 1.

There were then at Ephesus, and amongst the dispersed Iewes Bishops, but such as were Presbyters; and they many, not one. Distinguish the times, and the Scriptures will agree. There was a time,

time, (as Ierome telleth you) when the Churches were gouerned by the common aduise of the Presbyters. In this time spake Paul to the Presbyters of Ephesus, in this time wrate Peter to the Presbyters amongst the Iewes. After this the factions of the Teachers caused the Apostles to establish an other kinde of gouernement, and to commit the chiefe care of eche Church, which they had planted, to some chosen person that should ouersee the flocke as Pastour of the place, the rest being his helpers to disperse the word, and aduisers to gouerne the Church. *If you proone that, you say somewhat to the matter.*] If I proove it not better then you doe your Laie Elders, I am content to renounce the one, as I doe the other. *Will you proone it by the Scripture?*] I will so proove it, as you shall not refuse it, vnlesse you reiect both the Booke and Church of God. *What will you proone?*] That the Apostles in their life time did institute one Pastour to take the chiefe care of one Church; and consequentlie the change which Ierome speaketh of, from the common and equall regiment of Presbyters, to the particular and preeminent moderation of the Churches in eche place by Bishoppes, was not made after the Apostles were dead, but whiles they liued; and then of force by their decree. for during their times none might interpose themselues to change and alter the fourme of the Church Discipline setled by them, without their leaue and allowance.

If it were euer decreed by them, it would bee founde in their writings; and that it can not. Besides, had it beene their doing, it might iustly be called Gods disposition and ordinance, which Ierome saieth it may not.] Their doctrine in deede doeth plainelie appeare by their writings; their successours doe not. For howe should the Apostles declare by their pennes, who succeeded them after their deaths? Is not the whole Church of Christ a lawfull and sufficient witnesse in that case? If wee beleeue not the Churches, that were directed and ordered by the Apostles preaching and presence, nor their Schollers that liued with them, and next succeeded in their roumes; who that wise is, will beleeue our bare surmises & seelie coniectures, of things done 1500. yeeres before we were borne? Yet if the Scriptures do not signifie so much, we will loose

loose it. But before I enter to proue it, I will search out the right cause why the Apostles did not not in euery place where they came presently erect Bishops to gouerne the Churches which they planted.

The reasons why the Apostles did not at the first preaching of the Gospell commit the Churches to the regiment of Bishops, I finde were these three. First; they reserued the chiefe power of imposing hands, and punishing notorious offendors to themselues, whom Christ made bishops & ouerseers of his Church. For though to feede, leade, and attend the flocke, they tooke the Presbyters to be their helpers; yet the weightiest matters of the church, as giuing the graces of Gods spirite, and deliuering vnto Satan, they retained in their owne handes, so long as they were in those places or parts of the worlde. The second is that which Epiphanius noted, that although there were many endued with excellent gifts to preach the word, yet the Apostles would trust none with the chiefe charge of the Churches, till they had fully seene, and perfectly tried, as wel the soundnes of their mindes, as greatnes of their gifts. Thirdly, lest they should seeme to seeke the aduancing of their followers, more then the conuerting of vnbeleeuers; they suffered the Churches to take a triall what equalitie of many Gouernours would doe; and when the fruites thereof proued to be dissention and confusion, the Apostles were forced to commit the Churches at their departures to certaine tried & approoued men to be chiefe Pastours of the seuerall places; and the Churches were all as willing to receiue them, finding by experience what continuall schismes and heresies grew by the peruersnesse of Teachers, and could not be repressed by the confused gouernment of the Presbyters, which were many in number, and equall in power.

None of these things are expressed in the Scriptures.] If the fathers alone did witnesse them, say we not much more for Bishops, then you do for Lay Elders: but you shall see the grounds of their reports testified euen in the Scriptures. That the Apostles at the first planting of the Churches, kept to themselues the power of imposing hands and deliuering vnto Satan, which the Fathers call Episcopall power, is no newes in the Scriptures; they could not loose that, vnlesse they lost their Apostleship withall: you must shew by the Scriptures where they committed this power to the

Presbyters

Presbyters of euery place; or elſe our aſſertion ſtandeth good that they retained it to themſelues. For of their hauing it, there is no doubt; of their committing it to the Presbyters of euery Church, there is no proofe. And therefore the Fathers doe vtterlie denie, that the Apoſtles deliuered that power to any but to Biſhops. Their proofes be ſtronger then you take them for, howſoeuer you will ſhift them.

There were Presbyters at Epheſus, beſides Timothie, and in Creete, beſides Tite; and yet Paul left the one at Epheſus to impoſe handes, and the other in Creete to ordaine Presbyters in euerie Citie. If without them the Presbyters of either place might haue doone it; ſuperfluous was both Paules charge they ſhould do it, and direction how they ſhould do it. But his committing that power and care to them, prooueth in the iudgement of the ancient Fathers, that the Presbyters without them coulde not doe it. Euangeliſts you ſay they were; and not Biſhops. Admit they were. Then as yet neither Epheſus, nor Creete had anie that might impoſe hands, and yet had they Presbyters; And conſequently this power to impoſe handes was at that time reſerued from the Presbyters to the Apoſtles and their deputies.

Saint Paul ſaieth moſt apparantly the Presbyterie might impoſe hands. for Timothie receiued from them impoſition of handes.] I haue tolde you alreadie, that take the worde how you will, you can prooue no ſuch thing thence. If it ſignifie there the degree of a Presbyter which Timothie then receiued, as Ierome expoundeth the place; it commeth nothing neere your purpoſe. If you take it for the aſſemblie then gathered, when Timothie was ordained, Chryſoſtome telleth you, they were more then Presbyters; for otherwiſe they could not lay hands on Timothie to make him a Biſhop. Chryſoſtome, you thinke, erred in not expounding the place as you doe. Then giue Saint Paul leaue to tell you that hee was preſent in the Presbyterie, when Timothie was ordained, and that he impoſed hands on Timothie. But this I haue handled before, to which I referre you; I onely nowe put you in minde, that place will beare no ſuch concluſion.

And as the Apoſtles reſerued impoſition of handes from the Presbyters to themſelues, ſo did they keepe the deliuering of offendours vnto Satan in their owne power. [1] If any obey not our [1] 2. Theſſ. 3.

sayings, note him by a letter, saith Paul, and keepe no company with him. To what ende should they note him by a letter vnto Paul, vnlesse Paul had reserued the punishing of such offendours vnto himselfe? [1] Shall I come vnto you with a rodde, or in the spirite of meekenesse? [2] If I come againe, I will not spare *(such as)* haue heeretofore sinned, and not repented. I trust this be plaine enough to proove, that the Apostles kept the punishing of sinnes to themselues, and referred them not ouer to the Presbyters.

[1] 1. Corinth. 4

[2] 2. Cor. 12. & 13.

The Apostles hauing of this power doth not exclude the Presbyters from hauing the same; for at Corinth Paul not onely willeth the Church to excommunicate that incestuous sinner, but rebuketh them for not doing it before he wrate.] Paul doth not reproove them for not [3] deliuering that sinner vnto Satan, but for not sorrowing that he might haue beene put from among them. Had they written of this notorious offence when they wrate of other things to the Apostle, that he might haue considered of the offendours punishement; they had doone their dueties. they could maintaine factions, and swell one against another through pride of their gifts: but they did not sorrow, to see so grieuous a crime committed and continued in the eyes both of beleeuers and Infidels, nor so much as signifie the same by their letters, as desiring to haue such a one excluded from their Christian fellowship. This the Apostle chargeth them with; hee goeth no further. They shoulde haue [4] noted him by a letter vnto Paul, and kept no companie with him, til the Apostle had decreed what to do with him.

[3] 1. Corinth. 5

[4] 2. Thess. 3.

All this doeth you no good; for the Apostles neither were, nor could be Bishops.] I am sure all the Fathers with one mouth affirme the Apostles both might be and were Bishops. Cyprian, [5] *Apostolos, id est, Episcopos, Dominus elegit.* The Lord himselfe chose the Apostles, that is, the Bishops. [6] *Apostoli Episcopi sunt.* The Apostles are Bishops, saieth Ambrose. [7] *Romæ fuerunt primi Petrus & Paulus Apostoli idem ac Episcopi.* At Rome the first were Peter and Paul, both Apostles and Bishops, saieth Epiphanius. [8] Iames, saieth Chrysostome, had the office of a Bishop at Ierusalem. And so Eusebius. [9] Iames, was the first, that after the ascention of our Sauiour had the Episcopall

[5] *Cypr. lib. 3. epist. 9.*

[6] *Ambros. in Ephes. ca. 4.*

[7] *Epiphan. contra hæres. lib. 1. hæres. 27.*

[8] *Chrysost. homil. 3. in Acta Apost.*

[9] *Euseb. lib. 3. ca. 5.*

copall seate (*at Ierusalem.*) Ierome himselfe that is thought to speake much against the state of Bishops, saith; [1] Peter after the Bishoprike of Antioch helde the Sacerdotall chayre at Rome. And againe. [2] Iames called the Lordes brother after the Lordes passion was straight ordained Bishop of Ierusalem by the Apostles. Theodoret. (*Paul*) [3] sheweth plainely, that (*Epaphroditus*) had the Episcopall function committed to him, by calling him an Apostle. What neede wee more? I remembred you before, Peter himselfe calleth the Apostleship, [4] a Bishopship. And why not? if ἐπισκοπὴ be to ouersee the Lords flocke; who better deserued that name then the Apostles?

[1] *Hiero. de script. eccles. in Pet.*
[2] *Ibidem in Jacob.*
[3] *Theodoret. in Philipp. ca. 2.*
[4] Act. 1.

They were more then Bishops.] So were they more then Presbyters, and yet Saint Peter coulde tell howe to speake, when hee called himselfe συμπρεσβύτερον, a Presbyter, as well as others. *Bishops are ouerseers but of one place, Apostles of many.*] Bishops were fastened to one place, not by the force of their name, but by the order of the holie Ghost, who sent Apostles to ouersee manie places, and settled Pastours to ouersee one: but hee that is ouerseer of twentie Cities, is ouerseer of euerie one. And therefore the Apostles were Bishops, and more then Bishops, euen as Iohn was [5] more then a Prophet, and yet [6] a Prophet. *Confound you their offices?*] I keepe them distinct, in that I say, euerie Apostle was a Prophet, a Bishop, and a Presbyter; but not euerie Presbyter, Bishop, or Prophet, was an Apostle. They were all [7] the Ministers of Christ, feeders of his flocke, and stewardes of his mysteries; but the Apostles in a greater measure of grace, higher manner of calling, and mightier force of Gods Spirite then the rest. And whatsoeuer becommeth of the names, it can not be denyed, but the Apostles had that power of imposing handes, and deliuering vnto Sathan, which they after imparted vnto Bishops. And therefore whiles they remayned in or neere the places, where they planted Churches, there was no such need of Bishops; the Apostles alwayes supplying the wantes of those Churches with their presence, Letters or Messengers, as the cause required. But when they were finally to forgoe those parts; then began they to prouide for the necessitie and securitie of the Churches,

[5] Matth. 11.
[6] Matth. 21. Luc. 1. ver. 76.
[7] 1. Corinth. 4

and left such fitte men as they had, with Episcopall power, as their substitutes to guide the Churches which they had founded.

The second cause, why Bishops were not euery where trusted with the Churches at the first erecting thereof, is that which Epiphanius remembreth, and Paul toucheth in many places. [1] I trust to send Timotheus shortly vnto you. I haue no man like minded, who will faithfully care for your matters. For all seeke their owne, and not that which is Iesus Christes. And to Timothie; [2] This thou knowest, that all they which are in Asia, bee turned from me. [3] At my first answering no man assisted mee, but all forsooke mee. Demas hath forsaken mee and embraced this present worlde. Wherefore Epiphanius surmise, that the scarcitie of tried and approoued men, was some cause why euerie place was not furnished at the first with a Bishop; is neither vnlikelie nor vnpertaining to the purpose.

[1] Philip. 2.
[2] 2. Timoth. 1.
[3] Timoth. 4.

The third reason I take to be this; that as Presbyters to labour in the word and augment the Church were presently needefull, the haruest being no lesse then the whole worlde; and Bishops to moderate the number of Teachers, and to ouersee as well the feeders as the flocke were not so requisit whiles the Apostles (who tooke care of those things themselues) preached in or neere the places; so the wisedome of God woulde not impose that fourme of gouernement on the Church, but after long triall and good experience, what neede the Churches should haue of it. This course he obserued with the people of Israel, not straight way to associate the seuentie Elders vnto Moses; but to let them alone vntill Moses was wearied with the burden, and the multitude grieued for want of dispatch, and Iethro seeing the Iudge afflicted with paines and the people discontented with delayes, aduised an other way; which the whole assemblie liked, God confirmed, and Moses executed. In like manner Christ suffered his Church to trie, whiles his Apostles yet liued, what equalitie and plentie of Gouernours would worke in euerie place; and when it fell out in proofe, vpon the Apostles absence, that so many leaders, so many followers, so many Rulers, so many factions out rurie Church in sunder; the Apostles were forced (the world, as Ierom saith decreing it, that is, the faithfull throughout the world being there with

therewith contented and thereof desirous) to commit their places and Churches not to Presbyters in common and equall authoritie, but to their Disciples and followers (whome afterward they called Bishops) in a superioritie, leauing vnto them as vnto their successors the chiefest honor and power of imposing handes and vsing the keyes, and resting specially on their care and paines to ouersee both Teachers and beleeuers, though the Presbyters were not excluded from helping and assisting them to feed and guide the flocke of Christ.

This you say: but Ierome saith, It was not the Lords disposition by his Apostles, but rather a decree and custome of the Church that first made Bishops to differ from Presbyters.] Ierome saieth it was decreed throughout the world, to change the equalitie of Presbyters into the superioritie of Bishops: by whome it was so decreed, hee doeth not mention in this place; but if I proue, as well by the Scriptures, as by Ierome himselfe, and the rest of the Fathers, that this change began in the Apostles times, and was both seene and approoued by them; I euince it to bee an Apostolike ordinance. *Then must it also be diuine, which Ierome denyeth.*] What Ierom meaneth by the trueth of the Lords ordinance, I wil after examine; I must proue in order, I shall else but confound both my selfe and the Reader. In the meane time I make this reason out of Ierome. When the schismes of Presbyters beganne dangerously to teare the Churches in peeces, then were the Churches committed to the chiefe and preeminent charge of one; but those schismes and factions troubled all the Churches euen in the Apostles times; vnder them therefore beganne the change of gouernement, which Ierome speaketh of.

At Corinth indeede there were contentions, who were baptized of the greatest men, which Ierome doeth exemplifie; but the factions must be more generall and deadly that should cause an alteration of gouernement throughout the world.] So there were euen in the Apostles times. To those of Corinth he saith, [1] When you come together in the Church I heare there are dissentions amongst you, and I beleeue it in part. for there must be heresies euen among you, that they which are approoued amongst you might be knowen. And whē he saith, there must be heresies amongst you to manifest the good from the bad, he meaneth not only at Corinth, but

[1] 1. Corint. 11.

but euery where; which came to passe accordingly. To the Romanes he saith; [1] Marke them diligently, which cause diuisions and offences contrary to the Doctrine which yee haue learned, and auoyde them. Amongest the Galathians were [2] some that intended to peruert the Gospel of Christ, and to carrie them into an other doctrine, bewitching them that they shoulde not obey the trueth. To the Philippians; [3] Beware of dogges, beware of euill workemen: many walke, (of whome I tolde you often, and tell you now weeping) that are enemies of the crosse of Christ, whose ende is damnation, whose God is their belie, and glorie to their shame, which minde earthly things. With the Colossians were some that [4] burdened the Churches with traditions, euen with the commaundements and doctrines of men, and holding not the head aduanced themselues in those things which they neuer sawe, and rashly puft vp with fleshly mindes *(beguiled the simple)* with a shew of humblenesse and worshipping of Angels. At Thessalonica, the resurrection of the dead was impugned; and some [5] troubled the people with visions, with fained messages, and forged letters in the Apostles name, [6] as if the day of Christ were at hand. It came to passe in euery place which Paul foretolde the Presbyters of Ephesus. [7] This I know (saith he) that after my departure shall grieuous wolues enter in amongst you, not sparing the flocke. Yea of your owne selues shall rise men speaking peruerse thinges to draw Disciples after them. Neither were the Gentiles onelie subiect to this danger, but the Iewes also as Peter forewarned them. [8] There shalbe false teachers amongst you, which priuily shall bring in damnable heresies, euen denying the Lord that hath bought them, & many shal follow their damnable waies; & through couetousnes with fained words shal they make marchandise of you. And so Iohn. [9] Euen now there are many Antichrists. [10] many false prophets and [11] deceiuers are gone out into the world.

[1] Rom. 16.
[2] Galat. 1. & 3.
[3] Philipp. 3.
[4] Coloss. 2.
[5] 1. Thess. 4.
[6] 2. Thess. 2.
[7] Actes 20.
[8] 2. Pet. 2.
[9] 1. Ioh. 2. & [10] 4.
[11] *epist. Ioh.* 2.

To preuent these deceiuers, and repelle these peruerse Teachers; Paul was forced, whiles he liued & laboured in other places, to send speciall substitutes to the Churches most endangered; and by their paines & ouersight to cure the soares & heale the wounds, which these pestilent and vnquiet spirits had made. So at Ephe-

sus,

sus, when the teachers and doctors began to [1] affirme they knewe not what, euen [2] prophane and doting fables, [3] whose word did fret as a canker, and [4] crept into houses leading captiue simple women laden with sinnes, and led with diuers lusts; and others [5] having itching eares gate them teachers after their owne lusts and turned their eares from the trueth to fables; Paul sent Timothie thither to [6] stay these prophane and vaine bablings, to [7] commande that they taught no strange doctrine, to [8] impose hands on such as were fitte, to [9] receiue accusations against sinnefull and vngodly Presbyters, and to [10] rebuke them openly according to their deserts, to [11] reiect yong and wanton widowes, and to see true [12] Labourers in the word honored and cherished, and finally to ouersee the whole house of God and euerie part thereof as well Teachers and Presbyters, as Deacons, widowes and hearers. And not onely instructed him how he shoulde [13] behaue himselfe as a Gouernour in the Church, but [14] charged him before the liuing God and his elect Angels, that hee obserued those things without respecting persons, or any inclining to partes. Likewise in Creete, when [15] many vaine talkers and deceiuers of minds, [16] subuerted whole houses, and loaded the Church with [17] Iewish fables and commaundements of men; Paul left Tite there to [18] redresse things amisse, to [19] stop their mouthes that taught things which they ought not for filthie lucres sake, to [20] stay fooliſh questions and contentions about the Law, [21] to reiect heretikes after one or two admonitions, and [22] sharply to rebuke with all authoritie, not suffering any man to despise him; as also to [23] ordaine good and religious Presbyters and Bishops in euerie Citie, that shoulde be able to exhort with wholsome doctrine, and improoue gainesayers. And here first did Paul by writing expresse, that he placed substitutes where need was, with Episcopall power and honour to guide and rule the Church of God.

1 1.Tim.1.
2 1.Tim.4.
3 2.Tim.2.
4 2.Tim.3.
5 2.Tim.4.
6 2.Tim.2.
7 1.Tim.1.
8 1.Tim.5.
9 1.Tim.5.
10 1.Tim.5.
11 1.Tim.5.
12 Verse 17.
13 1.Tim.3.
14 1.Tim.5.
15 Tit.1. verse 10.
16 Verse 11.
17 Verse 14.
18 Verse 5.
19 Verse 11.
20 Tit.3.vers.9.
21 Verse 10.
22 Tit.2. verse 15.
23 Tit.1.ver.5.

These examples make nothing to your purpose. for first they did none of these things, but with the aduise and consent of the Presbyterie; which Bishops do not. Next, they were Euangelists and no Bishops, and in that respect might haue this speciall deputation from the Apostle. It may bee your learning will serue you to say, that Paul left both these to rule the Church in Creete and

at Epheſus for a weeke, and in their order, as the reſt of the Preſbyters did; but ſuch teſts if you dare aduenture them will cracke both your cauſe and your credite. Paul belike prayed Timothie to ſtay at Epheſus to call the Presbyterie together and to aſke voyces, and to doe iuſt what pleaſed the reſt to decree; but if you elude and fruſtrate the wordes of the Apoſtle with ſuch additions, not onelie beſides, but againſt the Text, you can decerne none ſaue ſuch, as will not beleeue Saint Paul himſelfe if hee ſhoulde ſpeake againſt the Lay Presbyterie. For our partes wee take the wordes as they ſtand, and ſo did the Catholike Fathers before vs; being perſuaded that Paul had witte enough to diſcerne to whome hee ſhoulde write for the performaunce of theſe things, and not to miſtake Timothie, for the Presbyterie. If Timothie had nothing elſe to do, but to conſult what pleaſed the Presbyters to determine in euerie of theſe pointes; howe childiſh an ouerſight was it for Paul to ſkip the whole bench of them; and to charge and adiure him to ſee theſe preceptes inuiolably kept without ſparing or fearing anie man?

For thus you muſt expound, or rather impriſon and fetter euerie worde that Paul ſpeaketh in thoſe three Epiſtles. Commaunde with all authoritie; receiue not an accuſation againſt a Presbyter, but vnder two or three witneſſes; rebuke them that ſinne; reiect heretikes after two warnings; refuſe yoonger widowes; ſtaie vaine contentions and vnprofitable queſtions, ordaine Elders in euerie Citie; impoſe handes haſtily on no man; that is as you interprete, call the Presbyterie together, and aske them whether they be contented it ſhall be ſo or no. And ſo, I adiure and charge thee before God and Chriſt, and the elect Angels, that thou obſerue theſe precepts inuiolable and vnblameable, that is, obſerue them if the Presbyterie will conſent and agree vnto thee, elſe not. But I thinke you dare not ſtand to theſe mockeries of the Scriptures; and therefore you will rather flie to the ſecond part of your anſwere, that they were authorized to do theſe things, as Euangeliſts, and not as Biſhops.

We expreſſed ſo much, that they were Euangeliſts, and no Biſhops.] Euangeliſts you ſhould ſay and Biſhops. for when they left following the Apoſtles and were affixed to certaine places with

with this power and authoritie which I haue mentioned, what els could they bee but Bishops? They assisted the Apostles present, and supplied their absence, and did continue the Churches in that state in which the Apostles left them. Nowe if the Apostles in respect of this power and care, were Bishops when they staied in any place; much more the Euangelists. If the same fidelitie and authoritie be still needful, and therefore perpetuall in the Church of God; they did these things not by their Euangelisticall calling, which is long since ceased, but by their Episcopall, which yet doeth and must remaine. For if this power and preheminence descended from them to their successours; it is euident this commission and charge was Episcopal, since no part of their Euangelship was deriued to their after-commers.

We cannot endure to haue them called or counted Bishops.] Indeed if succession of Episcopall power came from the Apostles to them, and so to their successours; we shall soone conclude that Bishops came from the Apostles, and therefore you doe wisely to resist it: but by your patience you must endure it, the best Stories and Writers of the Primitiue Church, doe make them Bishops, and likewise Pauls precepts to them, the very paternes of Episcopall charge and duetie. [1] Timothie, saieth Eusebius, ἱστόρηται, is by the stories reported to bee the first that tooke the bishoprike of Ephesus, as Tite also did of the churches in Creete. Ierome, (whose wordes you strongly presse to proue there were no Bishops in the Apostles times, but such as were equall with Presbyters and not superiours vnto them;) saieth, [2] Timothie was ordained Bishop of Ephesus by blessed Paul; and Tite Bishop of Creete preached the Gospell there, and in the Islands round about. Ambrose. *(Paul)* [3] by his epistle instructeth Timothie, now created a Bishop, how he ought to order the Church. And so of the other. [4] The Apostle had consecrated Tite to be a Bishop, and therefore he warneth him to be carefull in ecclesiasticall ordination. Chrysostome. [5] Paul saieth in his epistle to Timothie, Fulfill thy ministerie, when he was now a Bishop. for that *(Timothie)* was a Bishop, *(Paul)* declareth by his writing thus vnto him, Laie hands hastilie on no man. And againe, which was giuen thee by the imposition of handes of the Presbyterie, for by no meanes Presbyters could ordaine a Bishop. And shewing how Euange-

[1] *Eusch. li. 3. ca. 4.*

[2] *Hiero de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis.*

[3] *Ambrosij praefatio in epistolam 1. ad Tim. & ad Tit.*

[4] *Chrysost. in epistolam ad Philippenses hom. 1.*

lists

lists might become Bishops, he saith [1] Why doeth Paul write one lie to Timothie and Tite, where as Silas and Luke were (*also his Disciples and*) endewed with marueilous vertues? Because hee had nowe deliuered to them the gouernement and charge of the Church; the others as yet he did carrie about with him. Epiphanius. [2] The diuine speach of the Apostle teacheth who is a Bishop, and who a Presbyter; in saying to Timothie a Bishop, Rebuke not a Presbyter, but exhort him as a father. How could a Bishop rebuke a Presbyter; if he had no power ouer a Presbyter? as also; Receiue not an accusation against a Presbyter, but vnder two or three witnesses. Theodoret. [3] Titus was a notable Disciple of Paul, & ordained by Paul Bishop of Creete, and authorized to make the Bishops that were vnder him.

Vincentius Lirinensis writing vpon some words of Paul to Timothie saith, [4] O Timothie, (that is) O Priest, O Teacher, if the diuine grace hath made thee meete for witte, exercise and learning, be thou Beseleel, (*that is*, a most skilfull workeman) of the spiritual Temple. Augustine instructing all Pastours by Paules words to Tite, addeth, [5] Was it saide in vaine to the seruant of God now eminent amongst the members of the chiefe Pastour, Shewe thy selfe an example of good workes to all? Gregorie. [6] Paul admonisheth his scholler (*Timothie*) now Prelate of a flocke, saying; Attend to reading til I come. Primasius. [7] Timothie had the grace of prophecie, *cum ordinatione Episcopatus*, together with the order of a Bishop. And (*that grace was*) [8] the blessing which Timothie at the time of his making Bishop receiued by the imposition of (*Paules*) hands. Oecumenius interlacing the words of Paul to Timothie, saieth, Neglect not the gift which is in thee. [9] That is, either Doctrine, or the office of a Bishop. for it was the grace of God, that being yoong, hee deserued to be made a Pastour. *Which was giuen thee by prophecie*,] for by the commaundement of the holie Ghost Bishops were made, and not at all aduenture. *With imposition of hands of the Presbyterie*.] By Presbyters hee meaneth Bishops: for Presbyters did not ordaine (*him being*) a Bishop. Yea, which of all the auncient Fathers doeth not with Tertullian confesse that the Epistles of Paul to Timothie and Tite, [10] were made concerning the ecclesiastical state? doeth not with Chrysostome,

1 *Chrysost. præfatione in 1. epistolam ad Timotheum.*

2 *Epipha. hæres. 75.*

3 *Theodoret. apud Oecumenium in præfatione epist. ad Titum.*

4 *Vincentius contra hæreses.*

5 *August. de pastoribus, ca. 4.*

6 *Gregor. in Pastoral. part. 2. ca. 11.*

7 *Primas. ad Timotheum. ca. 4.*

8 *& 2. ca. 1.*

9 *Oecumenius. ca. 9. in 1. ad Timoth. 4.*

10 *Tertul. contra Marcionem, li. 5.*

seſtome, Ambroſe, and Oecumenius apply the words & precepts of the Apoſtle written to them as [a] ſpoken to all Biſhops? You ſay Euangeliſts could be no Biſhops; y whole Church of Chriſt with one reſolution ſaid they were biſhops; & whatſoeuer Paul ſpeaketh to them, pertaineth to all Biſhops and Paſtors: and of al others Ieromes confeſſion is moſt cleere in that behalfe. Howe then coulde Ierom doubt but the vocation and function of Biſhops was an Apoſtolike ordinance, and conſequently confirmed and allowed by the wiſedome of Gods ſpirit in his Apoſtles?

[a] Chryſoſt. homil. 10. in 1. ad Timoth. [b] Ambroſ. in 6. ca. 1. ad Timoth. [c] Oecumenius in 1. ad Timoth. ca. 5.

Saint Iohn in his Reuelation will aſſure you, that the Sonne of God willed him to write to the [a] ſeuen ſtarres and Angels of the ſeuen Churches of Aſia, that is, to the ſeuen Paſtours and Biſhops of thoſe ſeuen places. Whereby it is euident, that not onely the Apoſtles were liuing, when one ſuperiour gouerned the Churches; but the Lord himſelfe with his owne voice confirmed that kinde of regiment. I do not feare leſt with Origen, you will weſt the place to the Angels in heauen, & ſay that [b] in euery Church there were two Biſhops, one viſible another inuiſible; S. Auguſtine hath learnedly quenched that error. [c] If (*the Lord*) woulde haue had thoſe words vnderſtood of the Angels of the higher heauens, and not of the Rulers of the Church, hee woulde not haue afterward added, But I haue ſomewhat againſt thee, becauſe thou haſt left thy firſt loue: remember therefore whence thou art fallen, and repent. This can not be ſpoken of the heauenly Angels, who always retaine their loue, whence they that fell are the Diuell and his Angels. Therefore by the diuine voice, vnder the name of an Angell, the Ruler (*or ouerſeer*) of the Church is praiſed. And againe. [d] The Angels of the Churches (*in the Apocalypſe*) ought not to be vnderſtoode to be any but the Biſhops or Rulers of the Churches. If Iohn in his time ſawe thoſe ſeuen Churches gouerned by ſeuen Paſtours or Biſhops; then was the common and equal gouernement of Presbyters before that time changed. If Chriſt called them Starres and Angels of the Churches, they were no humane inuention after the Apoſtles were dead and buried.

[a] Reue. 1. 2. & 3.

[b] Orig homil. 13. in Lucam.

[c] Auguſt. epiſt. 162.

[d] Idem homil. 2. in Apocal.

You ſee Ierome ſaideth, the regiment of Biſhops came not into the Church by the truth of the Lords diſpoſition.] You doe not alleadge Ierom, becauſe you admit or regard what he ſaith; you onely ſnatch

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at some words in him, which seeme to serue your humours; otherwise, you receiue no part of his report. In the place which you bring against Bishops, Ierome saieth; that at the first when Presbyters gouerned, [1] *Ecclesiæ cura æqualiter inter plures diuidebatur*, the *(charge or)* care of the Church was equally diuided amongst many. You say no; there was neuer any such time, it were lacke of wisedome so to thinke. Your words be, [2] *Neque enim ille quum diceret Ecclesias imtio fuisse communi Presbyterorum consilio gubernatas, ita desipuisse existimandus est, vt somniaret neminem ex Presbyteris illi cœtui præfuisse.* (*Ierome*) when hee said the Churches were at the first gouerned by the common aduise of the Presbyters, may not be thought to haue bene SO FOOLISH, as to dreame that none of the Presbyters was chiefe of that assemblie. Ierome saieth the care of the Church was equally deuided amongst them; you say it were a dreame and a follie so to suppose. And thus is Ierome rewarded for bearing witnesse to your Presbyterall regiment.

1 Hiero. in ca. 2. epist. ad Tit.

2 Ad tractationem de gradibus ministrorum Euangelii in ca. 23.

Againe, Ierome saieth that vpon the primarie dissentions of Presbyters, it was decreed in the whole world; [3] *Vt omnis Ecclesiæ cura ad vnum pertineret*, that the whole care *(or charge)* of the Church should pertaine to one. This you cannot digest; for if this bee true, your late Elders had nothing to doe with Church matters since Bishops began. Ieromes whole tale therefore, your selues reiect as vntrue; onely you hold fast the latter ende, which you vnderstand not, and thence you would proove, that the gouerning of the Church by Bishops, was mans inuention contrarie to Gods institution. In all reason when you impugne the two partes of your owne witnesses deposition, wee might refuse the third; but wee will not, presuming that Ierome would not so grossely contradict himselfe, as to say the superioritie of Bishops aboue Presbyters was, and was not an Apostolike ordinance.

3 Hier. in epistolam ad Tit. ca. 1.

Ieromes words then, that the Bishops maioritie aboue Presbyters came [4] rather by the custome of the Church, then by the trueth of the Lordes disposition, may bee two wayes construed. First, that by the trueth of the Lordes disposition, hee meaneth a precept from Christes mouth; and by the custome of the Church, hee vnderstandeth a continuation of that regiment euen from the Apostles.

4 In ca. 1. epist. ad Titum.

Apostles. For [1] Veritas is often taken with the auncient Fathers for a trueth written in the Scriptures, & [1] consuetudo for a thing deliuered by hand from the Apostles, which otherwise they call a tradition. And so though there bee no precept from Christ in writing for that kind of gouernement; yet the perpetuall custome of the Church prooueth it to be an Apostolike ordinance.

[1] Vide Tertul. de corona Milit. [1] Cyprianum contra Stephani. [1] Concilium Carthag. de bapti. & and. heretic. [2] Auguſt. contra Donatiſt. li. 4. ca. 24.

Another sense of Ieromes wordes may be this. At the first for a time the Presbyters with common aduise and equall care guided the Church vnder the Apostles; [3] *paulatim verò ad vnum omnem sollicitudinem esse delatam*; but (after Bishops were appointed) the whole care *(thereof)* was by litle and litle deriued vnto one; and so at length by custome, Presbyters were vtterly excluded from all aduise and counsell (whereof Ambrose complaineth,) and Bishops only intermedled with the regiment of the Church. This maner of subiection in Presbyters, & prelation in bishops, grew only in continuance of time, & not by any ordinance of Christ or his Apostles. At first, ỳ Presbyters were left as in part of the charge of ỳ part of the dignitie. This seemeth to be the right intent of Ieroms speach, by the words ỳ follow. for to reuoke the soueraignte of Bishops ouer Presbyters to the trueth of ỳ deuine ordinance, he saith; (Nouerint) [4] *in communi debere Ecclesiam regere, imitantes Mosem, qui cum haberet in potestate solus praesse populo Israel, septuaginta elegit cum quibus populum iudicaret.* Let the Bishops know, that (*according to the trueth of the Lordes disposition, howsoeuer the custome of the Church now be to the contrarie*) they should rule the Church in common *(with the Presbyters)* after the example of Moses, who when it laie in his power to be Ruler alone ouer the people of Israel, he chose seuentie to helpe him iudge the people. What they ought to doe, that was the trueth of the Lordes disposition. now they ought to doe as Moses did. What? to haue all Gouernours equall? no; but when they might rule alone, to ioyne with them others in the fellowship of their power and honour, as Moses did. Moses did not abrogate his superioritie aboue others; but tooke seuentie Elders into part of his charge. This saieth Ierome was the trueth of the Lordes ordinance, although by the custome of the Church, as it then was, (which grewe *paulatim*, not when Bishops were first ordained, but by degrees in decurse of time) they had the whole charge of the Church without aduising

[3] Hiero. in 1. cap. epist. ad Titum.

[4] Hiero in epist. ad Tit. ca. 1.

or

or conferring with the Presbyters. For [1] the Presbyters might neither baptise without the Bishops leaue, nor preach in the Bishops presence: which subiection, Ierome saieth, was not after the trueth of the Lords ordinance, howsoeuer the custome of the Church had then strengthened it.

[1] Hiero. aduers. Lucifer. & ad Nepotianum.

This to be Ieromes true meaning in this place his owne words else-where doe fully prooue, which are these. [2] *Vt sciamus traditiones Apostolicas sumptas de veteri Testamento; quod Aaron & filij eius atque Leuitæ in Templo fuerunt, hoc sibi Episcopi, Presbyteri & Diaconi vendicent in Ecclesia.* To make vs vnderstand that the Apostolike traditions were taken out of the olde Testament; what Aaron, and his sonnes, and the Leuites were in the Temple, that let the Bishops, and Presbyters, and Deacons chalenge to themselues in the Church. The high Priest I hope was superiour to his sonnes, not onely as a Father, but as hauing the chiefest place and office about the Arke, and after in the Temple. And as it was there, so the Apostles ordained, saith Ierome, that Bishops and Presbyters shoulde differ in the Church of Christ. Scanne this place a little, I pray you, and tell mee whether Ierome auouch, that Bishops shoulde bee superiour to Presbyters by the tradition and ordinaunce of the Apostles, or no; If that point bee cleere, adde these wordes of Master Beza (which are verie sounde) to Saint Ieromes, to make vp the Syllogisme. [3] *Certè, si ab ipsis Apostolis esset profecta* (hæc mutatio) *non vererer illam, vt cæteras Apostolicas ordinationes, diuinæ in solidum dispositioni tribuere.* If this *(change to the ministerie of Bishops)* proceeded from the Apostles, I woulde not doubt throughly to ascribe it to diuine disposition, as I doe other ordinances of the Apostles; but Ierome expressely confesseth it was an Apostolike ordinance; *ergo*, without any staggering or doubting, it must be acknowledged by you, that it was Gods disposition. Thus much for Ierome. Nowe for Ambrose (before wee goe to further proofe;) because some strange fansies of this fresh Discipline are fastned on him; let vs likewise examine what he saith for either side.

[2] Hiero. Ad Euagrium.

[3] Ad tractationem de gradibus ministrorum in ca. 23.

There is one thing in Ambrose barely surmised, but no way prooued, and that is eagerly caught vp by the Disciplinarians,

and

and made a shipmans hose for their newe deuises: there are foure other points in the same places, that haue suter ground and more agreement with the rest of the Fathers; and those are positiuelie repelled as friuolous and false by the principles of this pretended Discipline. Ambrose imagineth, (for no proofe can bee made thereof, either by Scripture or Storie) that the first Bishops were for a while made by order as they sate in the Church, so as the place falling voyde by the death or departure of the first, the next succeeded in his rowme. This course was afterward changed into elections; but when, or by whome, hee neither doth, nor can tell. from this supposall these three conclusions are drawen, but all three farre from Ambroses speach or meaning. First, that this prioritie of place went rounde the Presbyterie; euery man taking it in order for a season, when his course came. Next, that the Prior or President for the time, which they call a Bishop, or Superuisour for his weeke, differed not in degree from the rest, but onelie in this honour to haue the chiefe place. Thirdly, that his office was to call the rest together, and to guide their meetings that they shoulde bee orderlie; and to propounde matters for the whole Presbyterie to consult and conclude with the consent of the greater number; himselfe hauing but a voyce as one of the rest, neither negatiue nor affirmatiue in any thing, but as the most part did resolue. This is the Bishop which they haue framed vs out of Saint Ambroses wordes; and this Bishop they are content shall be perpetuall in the Church of Christ, and an essentiall part of Gods ordinaunce. This is the right description of the Maior and Aldermen of a Citie, or Bailiffe and Burgesses of a lesser Towne with vs in England; but this is no description of a Bishop in the Church of Christ. For howe long will it bee before ye be able to proue, I say not all, but any one of these assertions? What Scripture euer mentioned, what Father euer imagined any such Bishop?

The fathers you will say, were all infected with humane inuentions; and Gods institution hath euer since the Apostles time beene neglected in all the Churches, and of all the persons in the world, till of late. I heare what you say; and did I not reade it with mine eyes, I shoulde thinke they were deepely asleepe, that

that dreame so well of themselues; but since it is printed, I would gladly see how it can be proued.

Ambrose you say, leadeth you so to thinke; for he affirmeth that euery Presbyter was a Bishop when it came to his course, and their courses went round by order. Ambrose contradicteth it as plainely as hee can speake; and saieth, that [1] not euery Presbyter was a Bishop, but he onely was a Bishop which was *primus inter Presbyteros*, the first *(or chiefest)* amongst the Presbyters.

[1] *Ambros in 1. ad Tim. ca. 3.*

Nay, first in order; in whose place when he departed, the next succeeded.] They were capable of the Bishoprike, as they stood in order. Now that order must goe either as they were eldest in standing, or worthiest in gifts. Which of these two orders did the Presbyters keepe, can you tell? [Not I.] Nor Ambrose neither. He supposeth that to sit in the Church, and in other their assemblies, they had an order, and so no doubt they had; but whether they were placed by the Apostles according to their merites; or kept their places by senioritie, as they were ordained, or cast lots amongst themselues for auoiding of ambition and contention, neither Ambrose, neither any man liuing could, or can tell. *But the first always was the Bishop; and consequently they differed not in degree, but in order.*] Now now masters, will you crosse S. Pauls words so flatlie, who saieth that God hath ordained; [2] first, Apostles; secondly, Prophets; thirdly, Teachers? Are these diuers degrees or no? [What els.] And were not all these, when they taught in any place, of the Presbyterie? [They were.] Then did the Presbyters differ not in order onely, but in degree also.

[2] 1. Cor. 12.

We speake not of Apostles, Euangelists, and Prophets, when wee say the Presbyters differed one from an other onely in order, and not in degree; but of Pastours that had their charge in that place where they liued.] The question is not of whom you speake, but of whom Ambrose spake; we examine his words, not yours; and he cleerly accounteth them all to be Presbyters. For example, Timothie that you say was an Euangelist, Ambrose reckoneth him for a Presbyter, and saieth he was a Bishop, though hee were a Presbyter, because there was none other before him. And had not Ambrose specially named him, I hope you will exclude neither Apostles, nor Prophets, nor Euangelists from the number of [3] Presbyters, whersoeuer they were present. Nowe choose you whether you will

[3] *In Ephes. ca. 4. & 1. ad Tim. ca. 3*

will say, all these were no Presbyters, ¹ Saint Peter expresselie saying the contrarie; or els admit, that in the order of Presbyters there were diuers degrees of ecclesiasticall functions, and so your distinction of *ordo* and *gradus*, to be nothing neere Saint Ambroses meaning. for hee by *ordo*, vnderstandeth the ORDER OF their DESERT or SENIORITIE, and either of those orders doeth euidently admit many diuers degrees of ecclesiasticall callings. ¹ 1. Pet. 5.

If Ambrose doe not affirme it; we doe.] I can soone admit you to aske me what you list: for when you haue done, except you proue it, I will not beleeue it, but I see no cause why you should ground that distinction on Ambroses wordes. In place conuenient you shall haue leaue to say what you can to maintaine your distinction; in the meane time I would haue you marke, that you take Ambroses meere ghesses, which can not bee iustified, for your greatest grounds. For tell me, when euer, or where euer were Bishops chosen by order as they were eldest? Againe, was Timothie chosen Bishop by his standing at Ephesus? or did Paul leaue him there for the great affiance hee had in his sincere and vpright dealing? When the Apostle first wrate to Timothie how to behaue himselfe in the house of God, and on whom to impose handes; did Paul will him to take them as they stoode in order, or to choose men answerable to those conditions which hee prescribed? The first rules that were giuen in the Scriptures for the creation of Bishops and Presbyters, were by choice, not by order; before those, how can Ambrose or any man els proue, that Bishops were ordained in order as they stood, without choice? Now if you could shew any such thing, which I am assured you cannot; yet this change from order to choice is the manifest commaundement of Gods spirite, witnessed by Paul both to Tite and Timothie, and therefore your kinde of going in order to make Bishops, is, and is repugnant to the Apostles generall and Canonicall rule of choosing the fittest men to be Bishops, which euer since hath dured in the Church of Christ as a special and expresse part of Gods ordinance confirmed by the Scriptures.

But doe you your selues admit this imagination of Ambrose, which you so diffie against Bishops? are not you the first men that checke your owne witnesse, and thereby shewe, that though you alleage

alleage Ambrose, yet doe not beleeue Ambrose in this verie point which you bring him for: A great learned man of your side saieth, and in my iudgement saieth truely, [1] *Aliud est electionis mandatum, quod immutatum non tantùm in Diaconis, sed etiam in sacris functionibus omnibus seruatum oportet; aliud electionis modus.* The commaundement of election which must bee kept vnchanged not onely in Deacons, but in all sacred functions is one thing; the maner of electing is another thing. Then is there a commaundement no doubt of Christ by his Apostle, (it could not otherwise bee inuiolable,) that to all sacred functions men should bee taken by election, and not by order of standing. If Ambrose spake of the time before this commaundement; when that was, no man knoweth. And therefore I haue reason to say, it was neuer prescribed in the Scriptures, nor vsed in any Church or age that we read, but onely surmised by Ambrose, because he did not finde who were Bishops in euery Church, before Paul wrate to Timothie and Tite, to make choice of meete men to be Bishops and Presbyters.

[1] *Responsio Bez. ad tractationem de ministrorum Euangelii gradibus.*

Least you misslike that I say Ambrose roaueth at some things which can not be prooued, and need not be credited; tell me your selues what you say to these reporters of Ambrose in the same place; [2] *Primùm omnes docebant, omnes baptizabant. Inter initia omnibus concessum est & euangelizare, & baptizare, & Scripturas in ecclesia explanare. Nunc neque Diaconi prædicant impulo, neque Clerici, vel Laici baptizant.* At the first, all men did teache, and all men did baptize, At the beginning, euery man was suffered to preach, baptize, and expound the Scriptures in the Church: Nowe neither Deacons preach to the people, neither doe (*inferiour*) Clerkes or Laie men baptize. Beleeue you that all men, or Laie men did preach and baptize at the first spreading of the Gospell? I know you doe not; your positions are most direct against it. Yet Ambrose auoucheth it; and the proofe he bringeth for it, is as slender as the report. Because Peter commaunded Cornelius and those that were with him to bee baptized; and there came with Peter none from Ioppe but [3] certaine brethren; hee concludeth that those were Laie men, because they are called brethren, and did baptize Cornelius and the rest, Peter looking on and willing them to doe it. How weake

[2] *Ambros. in 4. cap. ad Ephesios.*

[3] *Act. 10. v. 23.*

this

this collection is, I doubt not but you quickly finde: and the woordes which you bring, are the next to these, and proceed from the verie same perswasion that this did; which was, that all things at the first erecting of the Church, were permixed and confused, the paucitie of the persons and necessitie of the times so requiring, and then it skilled not who were Presbyters, and who were Bishops. Yet if you presse Ambrose, I will not reiect him; for hee saieth no more, but that the next Presbyter was to succeede after the place was voyde: But that eyther th y went round by course, or did gouerne by weekes or monethes, or that a Bishop should not differ from a Presbyter by power to ordaine others, which are the things that you affirme to bee Gods ordinaunce; in any of these if you proove that Ambrose maketh with you, wee will giue you the whole.

Besides this, Ambrose hath foure speciall pointes in these verie places, (which you alleage against Bishops,) so contrary to your newe discipline, as high noone is to midnight. The FIRST is, where hee shutteth your laie Presbyters out of doores, in saying; [1] A Presbyter and a Bishop haue all one ordination, for either is a Priest, and so neither is Laie. The NEXT, that hee saieth; [2] Paul made Timothie the Euangelist, both a Presbyter, and a Bishop, neither of which your discipline can abide, that either Euangelistes should bee Bishops, or that Paul should at any time consecrate Bishops. The THIRD; [3] It is neither right nor lawfull, saieth hee, for (a Presbyter which is) an inferiour to ordaine (a Bishop which is) a Superiour; and consequently, your Presbyters may not impose hands on a Bishop, as Chrysostome also telleth you. The last is, that where you say the people must haue the election of their Bishop or Pastour by Gods lawe, Ambrose saieth it must be done [4] by the iudgement of many Priests, and not by the verdict of the people or laie Presbyters.

[1] *Ambros. in 1. ad Tim. ca. 3.*

[2] *Idem in Epheſ. ca. 4.*

[3] *Idem in 1. ad Tim. ca. 3.*

[4] *Idem in Epheſ. ca. 4.*

Thus see you that the auncient Fathers Ierome and Ambrose, which are alleaged so constantlie not onelie for the Laie Presbyters, but for the equalitie and Identitie of Bishops and Presbyters in the Apostles tyme, come nothing neere your newe discipline. The names were common, but their callings different; the woorkes were not then seuered, as nowe they

they bee; but euen then Presbyters might not impose handes to ordaine Ministers: that was reserued to some speciall and chiefe men trusted with the gouernement of others, as well Teachers as hearers, and appointed to succeede in the Apostles places, as shall appeare in the chapter next ensuing with more euidence.

CHAP. XIII.

That some chiefe Pastours, in, and euer since the Apostles times haue bene distinguished from the rest of the Presbyters by the power of ordination and right of succession, and placed in euery Citie, to preserue the externall vnitie and perpetuitie of the Church, whom the auncient Fathers did, and we after them doe call by the name of Bishops.

BEfore I demonstrate the vocation and function of Bishops to be Apostolike, the ambiguitie of the name of Bishop, and communitie of many things incident and appertinent both to Bishops and Presbyters, vrge mee to lay downe and deliuer certaine peculiar markes and partes of the Bishops power and office, whereby they are alwayes distinguished from Presbyters, & neuer confounded with them either in Scriptures, Councils or Fathers. Prerogatiues there were many appropriate vnto them by the authoritie of the Canons and custome of the Church: as reconciling of penitents, confirmation of Infants and others that were baptized by laying on their handes, dedication of Churches, and such like: but these tended as Ierome saieth; [1] *ad honorem sacerdotij potiùs quàm ad legis necessitatem*, to the honour of their Priesthood, rather then to the necessitie of any lawe. The things proper to Bishops, which might not bee common to Presbyters, were singularitie in succeeding, and superioritie in ordaining. These two, the Scriptures and Fathers reserue onely to Bishops; they neuer communicate thē vnto Presbyters. In euery Church and Citie there might be many Presbyters; there could bee but one chiefe to gouerne the rest: the Presbyters for need might impose handes on Penitents and Infants; but

[1] *Hiero. aduersus Luciferianos.*

but by no meanes might they ordaine Bishops or Ministers of the word and Sacraments.

Neither are these trifling differences, or deuised by me. The eternal vnitie and perpetuitie of the Church depend wholy on these. As to auoyde schismes, Bishops were first appointed, so to maintaine the Churches in vnitie, the singularitie of one Pastour ouer each flocke is commended in the Scriptures. And as Bishops preserue the vnitie of each Church, in that there may bee but one in a place; so they continue the same vnto perennitie, by ordaining such as shall both helpe them liuing, and succeed them dying.

[1] Cyprian hath written an whole booke to proue that the vnitie of each Church resteth on the singularitie of the Pastour, whither I remit him, that is desirous to read more at large; as also to his first booke and third epistle, intreating of the same matter, and written to Cornelius. The effect of all is contained in these words; [2] Who is so wicked and perfidious, who so mad with the furie of discord, that beleeueth the vnitie of God, the Lords vesture, the Church of Christ, may bee torne in pieces, or dare teare it? Himselfe in his Gospell warneth and teacheth (*vs*) saying, There shall bee one flocke, and one shepeheard. And doeth any man thinke there may bee in one place, either many shepeheardes, or many flockes? In the foresayd Epistle speaking of himselfe, not of the Bishop of Rome, as fondly and falsly the Papistes conceiue, hee saieth; [3] Heresies haue sprung, and schismes risen from none other fountaine then this, that Gods Priest is not obeyed, nor ONE PRIEST in the Church acknowledged for the time, to bee iudge in Christes steade; to whom if all the brethren would be subiect according to the diuine directions, no man would after the diuine iudgements, after the suffrages of the people, after the consent of other Bishops, make himselfe iudge nowe, not of the Bishop, but of God. Ierome saieth as much. [4] The dumbe beastes and wilde herdes doe follow their leaders, the Bees haue their kings, the Cranes flie after one like an Alphabet of letters. One Emperour, one Iudge of each Prouince. Rome, as soone as it was built, could not haue two brethren to be kings. Iacob & Esau fought in one wombe. Euery Church hath but one Bishop, one chiefe Presbyter, one chiefe Deacon, and each ecclesiasticall

[1] *De vnitate ecclesiæ vel de singularitate prælatorum.*

[2] *Cypria. de vnitate ecclesiæ.*

[3] *Idem li. 1 epist. 3*

[4] *Hier. ad Rusticum Monachum.*

order resteth on their Rulers. In a shippe is but one that directeth the helue; in an house but one Master; in an armie neuer so great, the signe of one Generall is expected. Yea [1] the very safetie of the Church dependeth on the dignitie of the chiefe Priest *(or Bishop,) cui si non exors & ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in ecclesijs efficientur schismata, quot sacerdotes*; to whom if there bee not giuen a peereleſſe power and eminent aboue all others, there will bee as many schismes in the Church as there bee Priests. thence is it, that except the Bishop giue leaue, neither Presbyter nor Deacon haue right to baptize.

[1] *Idem aduers. Luciferianos.*

The singularitie of one Pastour in euerie place, preserueth the Peace and Unitie of the Churches, and stoppeth Schismes and dissentions, for which cause they were first ordayned by the Apostles. And therefore is the conclusion generall, both with Councils and Fathers, that there coulde bee but one Bishop in one Citie, where the Presbyters were many.

Cornelius Bishop and Martyr, long before the Councill of Nice reporting to Fabius Bishop of Antioch, the originall of Nouatus schisme, saith; [2] This iollie inquisitor of the Gospell vnderstandeth not that there ought to be but one Bishop in *(that)* Catholike Church in which hee knoweth there are 46. Presbyters. The great Nicene Councill tooke speciall care; [3] *Ne in vna Ciuitate duo sint Episcopi*; that there should not bee two Bishops in one Citie. Chrysostome, when Paul writeth to the Bishops and Deacons of Philippi, asketh this question: [4] What meaneth this? were there many Bishops of one Citie? and answereth, By no meanes: but by this title hee designeth the Presbyters. for then the name was common, in so much that a Bishop was called a Deacon or Minister. Afterward, each had his proper name, and one was called a Presbyter, the other a Bishop. Theodorete. [5] *Ne fieri quidem poterat vt multi Episcopi essent vnius Ciuitatis Pastores. quo fit vt essent scilicet Presbyteri quos nominauit Episcopos.* In no case many Bishops could not be Pastours of one Citie. Wherefore they were Presbyters, whom he called by the name of Bishops.

[2] *Euseb. li. 6. ca. 43.*

[3] *Rufi. eccleſiaſt. hiſt. li. 1. ca. 6.*

[4] *Chryſoſt. hom. 1. in epiſt. ad Philip.*

[5] *Theodoret. in 1. ca. ad Philip.*

Oecume-

Oecumenius; [1] *Non quòd in vna Ciuitate multi essent Episcopi, sed Episcopos vocat Presbyteros; tunc enim nominibus adhuc communicabant.* Bishops Saint Paul nameth; not that there were many Bishops in one Citie, but the Presbyters he calleth Bishops: for as yet the wordes were common to both. The Latin Fathers giue the like testimonie. Optatus. [2] *Schismaticus & peccator est qui contra singularem cathedram alteram collocat.* Hee is a schismatike and a sinner, that against one (*Episcopall*) chaire erecteth an other. Hierome. [3] *Hic Episcopos Presbyteros intelligimus: non enim in vna vrbe plures Episcopi esse potuissent.* Bishops heere wee vnderstand to bee Presbyters, for in one Citie there could not bee many Bishops. Ambrose referreth those wordes of Saint Paul to the Bishops that were with him and Timothie, and not at Philippi. With the Bishops [4] which were (saieth hee) with Paul and Timothie, who themselues were Bishops, for had hee written to Bishops, hee would haue named them; and hee must haue written to the Bishop of the place, as hee did to Tite and Timothie, and not to two or three. For as hee saieth elsewhere, [5] *Aliquantos esse Presbyteros oportet, vt bini sint per ecclesias, & vnus in Ciuitate Episcopus.* The Presbyters must bee some in number, that there may be two in each Church, and but one Bishop in a Citie.

[1] *Oecumen. in 2. ca. ad Philip.*

[2] *Optat. contra Parmenianum, li. 2.*

[3] *Hiero. in 1. ca. ad Philipp.*

[4] *Ambros. in 1. ca. ad Philip.*

[5] *Ambros. in 3. ca. 1. ad Tim.*

This is a certaine rule to distinguish Bishops from Presbyters; the Presbyters were many in euery Church, of whom the Presbyterie consisted. Bishops were alwayes singular; that is, one in a Citie and no moe, except an other intruded, (which the Church of Christ counted a Schisme, and would neuer communicate with any such) or else an helper were giuen in respect of extreame and feeble age; in which case, the power of the latter ceased in the presence of the former. And this singularitie of one Pastour in each place, descended from the Apostles and their Scholers in all the famous Churches of the world by a perpetuall chaire of succession, and doeth to this day continue, but where abomination or desolation, I meane heresie or violence interrupt it. Of this there is so perfect record in all the stories and Fathers of the Church, that I much muse with what face

men that haue any taste of learning, can denie the vocation of Bishops came from the Apostles. For if their succession be Apostolike, their function cannot choose, but be likewise Apostolike; and that they succeeded the Apostles and Euangelists in their Churches and chaires, may inuincibly bee prooued, if any Christian persons or Churches deserue to be credited.

The second assured signe of Episcopall power, is imposition of handes to ordaine Presbyters and Bishops. For as Pastours were to haue some to assist them in their charge, which were Presbyters; so were they to haue others to succeed them in their places which were Bishops. And this right by imposing hands to ordaine Presbyters & Bishops in the Church of Christ, was at first deriued from the Apostles vnto Bishops, and not vnto Presbyters; and hath for these fifteene hundred yeeres without example or instance to the contrarie, till this our age, remained in Bishops and not in Presbyters. Philip [1] preached and baptized at Samaria; but he could not giue the graces of the holy Ghost by imposition of hands to make fit Pastours and Teachers for the worke of the ministerie; the Apostles were forced to come from Ierusalem to furnish the Church of Samaria with meete men to labour in the word and doctrine. The like wee finde by Paul and Barnabas in the Actes; who visited the Churches where they had preached, and supplied them with [2] Presbyters in euery place that wanted. Paul [3] left Tite to doe the like in Creete; and Timothie was sent to Ephesus [4] to impose handes, notwithstanding the Church there had Presbyters long before. Ierome where hee retcheth the Presbyters office to the vttermost, of purpose to shew that hee may not by the worde of God as much as the Bishop, hee excepteth this one point as vnlawfull for Presbyters by the Scriptures. [5] *Quid facit excepta ordinatione Episcopus, quod Presbyter non faciat?* What doeth a Bishop saue ordination, which a Presbyter may not doe? He saieth not what doeth a Bishop, which a Presbyter doeth not: for by the custome and Canons of the Church, very many things were forbidden Presbyters, which by Gods word they might doe: but hee appealeth to Gods ordinaunce, which in his Commentaries vpon Tite hee calleth the diuine institution; and by that hee confesseth it was not lawfull for Presbyters

[1] Acts.8.
[2] Acts.14.
[3] Tite 1.
[4] 1. Tim.5.
[5] *Hiero. ad Euagrium.*

for Presbyters to ordaine any. And why? That power was reserued to the Apostles, and such as succeeded them, not generally in the Church, but specially in the chaire.

Thence doth Chrysostome inferre verie precisely against your new Discipline, that in Paules wordes to Timothie, [1] Neglect not the gift that was giuen thee, with imposition of handes of the Presbyterie, by the word Presbyterie in that place of Scripture must be vnderstoode Bishops, not Presbyters, and giueth this reason. [2] ὁ γὰρ δὴ πρεσβύτερος τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐχειροτόνει for Presbyters (*in the Apostles time*) did not impose handes on a Bishop. Yea, saith he, [3] οὐκ ἐξῆν πρεσβύτερον ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονῆσαι, Presbyters (*then*) coulde not impose handes on a Bishop. Chrysostome doeth not reason from his owne age vnto the Apostles, and conclude, because they might not doe it in that world, wherein he lined by a custome of the Church, *ergo*, they coulde not doe it in Paules time; that were a verie senseleſſe and vnsauerie collection; but he vrgeth that in Paules time Presbyters might not ordaine a Bishop; and therefore those words must be vnderstoode of Bishops, which by the Apostolike rules might impose handes, whereas Presbyters might not. The verie same point he repeateth and presseth when he giueth a reason why Paul in his Epistle to Timothie went from describing Bishops straight to Deacons omitting cleane the order of Presbyters. [4] ὅτι ὑπὲρ πολὺ τὸ μέσον. καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι διδασκαλίας εἶχον ἀναδεδειγμένοι, καὶ προστασίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας. τὴν γὰρ χειροτονίαν μόνην αὐτῶν ἀναλαβόντα, καὶ τὸ μέτρον διῶσαι πλεονεκτεῖν τοὺς προεστῶτας. The difference betwixt (*Bishops and Presbyters*) is not great; for they also were admitted to teach and rule the Church. and what Paul saide of Bishops, that agreeth vnto Presbyters. *Onely* in laying on of hands (Bishops) go beyond them, and haue that *Onely* thing more then Presbyters. Theodoret. [5] The Presbyterie (*Paul*) calleth heere such as had receiued Apostolicall (*or Episcopall*) grace: for by Theodorets opinion Bishops were then called [6] Apostles, and Presbyters called by the name of Bishops. Oecumenius. [7] Lay handes hastily on no man οὐκ ἐξὸν χειροτονῶν διαπαιζόντα, ἀποστόλους γὰρ ἔλεγε. Paul treateth of imposing hands, for he wrate to a *Bishop*.

Ambrose renders the same reason why Paul mentioning Bishops and Deacons, did cleane ouerskip Presbyters; and noteth the same difference betwixt Presbyters and Bishops that Chrysostome

[1] 1. Tim. 4.

[2] *Chrysost. homil. 13. in 1. ad Timoth. ca. 4.*

[3] *& homil. 1. in epist. ad Philipp.*

[4] *Chrysost. homil. 11 in 3. ca. 1. ad Timoth.*

[5] *Theodoret. in ca. 4 epist. 1. ad Tim.*

[6] *Idem in ca. 1. ad Tit. & Philippens.*

[7] *Oecumenius in ca. 5. 1. ad Timot.*

[1] *Ambros. in 1. ad Tim. ca. 3.*

soſtome doth. [1] Timothie, becauſe hee had none other before him, was a Biſhop. Wherefore Paul ſheweth him how he ſhal ordaine a Biſhop. *Neque enim fas erat aut licebat, vt inferior ordinaret maiorem. Nemo enim tribuit quod non accepit.* For it was neither lawfull nor permitted that the inferiour ſhould ordaine the greater. No man giueth that which he hath not receiued. That Timothie was a biſhop, is confeſſed by the reſt of the Fathers, I alleaged them [2] before; Paul calleth him [3] συνεργὸν his Copartner in the Goſpell, and ioyneth Timothie with himſelfe in writing to the [4] Corinthians, Philippians, Coloſſians, and [5] Theſſalonians: thereby to ſhew that he had receiued Timothie, not only into the fellowſhip of his Miniſterie, but giuen him part of his authoritie, and made choice of him to abide at Epheſus to eſtabliſh and confirme the Church when hee thus wrate vnto him. Wherefore Timothie had not this prerogatiue by order or ſeniority; hee was no Presbyter of Epheſus, but there left with Epiſcopall authoritie, which hee had by the laying on of Paules handes before he ſtayed at Epheſus. But howſoeuer hee came by it; by Paules choice or otherwiſe; Ambroſe acknowledgeth hee was a biſhop, and therefore ſuperiour to Presbyters; becauſe hee was inueſted with power to ordaine biſhops, which Presbyters had not. His wordes be full. [6] *Neque fas erat, neque licebat, vt inferior ordinaret maiorem*, It was neither lawfull, nor agreeable to religion, (for *fas* is that which is conſonant to the ſeruice of God, as *ius* expreſſeth that which is right amongſt men) for the inferiour to ordaine the ſuperior, to wit, that a Presbyter ſhould ordaine a biſhop.

[2] *Pag. 233.*
[3] Rom. 16. 1. Thes. 3.
[4] 2. Cor. 1.
[5] 1. Thes. 1. 2. Theſſ. 1.
[6] *Ambroſ. in 1. ad Tymoth. ca. 3.*

We greatly care not who ſhould ordaine Biſhops; for as we thinke there neede none in the Church of Chriſt: but touching Presbyters, that is, Miniſters of the worde and Sacraments, the fourth Councill of Carthage is verie cleere, they may be ordained by Presbyters. Their wordes are theſe. [7] *Presbyter quum ordinatur, Epiſcopo eum benedicente & manum ſuper caput eius tenente, etiam omnes Presbyteri qui preſentes ſunt, manus ſuas iuxta manum Epiſcopi ſuper caput illius teneant. When a Presbyter is ordained, the Biſhop bleſſing him, and holding his hand on the parties head, let all the Presbyters that are preſent hold their hands neere the Biſhops hand on his head,* (that is ordered) *Presbyters are ſufficient to create Presbyters, and*

[7] *Concil. Carthaginenſ. 4. ca. 3.*

they

they may discharge all Ecclesiasticall dueties in the Church. for Bishops let them care that like them.] The Councill of Carthage doeth not tell you, that Presbyters might ordaine Presbyters without a bishop; looke better to the wordes; such Presbyters as were present must holde their handes on the parties head, neere the bishops hand; but without the bishop they had no power of themselues to impose handes. Nowe to what ende they imposed handes; whether to ordaine and consecrate as well as the bishop; or because the Action was sacred and publike, to consent and blesse together, with the bishop, this is all the doubt. If they had power to ordaine as well as the bishop, and without the bishop, all the Fathers which I before cited, were vtterly deceiued. For they say no. Yea, Ierome, that neither coulde forget nor woulde suppresse (being one himselfe) anie part of their power, knewe not so much. For hee confesseth that bishops might ordaine by imposing handes, Presbyters might not. And therefore though they held their handes neere the bishops hand, yet did they not ordaine, as the bishop did.

Howe knowe you to what ende they ioyned with the Bishop in imposing handes? The action was common to both, and no difference is expressed in that Councill betweene their intentes.] Unlesse you bee disposed to set Councills and Fathers together by the eares, you must make their imposition of handes, to bee a consent, rather then a consecration; and so may the authorities of all sides stand vpright. otherwise by an action, that admitteth diuers endes and purposes, you ouerthrowe the maine resolution, not onelie of other Councils and Fathers, but of the same Synode which you alleadge: for that giueth Presbyters no power to ordaine without the bishop, but to conioyne their handes with his.

Many things were interdicted Presbyters by the Canons, which were not by the Scriptures; but you must shew vs that Presbyters and Bishops differ by the word of God, afore we can yeeld them to be diuers degrees.] If Presbyters by the worde of God may ordaine with imposing handes as well as Bishops, howsoeuer by the custome of the Church they bee restrained or subiected vnder Bishops, they bee all one in degree with Bishops, though not in dignitie; for all other things as Ierome auoucheth are common vnto them:

them: but if that power be graunted by Gods Lawe to Bishops, and denied to Presbyters; then struggle whiles you will, you shall finde them in the ende to be distinct and diuers degrees. That Bishops may ordaine, the Apostles words to Timothie and Tite exactly proue. [1] Lay hands hastely on no man. for this cause I left thee in Creete, that thou shouldest ordaine Presbyters in euery Citie. You must now proue by the sacred Scriptures that Presbyters may ordaine as well as Bishops: if not, they bee distinct degrees, that haue by Gods Lawe distinct powers and actions.

[1] 1.Tim.5. Tit.1.

Our proofes are cleere. [2] Neglect not the gift, which was giuen thee with imposition of handes of the Presbyterie; *and this right for Presbyters to impose handes ioyntly with the Bishop, dured no long time in the Church as wee shew by the fourth Councill of Carthage.*] I haue often tolde you that place of Saint Paul concludeth nothing for you, it hath so many answeres. Ierome giueth you one, Chrysostome an other, and Saint Paul himselfe a third. If you like not with Ierome, Ambrose and Primasius, to take the Presbyterie for the function which Timothie receiued, which Caluin well alloweth; nor with Chrysostome, Theodoret, and the rest of the Grecians, to applie it to Bishops, for so much as Presbyters by their iudgements could not impose handes on a Bishop; yet remember Saint Paul was present and did the deede; and therfore without some succeeding and supplying the Apostles rowme, as Timothie and Tite did, your Presbyteries haue no warrant to impose hands. And so much is euident by that verie Councill which you bring. for the Bishop must first blesse the party and impose hands on him; and then the Presbyters there present must lay their hands neere the Bishops in signe of consent. But without the Bishop no Presbyters did blesse or impose hands to ordaine any that euer we reade either in Scriptures or Stories. And because you shall not say, I speake without Booke, as I see many do in our dayes, marke well these examples, and tell mee what you thinke of them.

[2] 1.Tim 4.

The Councill of Hispalis, vnderstanding that a Bishop in ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, because hee was pained with sore eyes, onely laide his handes on them, and suffered a Presbyter standing by to reade the wordes of their consecration, and to blesse

blesse them, reiected the whole action as vnlawful, with these wordes. [1] *Propter tantam præsumptionis audaciam poterat iudicio præsenti damnari si non fuisset morte preuentus; sed ne sibi licentiam talis vltra vsurpatio faciat; decreuimus, vt qui ab eo non consecrationis titulum sed ignominiæ elogium perceperunt, à gradu sacerdotalis vel Leuitici ordinis quem peruersè adepti sunt, depositi æquo iudicio abijciantur. Tales enim merito iudicati sunt remouendi, quia prauè inuenti sunt constituti.* The Presbyter that did it, if he were liuing, might for so bolde a presumption haue beene condemned in this present iudgement; but because he is preuented with death, lest the same vsurpation should enterprise to do the like, we decree that they which receiued of him no title of consecration, but a monument of reproch, shall be remooued and abiected by a righteous iudgement from the degree of sacerdotall and Leuiticall order, which they haue peruersely gotten. for such are woorthely adiudged to bee cast off, because they are found to be wrongfully made. The Bishop being present and imposing handes; and not able to reade for the impediment of his sore eies, a Presbyter blessed them, that is, pronounced the wordes of their consecration, this the Council calleth bold presumption, and vsurpation against the Ecclesiasticall rule; and remooued the men as peruersly and vnlawfully made. What thinke you would they haue saide, if they heard of Presbyters that had taken vpon them, as men doe in our dayes, to impose hands, and blesse, and giue sacred orders, not onely in the absence, but in defiance of all Bishops?

[1] Concil. Hispalens. 2. ca. 5.

Colluthus was a Presbyter in [2] one of the Churches of Alexandria, and falling away from the Bishop there for some mislikes, ordained certaine Presbyters, himselfe being but a Presbyter. For this, Colluthus was conuented [3] in the generall Councill before Hosius and the rest of the Bishops; and commaunded to carrie himselfe for a Presbyter as hee was before; and all those that were ordained by him to returne to their former state. It after fell out that one Ischyras pretending himselfe to be a Presbyter of Colluthus making, accused Macarius of sacrilegious violence offered vnto him, then ministring at the Lords Table, as he said, and hauing the mysticall cup in his hand. an hundred Bishops assembled at a Councill in Egypt, or neere that number, to conuince Ischyras

[2] Epiphanius hæres. 69.

[3] Athanas. Apolog. 2. in lucem Presbyterorum, Maritimorum, ad Curiosum & Philagrium.

chyras of a lie, proue that Ischyras was no Presbyter, and so could not bee assaulted whiles hee was handling the diuine mysteries. Their wordes be these. [1] *Quo pacto igitur Presbyter Ischyras? aut quo tandem authore constitutus? Numquid scilicet a Colluthoꝰ? idenim restat. Atqui Colluthum in gradu Presbyterij mortuum, omnemq; eius manuum impositionem reseissam, omnésq; ab eo constitutos, in Laicorum ordinem redactos esse, & sub nomine Laicorum ad Synaxim admissos, adeò apud omnes constat, vt nemo ea de re dubitandum putet.* Howe then is Ischyras a Presbyter? or by whome was hee made? What, by Colluthus? That is all which can be saide. But Colluthus himselfe died in the degree of a Presbyter, and all his imposition of handes was reuersed, & such as were made by him were cast backe into the order of Lay men, and admitted to the Communion as Lay men, which is so cleere that no man euer doubted of it. They conclude that Ischyras, if he were made by Coluthus, could be no Presbyter, for so much as Coluthus was a Presbyter and no Bishop; and all his imposition of handes frustrated, and all the persons ordained by him, neither accounted nor admitted into the Church but vnder the name of Lay men. And this reuersing of Coluthus orders, and agnising none that hee ordained but for Lay men, was so cleere a case, and vncontrolled with all men, that no man euer made anie scruple of it. You shal do well considerately to reade the place; it importeth the vniuersall consent of the Primitiue Church to haue beene this, that no Presbyter could ordaine a Presbyter; but those that receiued imposition of handes from any such, were throughout the Church of Christ esteemed and reputed meere Lay men, and not otherwise accepted to the Lords Table.

[1] *Athanas. Apologia 2.*

Maximus that was very familiar and inward with Gregorie Nazianzen, whiles he liued at Constantinople and obtained at his handes to bee [2] taken into the Cleargie, and placed with the Presbyters of that Citie, finding that Miletius Bishop of Antioch, and others had translated Gregorie from Nazianzum to Constantinople without a ful Synode, somewhat contrarie to the Canons, procured Peter bishop of Alexandria to send some bishops of Egypt that did consecrate him bishop of Constantinople. When this came to be debated in the second generall Councill, the whole Synode not only reiected Maximus as no bishop, but al that tooke

[2] *Gregor. in vita Nazianzeni.*

any

any imposition of handes from him in what degree of the Clergie soeuer they were; by reason they found him a Presbyter and no Bishop; and so without all power to impose handes. [1] Concerning Maximus and his disorder at Constantinople *(we resolue)* that Maximus neither presently is, nor hereafter shall be made a Bishop; neither any that receiued imposition of handes from him, shall remaine in any degree of the Cleargie, all that was doone either to him, or by him being wholly frustrate, *(or disallowed.)* If Presbyters might impose handes, Maximus was lawfully called to that degree by Gregorie Nazianzen, and then had the Councill no cause to mislike such as were ordained by him. but they lay this for their ground, that he was neuer a lawfull bishop; and therefore all that he did in imposing handes, was vtterlie voide. By this I trust you see it pertained onely to Bishops to ordaine by imposition of hands, and not to Presbyters; you haue the cleere decision of the Primitiue Church, that Presbyters might not ordain Presbyters, much lesse might they lay hands on bishops.

[1] *Concil. Constantinopolitan. 1. ca. 4.*

Their meaning is, that Presbyters without a Bishop coulde not impose hands; but with the Bishop they might, and did, as the Councill of Carthage which wee brought you, confirmeth. And as they might not do it without a Bishop, so the Bishop might not doe it without them.] It is wel yet we haue obtained thus much, that without a bishop there can be no imposition of hands to make Presbyters; how thinke you then: must there be bishops in the church of Christ or no: and are they all one with Presbyters, or a seuerall degree from them:

They both concurre in ordaining; and neither may impose hands without the other.] You must forsake this fort, as well as you did the former. for in that Councel of Carthage, which you cite, neither is there any nũber of Presbyters prefixed, nor their presence required; only this is prescribed, if any be present, they shall approue the bishops doings with laying their hands nere his. The bishop imposeth not hands, either in their names, or at their perils, if any thing be done against ỹ Canons; but as he alone blesseth & consecrateth ỹ person that is ordered to the seruice of God, so if ought be otherwise then well, he alone is in danger for it. The Councill of Hispalis saith, [2] *Episcopus Sacerdotibus ac Ministris solus dare honorem potest, solus auferre non potest.* The Bishop alone may giue

[2] *Concil. Hispalens. 2. ca. 6.*

Priests

Priests and Deacons their honor, but he can not alone take it frō them. Neither had Bishops alwaies such store of Presbyters eyther present, or pertaining to thē as you imagine. In greater churches they had greater numbers; in smaller they had cītē two, somwhere one, & somtimes none; & yet for all this defect of Presbyters, the Bishops there did not refraine to impose hands without them.

[1] ad Tim. ca. 1

The number of Presbyters in many places were [1] two in a Church, as Ambrose writeth, sometimes but one. In the third Councel of Carthage, when it was agreed that the Primate of that Citie might take the Presbyters of euerie Diocese, and ordaine them Bishops for such places as desired them, though the Bishop, vnder whom the Presbyter before liued, were vnwilling to spare him; [2] Posthumianus a Bishop demaunded. What if a Bishop haue but one only Presbyter, must that one be taken from him? Aurelius (*the Bishop of Carthage*) answered. One Bishop may ordaine many Presbyters, but a Presbyter fit for a Bishopricke is hardly found. Wherefore if a man haue but one onely Presbyter, and fit for the roume of a Bishop, he ought to yeelde that one to be ordained. Posthumianus replied. Then if an other Bishop haue a number of Clearks, anothers store should relieue me. Aurelius concluded. Surely as you helped an other church, so he that hath many Clearks shal be driuen to spare you one of them to be ordained by you. Three things are euidēt by the purport of this speech; first, that some bishops had oftentimes but one Presbyter; and he might be taken from them. Next, that a Bishop hauing no Presbyter left, might make many when he would, if he had fit men of his owne for the place. Thirdly, that if hee wanted meet men, another Church should allow him, according to his losse, some to be ordained by him. A Bishop then hauing no Presbyter left to ioyne with him, might alone ordaine both such of his owne church as were meet, and such as were sent him from other places.

[2] Concil. Carthaginens. 3. ca. 45.

Againe, when any thing was done in ordering of Ministers against the Lawes or Canons; not the Presbyters, but onely the bishop was punished for imposing his hands, and transgressing the discipline of the Church. Nowe had the Presbyters bene Agents in ordaining, as well as the bishop; no reason to let them goe free that were parties to the contempt as well as the bishop. but for that his handes did ordaine and authorize, theirs did nothing but allow

allow his fact, which by dissenting they could not hinder; therefore the Lawes and Canons, as they did charge the Bishop and not the Presbyters to see those rules observed, that were required for the making of Ministers; so they did chalenge the Bishop and no man else for violating the same with imposition of his handes, if ought were otherwise then well. And for that cause both Lawes and Canons speake singularly to one, not plurally to many, when they represse disorders in creating Presbyters & Deacons; to shew there was one chiefe and principall Actor amongst them in those cases, whose fact it was; the rest only following & witnessing his doings.

For the Clergie of the Paulianists, when they returned to the Church, if they were without fault, and blamelesse, the Councill of Nice thus decreed, χειροτονείσθωσαν ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπων, [1] Let them receiue imposition of hands from the Bishop of the Catholike Church. The Councill of Antioch. [2] Euerie Bishop shall haue power in his Diœcese εἰς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἐπισκόπων ἢ διακόνων, to ordaine Presbyters and Deacons. [3] If any Bishop, saieth the Councill of Chalcedon, shall for money ordaine, either Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, or any other reckoned amongst the Clergie; he shall being conuicted thereof endanger his owne degree. And againe: [4] None, neither Presbyter, nor Deacon, nor generally any within the Ecclesiasticall order, must be ordained ἀπολελυμένως, that is, affixed to no certaine place. If any be so made, the sacred Councill hath decreed their ordination shall be voide; but it shall not returne to the reproch (*or detriment*) τῇ χειροτονησάντι, of him that imposed handes. [5] If thou speake of Paulinianus (saieth Ierome against the errors of Iohn of Ierusalem) thou seest him subiect to his owne Bishop liuing in Cyprus; and comming nowe and then to visite vs; not as any of your, but of another (*Bishops*) Clergie; *eius videlicet à quo ordinatus est*, euen his, of whome hee was ordained. [6] Wee permit not any Clergie man of what degree soeuer (saieth the Emperour) *dare aliquid ei à quo ordinatur*, to giue any reward to him of whome hee is ordained. And so generally for the breach and neglect of any of the Emperiall Lawes prescribed for the ordering of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, the Presbyters were not punished which ioyned with the Bishop, but [7] *qui ordinat*, or *qui ordinationem imponit*, (the bishop) that ordained them

[1] *Concil. Nicen. ca. 19.*
[2] *Concil. Antioch. ca. 9.*
[3] *Concil. Chalcedonens. ca. 2.*
[4] *Eiusdem Concil. ca. 6.*
[5] *Hiero. ad Pannachium aduers. errores Iohannis Hierosolymitani.*
[6] *Nouella constitutio 123. ca. 16.*
[7] *Nouella constitutio 6.*

was punished; because it lay in him alone by with-holding or imposing his handes to frustrate or finish the whole action.

Wherefore I see no cause, why some Writers in our dayes should discredite the report and reason, which Epiphanius maketh against Aerius, that a Presbyter could not be equal with a Bishop; for so much as the order of Bishops [1] engendreth Fathers vnto the Church; and the order of Presbyters [illegible], not able to beget Fathers; by the regeneration of baptisme begetteth children vnto the church, but not fathers or teachers, and so no possibilitie to make a Presbyter that hath not receiued power to impose handes equall with a Bishop. For what doth Epiphanius auouch in these words, which Athanasius, Ierom, Chrysostome and Ambrose do not likewise auouch: or what saieth he more then the Primitiue Church in her generall and Prouinciall Councils decreed against Colluthus, Maximus and others; and obserued without alteration euer since the Apostles died: If wee reiect this assertion of Epiphanius, that onely Bishops should impose handes to ordaine, and not Presbyters, wee reiect the whole church of Christ, which interpreted the Scriptures in this behalfe as Epiphanius did; and confirmed the verie same resolution with the continual practise of all ages and countries where the Gospell hath bene preached and beleeued. for by power to ordaine, the christian world, hath alwayes distinguished bishops from Presbyters, as it is easie to be seene by all the monuments of antiquitie, that are extant to this day, either of Councils, Stories or Fathers.

[1] *Epiphan. heres. 75. contra Aetium.*

And as by imposing of hãds, so by succeeding in the chaire, haue Bishops euer since the Apostles times beene seuered from Presbyters in the Church of Christ: which to all, that doe not eagerlie seeke to captiuate the trueth to their owne desires, is an argument vnrefellable, that the first placing of Bishops aboue Presbyters was Apostolike. Tertullian saith; [2] *Constabit id esse ab Apostolis traditum, quod apud ecclesias Apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum*. It is certaine, that came from the Apostles, which is sacredly obserued in the Churches of the Apostles. And Austen, [3] *Quod vniuersa tenet ecclesia, nec conciliis institutum sed semper retentum est, non nisi authoritate Apostolica traditũ rectissime creditur*. That which the whole Church keepeth, and was not appointed by Councils, but always retained, that is most rightly beleeued to haue

[2] *Tertul. aduers. Marcionem lib. 4.*

[3] *August. de baptismo contra Donatist. li. 4. ca. 24.*

descended from the Apostles. Now that in the Churches planted by the Apostles & their coadiutors, one hath bene seuered from the rest of the Presbyters, and placed aboue the rest in the honour of ỳ Episcopal chaire, before there were any general Councils to decree that maner of gouernment; & so continued euen from the Apostles persons & hands to this present age: the perpetuall succession of bishops in those principall Churches where the Apostles & their helpers preached and gouerned, & likewise in all other churches of the world following their steps, will strongly and fully confirme. If the Apostles placed bishops with their own hands; if departing or dying they left bishops to succeede them; if their Disciples and Schollers embraced & vsed that course to set bishops aboue Presbyters for sauing the church from schismes, & left it to their aftercommers; I trust there are few men so deepely drowned in their owne conceits, or wholy addicted to their fansies, but they will acknowledge the first distinction & institution of bishops from and aboue Presbyters was, if not commanded & imposed by the Apostles precepts on the Church; yet at least ordained & deliuered vnto the faithfull by their example, as the best way to maintaine the peace and vnitie of the Church; and consequently the custome of ỳ church (which Austen speaketh of) that the bishops office should be greater thẽ the Presbyters; & the the decree of the whole world (which Ierome mentioneth) were deriued from the Apostles and confirmed by them, and may not be reuersed and repealed after 150. yeers, vnlesse we chalenge to be wiser and better able to order and gouerne the Church of Christ then the Apostles were.

Eusebius the first and best collector of auncient and Ecclesiasticall monumnents (Egesippus and Clemens being lost) deriueth the successions of bishops in the foure principal churches of the world; Ierusalem, Antioch, Rome and Alexandria, from the Apostles age vnto his owne time. by which, as by a line we may be directed to see what maner of Episcopall successions the rest of the Churches had; & from whom the first originall of bishops descended. I wil set them downe as it were in a Table euen from the Apostles & their followers, vnto the time they met in the great Councill of Nice, about 320. yeeres after Christ; and then examine more exactly whence they tooke their first beginning.

In the Church of

Ierusalem.	*Antioch.*	*Rome.*	*Alexandria.*
Iames the Apostle.	Peter the Apostle.	Peter and Paul	Mark the Euangelist.
Simeon	Euodius	Linus	Anianus
Iustus	Ignatius	Anacletus	Abilius
Zacheus	Heros	Clemens	Cerdo
Tobias	Cornelius	Euaristus	Primus
Beniamin	Eros	Alexander	Iustus
Iohannes	Theophilus	Sixtus	Eumenes
Mathias	Maximinus	Thelesphorus	Marcus
Philippus	Serapion	Higinus	Celadion
Sennecas	Asclepiades	Pius	Agrippas
Iustus	Philetos	Anicetus	Iulianus
Leui	Zebinus	Soter	Demetrius
Ephrem	Rabilas	Eleutherius	Heraclas
Ioseph	Fabius	Victor	Dionysius
Iudas	Demetrius	Zepherinus	Maximus
Marcus	Paulus Samosatenus	Calixtus	Theonas
Cassianus	Domnus	Vrbanus	Petrus
Publius	Timeus	Pontianus	Achilles
Maximus	Cyrillus	Anterus	*Alexander.*
Iulianus	Tyrannus	Fabianus	Athanasius
Caius	Vitalius	Cornelius	Petrus
Symmachus	Philagonius.	Lucius	Timothius
Caius	*Eustathius*	Stephanus	Theophilus
Iulianus	Paulinus & Miletius.	Xistus Dionysius	Cyrillus.
Capito	Flauianus	Felix	
Maximus	Porphyrius	Eutichianus	
Antoninus	Alexander	Caius	
Valens	Iohannes.	Marcellinus	
Dolichianus		Marcellus	
Narcissus		Eusebius	
Dius		Melciades	
Germanion		*Syluester.*	
Gordius		Marcus	
Narcissus iterum.		*Iulius*	
Alexander		Liberius	
Mazabanes		Damasus	
Hymeneus		Siricius	
Zambdas		Anastasius.	
Hermon.			
Macarius			
Maximus			
Cyrillus			
Iohannes			
Iuuenalis.			

These

These Catalogues of the Bishops of Ierusalem, Antioch, Rome and Alexandria, Eusebius pursueth vnto the beginning of his owne time; leauing off at [1] Hermon Bishop of Ierusalem, [1] Tyranous bishop of Antioch, [1] Marcellinus bishop of Rome, and [1] Peter Bishop of Alexandria; the rest are supplied out of others, as in the See of Alexandria [2] Achilles, [2] Alexander, [3] Athanasius and [4] Peter out of Socrates. [5] Vitalius, [5] Philagonius and [6] Eustathius out of Theodoret, as also [7] Macarius for Ierusalem. In the See of Rome Marcellus and those that follow out of [7] Optatus and [8] Augustine. The foure bishops of these Churches that met and sate in the Councill of Nice were Sylvester for Rome by Vitus and Vincentius his Presbyters, (Sozomene saieth it was Iulius,) Alexander for Alexandria, Macarius for Ierusalem, and Eustathius for Antioch, as appeareth by their subscriptions vnto the saide Council. Now when these successions beganne, and who were the first Authors and ordainers of them, let vs see what proofe can be brought.

[1] Euseb. lib. 7. ca. 31.
[2] Socrat. lib. 1. ca. 5. & 15.
[3] lib. 4 ca. 20.
[4] Theodor. lib. 1. ca. 3. & 6. 7.
[5] Optatus contra Parmenianum lib. 2.
[6] August. epist. 165.

That Iames the Apostle was the first bishop of Ierusalem; Clemens, Egesippus, Eusebius, Ierome, Chrysostome, Epiphanius, Ambrose and Augustine confirme. Clemens in his first Booke Hypotyposeon writeth thus. [9] Peter, Iames and Iohn after the Assumption of our Sauiour, though they were preferred by the Lord before the rest, yet did they not chalenge that glorie to themselues, but made Iames the Iust, Bishop of Ierusalem. Eusebius. [10] The seate of Iames the Apostle which was the first that receiued the Bishopricke of the Church of Ierusalem, from our Sauiour himselfe and the Apostles, whome also the diuine Scriptures call the Lordes brother, is kept to this day, and euidently shewed to all men by the brethren which haue followed him in ordinarie succession. Ierome. [11] Iames the Lordes brother surnamed Iust, straight after the Lordes passion ordained Bishop of Ierusalem by the Apostles, wrote one onely Epistle, which is (one) of the seuen Catholike (Epistles.) Egesippus that liued neere to the Apostles times in the fift Booke of his Commentaries speaking of Iames, saieth; [12] Iames the Lords brother surnamed Iust, receiued the Church of Ierusalem (in charge) after the Apostles. Chrysostome writing vpon these wordes of the fifteenth Chapter of the Actes,

[9] Apud Euseb. lib. 2. ca. 1.
[10] Idem lib. 7. ca. 19.
[11] Hieron. de scriptoribus ecclesiast. in Iacob.
[12] Egesippus apud Hieron. ibidem.

After they held their peace, Iames answered, saieth; [1] *Hic erat Episcopus ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ*. This Iames was Bishop of the Church of Ierusalem. Epiphanius. [2] Iames called the Lordes brother, was the first Bishop in Ierusalem. Ambrose. [3] Paul sawe Iames (*the Lordes brother*) at Ierusalem, because he was made Bishop of that place by the Apostles. Augustine. [4] The Church of Ierusalem, Iames the Apostle was the first that gouerned by his episcopal office. From Iames to Macarius that sate in the Councill of Nice, were fortie bishops of Ierusalem, succeeding eche other in a perpetuall assent, and sitting eche for his time in that chaire, in which Iames the Apostle sate whē he taught & gouerned the Church of Ierusalem. Their order and succession frō Iames is collected by [5] Eusebius & [6] Epiphanius, out of elder & former Writers which now are perished by the iniurie of time.

The succession of Bishops at Antioch and Alexandria began in the Apostles time, as we finde testified by ancient & incorrupt witnesses. Euodius was the first that succeeded at Antioch after Peters departure, of whom Ignatius that was next to him, writeth in this wise to the Church there, [7] Remember Euodius your blessed Pastor, ὃς πρῶτος ἐνεχειρίσθη τοῦ θρόνου τὴν διατύπωσιν τοῦ τοιούτου, which first receiued from the Apostles, the chiefe ouersight (*or regimēt*) of vs. So saith Euseb. [8] Of those (*that were bishops*) at Antioch, Euodius was the first that was appointed, Ignatius the next, who not only [9] conuersed with the Apostles, but also sawe Christ in the flesh after his resurrection when he appeared to Peter & the rest of the disciples. His own words as Ierom alleageth them, are; [10] *Ego verò & post resurrectionem in carne eum vidi, & quando venit ad Petrum & ad eos qui cum Petro erant.* I sawe (*Christ*) in the flesh after his resurrection, when he came to Peter & those that were with Peter, & said to them, handle me & see. [11] A spirit hath not flesh & bones as you see me haue. Of him Origen saith. [12] *Ignatium dico, episcopum Antiochiæ post Petrum secundū.* I meane Ignatius, the 2. bishop of Antioch after Peter. Ierom maketh [13] Ignatius to be the third bishop of the church of Antioch frō Peter the Apostle, reckoning Peter for the first; after whom succeeded Ignatius in the second place; as Eusebius writeth. [14] Ignatius so much spoken by most men to this present day, τῆς κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν παροικίας δεύτερος τὸν θρόνον ταύτης διαδεξάμενος, was the second that enioyed

1 *Chrysost. homil. 33. in 15. cap. Actor.*
2 *Epiphan. lib. 2. to. 2. hæres. 66.*
3 *Ambros. in ca. 1. epist. ad Galat.*
4 *August. contra Cresconium lib. 2. ca. 37.*
5 *Euseb. lib 4. c. 5. & lib. 5. ca. 12.*
6 *Epiphan. hæres. 66.*
7 *Ignat. epist. ad Antiochenos.*
8 *Euseb. l. 3 ca. 22*
9 *Socrat. lib. 6. ca. 8.*
10 *Hieron. in Ignatio.*
11 *Ignat. in epist. ad Smyrnæos.*
12 *Orig. in homil. 6. in Lucam.*
13 *Hiero. de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis in Ignatio.*
14 *Euseb. lib. 3. ca. 35.*

ioyed the Bishopricke in the succession of Peter at Antioch. Touching the Sees of Antioch, Alexandria and Rome, Gregorie saith, (Petrus) [1] *sublimauit sedem in qua etiam quiescere & præsentem vitam finire dignatus est. ipse decorauit sedem in qua Euangelistam discipulum misit. ipse firmauit sedem in qua septem annis quamuis discessurus sedit. Vnius atque vna est sedes, cui ex authoritate diuina tres nunc Episcopi præsident.* Peter aduanced the seate (*of Rome*) where he thought good to rest, and end this present life, he also adorned the seate (*of Alexandria*) to which he sent his disciple (*Marke*) the Euangelist, he fastned the seate (*of Antioch*) in which he rested seuen yeares, though with purpose to depart. It is one seate, and of one Apostle, in which three Bishops now sit by diuine authority.

[1] *Gregor. lib. 6. epist. 37.*

For the fifth bishop of Alexandria, Ierom & Eusebius concurre with Gregory; [2] *Marcus interpres Petri Apostoli, & Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ primus episcopus.* Marke the Interpreter of Peter the Apostle, & the first bishop of the church of Alexandria, who dying 6 yeeres before Peter, left his church & place vnto Anianus; as Euseb. writeth; [3] *Nerone 8. regni annum agente,* [illegible] Nero being in the 8. yeere of his raigne, Anianus a very godly man & euery way admirable, first vndertooke the publike administration of the Church of Alexandria, after Marke the Apostle & Euangelist. And as the succession at Antioch began in Euodius that was ordained by the Apostles; so at Alexandria they continued the same course from Marke downeward, by Ierom's owne confession. [4] *Alexandriæ à Marco Euangelista vsq; ad Heraclam & Dionysium Episcopos, Presbyteri semper vnum ex se electum in excelsiori gradu collocatum episcopum nominabant.* At Alexandria frō Mark the euangelist vnto Heraclas & Dionysius, the Presbyters did alwayes choose one of themselues, whō being placed in an higher degree they called (*their*) bishop.

[2] *Hiero. præfatiō in commentarios super Matthæum.*

[3] *Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 24.*

[4] *Hiero ad Euagrium.*

Of the succession at Rome, Irenæus saith; [5] *Fundantes igitur & instruentes beati Apostoli ecclesiam, Lino episcopatum administrandæ ecclesiæ tradiderunt. Successit huic Anacletus; post eum sorte tertio loco ab Apostolis Episcopatum sortitur Clemens qui & vidit ipsos Apostolos & contulerat cum eis.* The blessed Apostles (*Peter and Paul*) founding and ordering the Church (*of Rome*) deliuered the

[5] *Irenæus lib. 3. ca. 3.*

(ouerſight or) charge of gouerning the Church to Linus. Anacletus ſucceeded him, and in the third place after the Apoſtles; Clemens, which ſawe the Apoſtles themſelues and conferred with them, vndertooke the Biſhops office. Next to this Clement ſucceeded Euariſtus, after Euariſtus Alexander, and then in the ſixt place from the Apoſtles was appointed Sixtus; then Teleſphorus, then Higinus, then Pius, after whó was Anicetus. Next to Anicetus ſucceeded Soter, & now (whē Irenæus wrote) in the 12. place from the Apoſtles, Eleutherius hath the Biſhoprike. And likewiſe Optatus. [1] *Negare non potes, ſcire te in vrbe Romæ Petro primo Cathedram epiſcopalē eſſe collocatam, &c. ergo Cathedra vnica ſedit prior Petrus, cui ſucceſſit Linus, Lino ſucceſſit Clemens, Clementi Anacletus, &c.* Thou canſt not deny (ſaith he to Parmenian) but thou knoweſt that in the city of Rome the epiſcopall chaire was conferred firſt to Peter &c. In that chaire, which was but one, ſate firſt Peter, whom Linus ſucceeded, and after Linus Clemens, after Clemens Anacletus, after Anacletus Euariſtus, then Sixtus, Theleſphorus, Iginus, Anicetus, Pius, Soter, Eleutherius; & ſo naming 20. more in order vnto Syluester in whoſe time the great Councill of Nice was kept, & after him fiue others vnto Siricius; *qui hodie noſter eſt ſocius*; which at this day is our fellow (*Biſhop.*) And ſo S. Auſten. [2] If the rowe of Biſhops ſucceeding one an other be to be conſidered, how much more certainely and indeed ſoundly doe we reckon from Peter himſelfe? For next to Peter ſucceeded Linus, after Linus Clemens, after Clemens Anacletus, then Euariſtus, Alexander, Sixtus, Theleſphorus, Iginus, Anicetus, Pius, Soter, Eleutherius, Victor, and ſo 25. more vnto Anaſtaſius, next after Siricius.

Neither had theſe 4. Sees only their ſucceſſions from the Apoſtles: the reſt of the Churches diſperſed throughout the world had the like deriuation & continuation of biſhops from the Apoſtles or Apoſtolike men, that theſe had. Irenæus taketh the example of the Church of Rome, [3] *quoniam valde longum eſt in hoc tali volumine, omnium eccleſiarum ſucceſſiones enumerare*, because it would bee ouerlong in ſuch a Volume to repeate the ſucceſſions of all Churches. Otherwiſe he plainely ſaieth; [4] *Agnitio vera eſt Apoſtolorum doctrina, & antiquus eccleſiæ ſtatus in vniuerſo mundo ſecundum ſucceſſiones Epiſcoporum, quibus illi eam, quæ in vnoquoque*

[1] *Optat. lib. 2. contra Parmenianum.*

[2] *Auguſt. epiſt. 165.*

[3] *Irenæus lib. 3. ca. 3.*

[4] *Irenæus lib. 4. ca. 63.*

unoquoque loco est, ecclesiam tradiderunt. The true knowledge is the doctrine of the Apostles, and the auncient state of the Church in the whole world, by the successions of Bishops, to whom (*the Apostles*) deliuered the Church which is in euerie place. Tertullian saieth as much; and choketh all the heretikes of his time with that challenge. [1] *Edant origines ecclesiarum suarum, euoluant ordinem Episcoporum suorum ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, vt primus ille Episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis aut Apostolicis viris habuerit auctorem & antecessorem. Hoc modo ecclesiæ Apostolicæ census suos deferunt; Sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Iohanne collocatum refert, sicut Romanorum Clementem à Petro ordinatum edit; proinde vtique & cæteræ exhibent, quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constituti Apostolici seminis traductes habeant.* Let them shewe the originals of their Churches; let them number the order of their Bishops so deriued by succession from the beginning that their first Bishop had one of the Apostles or Apostolike men for his auchour and antecessor. After this maner, (*by succession of Bishops running vp to the Apostles or their Scholers*) doe the Apostolike Churches bring in their accounts; as the Churches of Smyrna hauing Polycarpe placed there by S. Iohn; as the Church of Rome sheweth Clement ordained by Peter; as the rest of the Churches exhibite what branches they haue of the Apostolike seede, euen those that were (*first*) placed in the Bishops office by the Apostles. Austen like wise, [2] *Radix Christianæ societatis per sedes Apostolorum & successiones Episcoporum, certa per orbem propagatione diffunditur.* The roote of Christian societie is increased and extended throughout the world by the seates of the Apostles, and successions of Bishops.

[1] Tertul. de præscriptionibus aduers. hæreticos.

[2] August. epist. 48

The particulars are infinite, if we should recken all the Churches, that receiued Bishops from the Apostles and their followers; and the names of the men after so many hundred yeeres, are somewhat buried in oblition, and raced with the generall rage of ignorance and barbarisme, that hath seized on the best places, and perished the best writers before our times. [3] It is not possible (saieth Eusebius in his time) by name to rehearse them all that were Pastours and Euangelists at the first succeeding after the Apostles in the Churches dispersed throughout the world: yet those which

[3] Euseb. li. 3. ca. 37

which are extant, make proofe sufficient for the matter in question; to wit, that Bishops were placed by the Apostles to gouerne as well the Presbyters as the people of each place, and succeeded the Apostles in impeling hands, which Presbyters did not.

Of Timothie, Tite, Linus, Clemens and Dionysius named in the Scriptures, Eusebius writeth thus, [1] Timotheus is recorded in the stories to bee the first that had the Bishoprike of Ephesus, as also Titus of the Churches in Creete. Linus, whom Paul in his second epistle to Timothie mentioneth as present with him at Rome, was the first that had the Bishoprike of the Church of Rome after Peter. And Clemens that was appointed the third Bishop of the Church of Rome, is witnessed by Paul himselfe to haue bene his fellow labourer and helper. Dionysius also the Areopagite, who as S. Luke in the Acts noteth, was first conuerted by Pauls sermon at Athens, was likewise the first Bishop of the Church of Athens, as another Dionysius a very ancient Pastour of the Church of Corinth writeth.

[1] Euseb. li. 3. ca. 4.

Of Caius, Archippus, Onesimus, Polycarpus and others, the like testimonies are extant in antient writers. Origen saieth, [1] *Scitur traditione Maiorum quod hic Caius Episcopus fuerit Thessalonicensis ecclesiæ.* Our Elders haue deliuered vs by tradition, that this Caius (of whom Paul speaketh in the 16. chapter of his epistle to the Romans) was Bishop of the Church of Thessalonica. Upon Pauls words to the Colossians; [2] Say to Archippus, take heed to the ministerie which thou hast receiued in the Lord, that thou fulfil it. Ambrose writeth; [3] Hee warneth their ouerseer by themselues to be carefull of their saluation. And because the epistle is written only for the peoples sake, therefore he directeth it to the Church and not to their ruler. For after Epaphras had instructed the, Archippus vndertooke the gouernment of their Church. [4] Ignatius (saieth Eusebius) being at Smyrna where Polycarpe was, wrate an epistle to the Church of Ephesus, mentioning Onesimus their Pastor. And of Polycarpe he saieth; [5] There remained yet in Asia Polycarpus that lined with the Apostles, and receiued the Bishoprike of the Church of Smyrna frō those that themselues sawe the Lord, and ministred vnto him. Irenæus affirmeth as much; [6] *Et Polycarpus non solum ab Apostolis edoctus, & conuersatus cum multis ex eis, qui Dominum nostrum viderunt,*

[1] Orig. li. 10. in ca. 16. epist. ad Romanos.

[2] Col. 4.

[3] Ambros. in 4. epist. ad Coloss.

[4] Euseb. li. 3. ca. 35.

[5] Ibidem.

[6] Iren. li. 3. ca. 3.

sed

sed etiam ab Apostolis in Asia, in ea quæ est Smyrnis ecclesia constitutus Episcopus; quem & nos vidimus in prima nostra ætate, hic docuit semper, quæ ab Apostolis didicerat, quæ & ecclesiæ tradidit. Polycarpus not only instructed by the Apostles, & cõuersant with many of them which saw the Lord, but also by ỹ Apostles made Bishop of the Church of Smyrna; WHOM WE SAW WHEN WE WERE YONG, he alwayes taught that which he learned of the Apostles, and deliuered it vnto the Church.

If Christian Churches & writers may deserue credite with vs, we haue the sincerest and eldest cleerely witnessing and confirming vnto vs, that the Apostles when they saw their time, placed of their Scholers & followers, one in euery Church (which they planted) to be Bishop and Pastor of the place; and that the successions of Bishops so placed by the Apostles, dured in all the Apostolike Churches euen to the times that they wrate and testified thus much. Neither speake they of these things by heare say; they liued with the Apostles Scholers; receiued from their mouthes the things which they witnesse to posteritie, and their successors in most churches they saw with their eies, & conferred with them. Irenæus that in his youth was Polycarpus Scholer, saieth; [1] *Habemus annumerare eos, qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesijs, & successores eorum vsque ad nos. Si recondidit a mysteria scissent Apostoli, quæ seorsim & latenter ab reliquis perfectos docebant, his vel maxime traderent ea, quibus etiam ipsas ecclesias committebant. Valde enim perfectos & irreprehensibiles in omnibus eos esse volebant, quos & successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum magisterij tradentes.* We can reckon those which were ordained bishops in the churches by the Apostles and their successors euen to our age. If the Apostles had knowen any hid mysteries, which they taught to the perfect secretly and apart from the rest, they would most of all haue deliuered those things to such as they cõmitted the Churches vnto. For they greatly desired to haue them perfect and vnreproueable in all things, whom they left to bee their successours, deliuering vnto them their owne place of teaching. Egesippus liued at the same tyme somewhat elder then Irenæus, and trauelling to Rome vnder Anicetus, he conferred with [2] Primus Bishop of Corinth, and diuers other Bishops as he went, and found them all agreeing in one, and the same

[1] Iren. lib. 3. ca. 3.

[2] Egesippus apud Euseb. lib. 4. ca. 22.

same doctrine, [illegible] In euery succession, and in euery Citie, (saieth he as I trauelled) they kept that trueth which the Lawe and the Prophets, and the Lord himselfe preached. And the Church of Corinth persisted in the right way vnto the time of *Primus* Bishop of Corinth. And shewing how the Church of Ierusalem came first to be troubled with heresies, he saieth; [1] After that *Iames* the Iust (who was both an Apostle, and the first Bishop of Ierusalem) was martyred by the same kind of death that the Lord was, *Simeon* the sonne of *Cleophas*, vncle (*to Iames*) was made Bishop, whom all preferred for this respect, because he was an other of Christes cosins (*as the former was*). That Church, men called a Virgin, for as yet she was not infected with false doctrine: but *Thebulis* because he was not made Bishop, was the first that corrupted her. Dionysius equal in age with Egesippus and Bishop of Corinth straight after Primus, in his epistle written to the Athenians, putteth them in minde that [2] Dionysius the Areopagite conuerted to the faith by S. Paul, was their first Bishop, and Publius another of their Bishops, martyred by the persecuters of those times, & their Church restored by Quadratus (an other of the Apostles disciples) that next succeeded Publius in the Bishoprike. Clemens Alexandrinus, who liued in the next age to Saint Iohn the Apostle, reporteth out of former stories, that S. Iohn [3] returning from his banishment to Ephesus, went to the Churches round about, being thereto requested, and in some places made Bishops, in other places chose such into the Clergie, as the holy Ghost signified vnto him; and that euen then the Bishop was τὸ τῶν κληρικῶν, set ouer and aboue all both Clergie and people. Methodius saieth, that the Apostle Peter directed [4] Eucharius, one of the 70. disciples, with Valerius and Maternus, to preach the Gospell in Germanie and France; and Eucharius planting a Church at Treuers, held the Bishoprike of that Citie 23. yeeres, and then dying [4] *Treuerica ecclesiæ culmen Valerio derelinquit*, relinquished the chiefe dignitie of the Church of Treuers to Valerius, who after fifteene yeeres, left the Pastorall charge to Maternus. [4] After Maternus had held the regiment of preaching (the word) 40. yeeres, one Auspicius sate (*in his place.*) And so along by lawfull successions, many singular and excellent men for holinesse and grace,

1 *Ibidem.*

2 *Dionys. apud Eusebium, li. 4. ca. 23.*

3 *Clemens Alexandrinus, apud Eusebium, li. 3. ca. 23.*

4 *Methodius apud Marianum Scotum, in annis Christi, 72. 74. 86. & 100.*

grace; (namelie) Serenus, Felix, Manscetus, Clemens, Moses, Martinus, Anastasius, Andreas, Rusticus, Fabricius, Fortunatus, Cassianus, Marcus, and many others.

About [1] Irenæus time, who succeeded [1] Pothynus Bishop of Lions in France, that was martyred when he was [1] 90. yeeres of age, we finde [2] Thraseas Bishop of Smyrna after Polycarpe, [3] Apollinarius Bishop of Hierapolis after [4] Papias an other of Saint Iohns Scholers, [5] Banchillus Bishop of Corinth, after Primus and [5] Dionysius, [5] Polycrates Bishop of Ephesus succeeding some of his kinsmen in the same seate, [5] Theophilus Bishop of Cesaria, to haue bene renowmed, & the most of them writers in the Church of Christ. Of his time Tertullian saieth; [6] *Percurre ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsidentur, &c.* Surueie the Apostolike Churches, where the very chaires of the Apostles are to this day succeeded (or continued.) Is Achaia neere to thee? There thou hast Corinth. If thou be not farre from Macedonia; thou hast Philippos and Thessalonica. If thou trauell into Asia, thou hast Ephesus. If thou lie neere to Italie, thou hast Rome. In Cyprians time, who was Bishop of Carthage, the Bishop of Cesarea was [7] Theoctistus, and after him [8] Domnus, then [8] Theotecnus and [9] Agapius; the Bishop of Laodicea, was [7] Heliodorus that succeeded [7] Thelimydres, and after Heliodorus followed [9] Socrates, [9] Eusebius, [9] Anatolius, [9] Stephanus, and [9] Theodotus. The Bishop of Tyrus was [7] Marinus before whom were [7] Alexander and [10] Cassius, and after whome came [11] Tirammion and [12] Paulinus; yea, the successions of Bishops in these and other Churches dured from the Apostles, not only to the Councill of Nice, but a thousand yeeres after Christ; and in many places to this present day. For where S. Iohn the Euangelist wrate to the Pastours of the seuen Churches in Asia; to wit, of [13] Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia and Laodicea; their successours sate in the Councill of Nice, retaining the same place and office of Bishops which their predecessours had in the Apostles time, and there subscribed with the rest, [14] Menophantes Bishop of Ephesus, [14] Eutychius Bishop of Smyrna; [14] Serras Bishop of Thyatira; [14] Artemidorus Bishop of Sardis; [14] Cyrion Bishop of Philadelphia, and [14] Theodotus Bishop of Laodicea, together with the [14] Bishops of Athens, Thessalonica,

[1] *Euseb. li. 5. ca. 5.*
[2] *Idem li. 5. ca. 24*
[3] *li 4. ca. 21.*
[4] *li. 3. ca. 35.*
[5] *li 5. ca. 22.*
[5] *li. 4. ca. 22.*
[6] *Tertul. de præscriptionibus aduers. hæreticos.*
[7] *Euseb. li. 7. ca. 5.*
[8] *Ibidem ca. 14.*
[9] *Ibidem ca. 32.*
[10] *Ibid. li. 5. ca. 27*
[11] *Idē li. 8. ca. 13.*
[12] *& li. 10. ca. 3.*
[13] *Reu. 1. & 3.*
[14] *Vide subscriptiones Concilii Nicæni.*

lonica, Hierapolis, and many other places that had their first Bishops from the Apostles hands. In the 4. 5. and 6. generall Councill, which was kept 676. yeeres after Christ; the Bishops that succeeded in the same seates, did likewise subscribe, and so hath the succession of Bishops in many places of Christendome, continued from the Apostles times to this present age. In some countreys where Christianitie is decaied, their succession of Bishops is interrupted; otherwise, throughout the Christian world; no example before our age can be shewed that euer the Church of Christ in any place or time, since the Apostles died, had any other form of gouernment, then by Bishops succeeding and ruling as well the Presbyters, as the people that were vnder them.

Our answere is easie and readie to all that you haue brought; first, the Bishops of the Primitiue Church which succeeded one another in euery place, were all one with Presbyters as Ierome telleth you; and then we graunt without exception all that you haue alleaged out of these ancient Fathers and Writers. Next, when they make any difference betwixt Bishops and Presbyters, as sometimes they doe; by Bishops they vnderstand all Pastours and Ministers of the worde and Sacraments, and by Presbyters they meane the laie Elders, which we seeke to restore. Thirdly, if you could proone, that Bishops were aboue other Ministers of the worde and Sacraments; yet that superioritie was nothing els, but a power to call the rest together, to propose matters in doubt vnto them, and to aske their voyces and consents, by which the Bishops of those times were directed, and from which they might by no meanes diuert to their owne wils and pleasures.]

I know how easie & readie a thing it is with you to say what you list, if you may be trusted without any further triall; but if it please you substantiallie to proone these things which you affirme, or but any one of them, you shal find it is a matter of greater difficultie and longer studie then you take it for. Did you pleade before the poore Iurie that is, for earthly trifles, they would not credite your worde without some witnesse; and in maters of religion that touch the peace & safetie of the whole Church of Christ, do you looke your voluntarie should bee receiued without all authoritie or testimonie to warrant it? if your follie be such as to expect so much at other mens hands, their simplicitie is not such as to yeeld it. In deed to my conceiuing, the summe of your answer is very like the form of your discipline,

tipline, for neither of thē hath any proofe, possibilitie, nor coherēcie.

To proove the Bishops calling to be different from the Presbyters, that yet helped in the word and Sacraments; I shew that Bishops ordained ministers, which Presbyters by the iudgement and assertion of the Primitiue Church might not doe; and that in euery Church there were or might be many Presbyters according to the necessitie of the place; but no more then one Bishop in euerie Church did or might succeed the Apostles in their chaires. Hence I conclude that Bishops euer since the Apostles times, were distinguished from those Presbyters that assisted the Pastour of each place in the word and Sacraments. You answere that either Bishops were all one with Presbyters; or if there were any difference betwixt them, Presbyters then were laie Elders. In which words you close not onely a monstrous fallitie, but a manifest contrarietie. For in effect you say, Presbyters were Bishops, and no Bishops; Presbyters were no Laie men, and yet Laie men. If Presbyters were Bishops, they were no Laie Elders; if they were Laie Elders, they were no Bishops. You must therefore choose the one, and refuse the other as false and repugnant to the former. Take which you will, the choise must be yours, what you will answere.

The Bishops which succeeded the Apostles were the Pastors and ministers of euery parish; the Presbyters were the Laie Elders, that together with the Bishop gouerned the Church in common.] Could you make any proofe for laie Elders, either in Scriptures or Fathers; you had some shew to mistake Presbyters for laie Elders; but I haue alreadie perused the weakenesse of your ghesses; and withall made iust and full proofe for the contrarie; that the Primitiue Church of Christ had no Presbyters, but ministers of the worde and Sacramentes. If you bee loth to turne backe to the place, heare what the great African Councill saieth, wherein sate besides S. Augustine, 216. Bishops. [t] In the former Councill, saieth Aurelius, We thought meete that these three degrees tied to a kind of continencie by reason of their consecration, I meane Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, ἵνα ὦσιν ἀκέραιοι ἐν πᾶσιν ἁγνοὶ τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ ἁγνείας, καὶ ἐν τῇ θεραπείᾳ τοῦ θείου καθαρεύωσιν, as becommeth Bishops & Priests of God & Leuites, & seruiters about the diuine Sacramēts, shold be continent in all things. All the Bishops answered, we like wel that all which stand or serue at the aultar should bee continent.

[t] *African Concilis, can. 4.*

Then

Then Presbyters were consecrated, and Priests to God, and approched to the aultar, and ministred the diuine Sacraments. The Imperiall lawes say as much; [1] Touching the most reuerend Presbyters and Deacons, if they be found to giue false euidence in a pecuniarie cause, *Sufficiat pro verberibus, tribus annis separari à sacro ministerio*; it shall suffice for them in stead of whipping to be three yeeres *separated from the sacred ministerie*: but if in criminall causes they beare false witnesse, *clero nudatos legitimis pœnis subdi præcipimus*; wee commaund them *to bee degraded of their Clergie*, and subiected to the penalties of the lawe. Then Presbyters in the Primitiue Church were both *of the Clergie and sacred ministerie*, as the very lawes of the Romane Empire doe testifie. Ierome, on whose words you so much depend, saieth; [2] *Hæc vt ostenderemus apud veteres eosdem fuisse Presbyteros quos & Episcopos.* All these places prooue, that in ancient times, Presbyters and Bishops were all one. And againe, [3] *Episcopi, Presbyteri & Diaconi debent magnoperè prouidere, vt cunctum populum, cui præsident, conuersatione & sermone præcedant. Qua vehementer ecclesiam Christi destruit, meliores esse Laicos quàm Clericos*, The Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, ought greatly to prouide that they excell all the people which are vnder them, in conuersation and doctrine; because it vehemently destroyeth the Church of Christ to haue the Laie men better then the Clergie men, And Augustine, [4] *Quicunque aut Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Laicus, &c.* Whosoeuer either Bishop, Presbyter or Laie man, doth declare how eternall life may be gotten, hee is worthily called the messenger of God. Then if Bishops were no Laie men, no more were Presbyters. You must therefore send your laie Elders to the New-found land; the Christian world neuer heard of any such ecclesiasticall Gouernours, before some men in our age began to set that fansie on foote.

As for Presbyters that were Clergie men and ministers of the word, we shew you both by the Scriptures and stories, they were many in one Church, and yet was there in euery Church and Citie, but one of them that succeeded the Apostles, as Pastour of ỹ place, with power to impose handes for the ordaining of Presbyters and Deacons. Those successours to the Apostles, the Church of Christ euen from the Apostles age, hath distinguished from other Presbyters

[1] *Nouella constitutione, 123. ca. 2 Reuerendissimis.*

[2] *Hiero. in ca. 1. ad Titum.*

[3] *Idem in 2. ca. epist. ad Titum.*

[4] *August. hom. 2. in Apocal.*

ters by the two proper markes of episcopall power and function; I meane Succession & Ordination, and called them bishops. Thus much is manifest prooued vnto you by all those Apostolike Churches that had many Presbyters as helpers in the word, and neuer but one Bishop that succeeded in the Apostolike chaire. At Alexandria this succession began from Marke the Euangelist, and first Bishop of that church, after whose death, Peter and Paul yet liuing, Anianus was elected by the Presbyters there, and placed in an higher degree ouer the Presbyters, and called a Bishop. They be Ieromes owne words that I presse you with. [1] *Alexandriæ à Marco Euangelista Presbyteri semper vnum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum Episcopum nominabant.* At Alexandria from Marke the Euangelist, the Presbyters alwayes electing one of themselues, & placing him in an higher degree, called him a Bishop. The like he saieth was done in the whole world. [2] *Post quam vnusquisque eos quos baptizauerat suos esse putabat, non Christi; in toto orbe decretum est, vt vnus de Presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris, ad quem omnis ecclesiæ cura pertineret.* After euery man began to take those, whom he baptized, to be his owne & not Christs; it was decreed in the whole world, that one of the Presbyters should be chosen and set aboue the rest, to whom the whole (*or chiefe*) care of the Church should pertaine. There were many Presbyters in euery Church, and out of them one was chosen, and set aboue the rest (*of the Presbyters*) to represse schismes. He doeth not say, that euery place had one Presbyter and no moe, which was called a Bishop, but one chosen out of the Presbyters (*which were many*) was placed in euery Church throughout the world, not ouer the flocke only, but ouer the rest of the Presbyters also, which preached & baptized as well as he, and consequently were ministers of the word and Sacraments, and no laie Elders as you dreame.

[1] Hiero. ad Euagrium.

[2] Hiero. in 1. cap. ad Titum.

Wherefore to tell vs, that the Bishops which succeeded the Apostles in their chaires, were the Presbyters and ministers of euery parish, is a very iest. Not onely S. Ieromes words, but all the Apostolike Churches and auncient storyes most plainly conuince the contrary. At Antioch euen as at Alexandria, there were from the Apostles times a number of Presbyters and labourers in the word; yet the succession continued alwayes in one & no moe. Ignatius the next bishop of Antioch after Euodius, who receiued the first charge

of that Church from the Apostles hands, when he was caried prisoner to Rome, writeth vnto the Church of Antioch, willing the [1] Laitie to obey the Presbyters and Deacons: and adding, "you Presbyters feede the flocke that is with you," till God shewe τὸν μετ' ἐμὲ ἀρχιποιμένα ὑμῖν, who shall be your Ruler or Pastour after my death. The like he doeth to the Churches of Trallis, Magnesia, Tarsus, Philippos, Philadelphia, Smyrna, and Ephesus, in euery of his epistles to them, remembring the Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, that guided them, and naming Polycarpus, Onesimus, Demas, Vitalis and Polybius as Bishops of Smyrna, Ephesus, Magnesia, Philippos and Trallis, apart from the Presbyters of the verie same Churches: yea, what Church of account was there in Christendome, that had not at one and the same time, both Bishops and Presbyters. [2] Irenæus was Presbyter vnder Pothymus Bishop of Lions. At Antioch was Geminus vnder Zebenus, and Malchion vnder Paulus Samosatenus, and [3] Diodorus, [3] Heliodorus, [3] Theodorus, [3] Isaac, [3] Mochinus and infinite others vnder the Bishops of that See. So at Alexandria were [2] Pantenus, [2] Clemens and [2] Origen Presbyters vnder Serapion, Asclepiades, and Demetrius Bishops. And so Dionysius vnder Heraclas, and Pierius vnder Theonas. And vnder the foresayd [4] Dionysius when hee was Bishop of Alexandria, were [4] Maximus, Dioscorus, Demetrius, Lucius, Faustinus and Aquila Presbyters, [5] Tertullian, [5] Cyprian and [5] Cecilius were Presbyters in the Church of Carthage. Saint Augustine was a Presbyter vnder [6] Valerius Bishop of Hippo, and vnder Augustine was [7] Eradius that succeeded him and [7] other moe. Chrysostome was first Presbyter vnder Flauianus Bishop of Antioch, and after made Bishop of Constantinople. Of Vigilantius a Presbyter in Spaine, Ierome saieth; [8] I maruell the Bishop in whose charge *(or Dioceſſe)* he is reported to be a Presbyter, doeth not breake that vnprofitable vessell with the Apostolike rod, euen with an iron rod. Of Ierome S. Austen saieth, [9] Although by the names of honor which now haue preuailed in the vse of the church, a Bishops place be greater then a Presbyters, yet in many pointes Augustine is lesse then Ierome. The Presbyteries of [10] Cæsarea, [11] Edissa, [12] Massilia, [12] Vienna, [12] Millan, & of infinite other churches might be like wise proued, but why should I stand so long in a case as cleare as sunne-shine to those that haue any taste of learning

[1] *Ignatius in epist. ad Antiochenos.*

[2] *Vide Hieronymum de scripto. virtibus eccleſiaſticis*

[3] *Et Gennadium de viris illuſtribus.*

[4] *Euseb. li. 7. ca. 11*

[5] *Hiero. de eccleſiaſt. ſcriptoribus.*

[6] *Auguſt. epiſt. 148. & 110.*

[8] *Hiero. ad Riparium aduerſ. Vigilantium.*

[9] *Auguſt. epiſt. 19*

[10] *Baſil. epiſt 4. & Gregorii ibidem 30.*

[11] *Chalcedonenſ. Concilii, actio 10.*

[12] *Gennadius de viris illuſtribus.*

learning or vse of reading. They can light on no ancient Councill nor story of the Church, but they shall find the Clergie of each Citie distinct from the Bishop, & subiect vnto the Bishop. Yea, no Presbyter might depart from the Church where he was ordained, without the consent of his Bishop, nor be receiued in another Church by the Bishop there, without the liking & licence of the Bishop whose Presbyter he was first, as appeareth by the Councils of Nice, can. 15. & 16. of Antioch, ca. 3. of Chalcedon, ca. 8. of Africa, ca. 55. neither might any man be made a Bishop by the Canons, except hee were first a Presbyter, and so did [1] rise by euery degree vnto the heigth of the Bishops calling. All which, & a thousand other rules and Canons doe exquisitely proue, that euery Citie had besides their Bishop and vnder their Bishop, as well Presbyters as other Clergie men; & so without all contradiction Presbyters were distinct frō Bishops, & a degree beneath Bishops, whersoeuer they be reckoned in order together as Deacons, Presbyters & Bishops.

[1] *Sardicens. Concilii, ca. 10.*

But anciently, as *Ierome* saieth, *Presbyters and Bishops were all one.*] Those names did not differ at first by reason the Episcopall power and honour was in the Apostles and Euangelists; but when those succeeded that were neither Apostles nor Euangelists, then began they to be called Bishops. [2] *Eosdem olim vocabant Episcopos & Presbyteros; eos autem, qui nunc vocantur Episcopi nominabant Apostolos.* At the first (saieth Theodorete) they called the same men both Bishops and Presbyters; and those that are now called Bishops, they named Apostles. In proces of time they left the name of Apostle to those y were in deed Apostles, & they called them Bishops whom before they termed Apostles. And so Ambrose, [3] *Apostoli sunt Episcopi. Post Episcopum plus esse intelligitur, qui prophetare dicitur, qui ordo nunc potest esse Presbyteri.* The Apostles are (now) the Bishops. After the Bishop he is greatest, that is said to prophesie, which now may bee the order of Presbyters. Ierome commenting vpon these words of Dauid; Thy children shalbe in stead of thy fathers, saieth: [4] The Apostles (O Church) were thy fathers, because they begate thee; and nowe for that they bee departed this world, thou hast in their stead children, (*which are*) the Bishops created by thy selfe. for they are (now) thy fathers because thou art gouerned by the. S. Augustine vpon the same words, saith in like maner, [5] The Apostles begate thee,

[2] *Theodoret. in ca. 3. 1. epist. ad Tim.*

[3] *Ambros. in 4. ca. epist. ad Ephesios.*

[4] *Hiero. in Psalmum. 44.*

[5] *Augus. in psal. 44.*

they are (thy) fathers. Is the Church forsaken by their departure? God forbid. In stead of thy fathers, are children borne vnto thee. The Apostles were fathers; in stead of the Apostles, Bishops are appointed. Those the Church calleth fathers, yet those she begate, and those she placeth in the seates of (her) fathers.

If we should graunt you that a difference was obserued in the primitiue Church betwixt the Presbyters and Bishops as well for ordination as succession, yet that difference grew onely by the custome and vse *of the Church, and not by any diuine precept or ordinance. And so much is affirmed both by S. Austen and S. Ierome in those very places which you alleage, for the Church as they say, and not Christ or his Apostles, placed Bishops in the seates and roumes of the Apostles.* The S. Austen and S. Ierome doe say that the Church createth and placeth Bishops in the Apostles seates; they do not meane as you misconster their wordes, that the Church hath altered the fourme of the Apostolike gouernement which she receiued, and of her selfe deuised an other kinde of regiment by Bishops; that were, to charge the Church of Christ with a voluntarie defection from the Apostles discipline, and an arrogant preferring of her owne inuention before Gods ordinance. With which though some in our times can bee content to chalenge the whole Church of Christ, and euen the Apostles Coadiutors and Scholers; yet Augustine and Ierome were farre from that humour. Their meaning is, that albeit the Apostles bee departed this life, who were worthilie accounted Fathers, because they were called immediatelie by Christ himselfe to conuert and congregate his Church; yet the Church is not destitute, for so much as shee hath power from Christ to create and appoint other of her children in their places, which are Bishops. [1] Thinke not thy selfe forsaken saieth Austen to the Church, because thou seest not Peter and Paul by whom thou wast begotten; of thine owne offspring a fatherhoode is growen vnto thee. In steade of the fathers, children are borne vnto thee; thou shalt make them Rulers ouer the whole earth. Hee saieth not, the Bishops are strangers or intruders on the Apostles possession: but, they are lawfull children, and rightlie placed in their fathers roumes, whose heires and successours they are, though their vocation be not immediate from God, as the Apostles was. And if Saint Austens

[1] *August. in Psal. 44.*

iudge-

iudgement in this case may preuaile; hee applieth the verie wordes of the holy Ghost to warrant the placing of Bishops as Gouerners ouer the whole earth. And so doeth Ierome; [1] (Thou shalt make them rulers ouer all the earth:) Christ hath appointed his Saints ouer all people. for in the name of God is the Gospel spred into all the quarters of the earth, in which the Rulers of the Church, that is, Bishops are placed.

[1] Hiero. in Psal. 44.

And because you shroud your opinion vnder the shadow of S. Ierome and S. Austen, heare what account they make of this position, that by Gods law there should be no difference betwixt Presbyters and Bishops. Ierome rehearsing these wordes out of Iohn of Ierusalems letters; [2] *Nihil interest inter Presbyterum & Episcopum, &c.* There is no *(such great)* difference betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter, their dignitie is all one, maketh this answere. [3] *Hoc satis imperitè: in portu vt dicitur naufragium.* This is ignorantly enough spoken; a shipwracke in the hauen, as the Prouerbe goeth; that is, an errour in the first entrance. Else-where instructing Marcella against the fantasticall noueltie of the Montanists, and shewing wherein Montanus dissented from the Catholike Church, Ierome saieth; [3] *Apud nos Apostolorum locum Episcopi tenent; apud eos Episcopus tertius est, atque ita in tertium, id est penè vltimum locum Episcopi deuoluuntur.* With vs the Bishops haue the place of the Apostles; with them a Bishop is the third degree, and so the Bishops are tumbled in the third, that is, almost the lowest place. And giuing his censure of this, and the rest of Montanus conceits, he saieth; [3] *Hæc sunt quæ coargutione non indigent: perfidiam eorum exposuisse, superasse est.* These things need no refutation, to expresse their perfidiousnesse is enough to ouerthrow it. S. Augustine maketh this report of Aerius. [4] The Aerians haue their name from one Aerius, who being a Presbyter, is said to haue taken displeasure that he could not be made a Bishop, and falling into the Arrian heresie, added certaine opinions of his owne, (to wit, amongst others) *Presbyterum ab Episcopo nulla differentia debere discerni:* that a Presbyter should not be distinguished from a Bishop by any kind of difference. Ierome saith it is a shipwracke; Austen saith it is Arianisme, to say, that there should be no difference betwixt Presbyters and Bishops.

[2] Hiero. ad Pammachium aduers. errores Iohannis Hierosolymitani.

[3] Hiero. ad Marcellam aduers. Montanum, to. 2. fol. 118.

[4] August. de hæresibus hæres. 53.

Austen therein folowed the report of Epiphanius, and enquired no

further into the reason of Aerius speech] For matters of fact what particular opinions heretikes held, Austen haply might trust Epiphanius or Philastrius that wrate before him of the same argumẽt; but whether their opinions were repugnant to the doctrine of the Church or no, S. Austen had learning & iudgement enough to discerne that matter. He is inexcusable if contrary to his owne knowledge & conscience, he pronounce a truth to be an error vpõ an other mans credite. And therefore neuer make S. Austen a pupill vnder age; & to be miscaried with Epiphanius false information. He concurred in iudgement with Epiphanius & Philastrius, and repelled that assertion of Aerius as repugnant to the doctrine and vse of the whole church. And that confirmeth Epiphanius opinion touching Aerius positions, which were not Christian & Catholike, as some men in our dayes begin to maintaine, but rather arrogant & erroneous. Indeed Epiphanius is somewhat vehement & reiecteth Aerius assertiõ in this verie point, [1] as ἀσεσήτου, ἀνοήτου, ἀψυχίας, πλάνης, καὶ σπουδῆς μικρᾶς τῶν παραπλησίων ἐν τῷ διαβόλου, ful of follie, nugacitie, error, & a foule fal of one subuerted by the diuel. S. Austen putteth him & his followers in the ranke of false teachers, for that besides the Arian heresie, into which hee fell, hee added certaine positions of his owne against fasting vpon set days, keeping of Easter, rehearsing the names of the dead at the Lords table, & distinguishing of Bishops from Presbyters; which things the whole Church of Christ obserued, & no man euer impeached but Aerius and his Disciples.

[1] Epiphanius contra Aerium hæres. 75.

Thinke you, that Aerius was worthely condemned by Epiphanius for denying prayer for the dead, & not rather that Epiphanius himselfe erred in that point?] I distinguish ỹ publike actions of ỹ whole primitiue church frõ the priuat constructions of this or that father. The church had her set daies of fasting, celebrated the memoriall of Christs resurrection, gaue thanks to God in her open praiers at the Lords table for her martyrs & others that died either constantly for the christian faith, or cõfortably in it. she likewise put a differẽce betwirt her Bishops and Presbyters. Which of these things can you chalenge as vnchristian and vnlawfull: or what warrant had Aerius to reproue the whole church of God for so doing? Just as much as you haue now to defend him, which is none at all.

He reprooued praying, and not thanks giuing for the dead.] He reprooued the naming of the dead, and would needes know to what end they rehearsed, [2] ὀνόματα νεκρῶν, the names of the dead. To

[2] Epiphanius hæres. 75.

whome Epiphanius answereth, [1] As for the repeating of the names of the dead, what can be better, or more opportune, then that they which are yet behind in this world, beleeue the deceased liue, and are not extinguished, but are and liue with God, and as the diuine doctrine hath taught, that they which pray haue hope of their brethren absent as in a long voiage from them? We also make mentiō of the iust, as of the Patriarkes, Prophets, Apostles, Euangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, Bishops, and of all sortes, to separate the Lord Iesus from the order of men, and to giue him his due honour and worship. Thus farre Epiphanius speaketh soundly, and giueth good reasons, why the Church named her dead, euen her hope of their welfare, and faith of their life with God; and separation of al men from the Lord Iesus the Redeemer and Sauiour of the world. Chrysostoms liturgie sheweth what commemoration of the dead was vsed in the Greeke Church; [2] We offer this reasonable seruice (*that is, the Eucharist of praise and thanksgiuing*) vnto thee, (O Lord) for all that are at rest in the faith (*of Christ*) euen for the Patriarkes, Prophets, Apostles, Euangelists, Bishops, Martyrs, Confessours, and euery soule initiated in the faith: But chiefly for the most holy, vndefiled, and most blessed virgin Marie. He that thinketh all the Patriarkes, Prophets, Martyrs, Apostles, and the virgin Marie were in Purgatorie, had neede of purgation himselfe to be eased of his melancholy; yet for these, and specially for the blessed virgin, the Church offered hir praiers and sacrifice to God. It is therfore most euident, ỳ church meant the sacrifice of thanksgiuing, howsoeuer Epiphan. Austen, and some others to extend the prayers of the Church to all Christians departed, doubtfully suppose their damnation might be mitigated, though their state could not be altered. But these priuat speculations were neither comprised in ỳ praiers of the church, nor confirmed by them: and for that cause, Aerius is iustly traduced as frantikely impugning the religious and wholesome customes of the primitiue & catholike Church, of which Saint Austen saith; [3] *Si quid tota hodie per orbem frequentat Ecclesia, hoc quin ita faciendum sit disputare, insolentissima insania est.* If the whole Church throughout the world at this day obserue any thing, to reason for the reuersing of it, is most insolent madnes.

[1] *Ibidem.*

[2] *Liturgia Chrysost.*

[3] *August. epist. 118.*

If you thinke S. Austens censure too sharpe for the matter in

in question betwixt vs; heare the iudgement of the generall Councill of Chalcedon, where were assembled 630. Bishops, and marke what they determine of your assertion. Photius Bishop of Tyrus had ordained certaine Bishops within his Prouince, whom Eustathius his successour, for some secret displeasure remoued from that degree, and willed them to remaine Presbyters. This case comming before the Councill of Chalcedon, the resolution of Paschasinus and Lucentius, was this: [1] Βίαιόν ἐστι ἀρχιερέα εἰς πρεσβυτέριον βαθμὸν ἐπανενεγκεῖν, ἱερόσυλον δὲ καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον. To bring backe a Bishop to the degree of a Presbyter, is sacrilege. Whereto the whole Councill answered, πάντες τὰ αὐτὰ λέγομεν, δίκαιον ἐστὶ κρίνειν τὸν τοιοῦτον. We all say the same, the iudgement of the fathers is vpright.

[1] Ex actis Synodi Chalcedonens. de Photio & Eustathio.

You may do wel to make more account of the Martyrs and Fathers that were in the Primitiue Church, least if you condemne all men besides your selues; posteritie condemne you as void of all sinceritie & sobrietie. For my part, what I finde generally receiued in the first Church of Christ, I wil see it strongly refuted before I wil forsake it. God forbid I should thinke there was neuer Church nor faith on the face of the earth since the Apostles times before this miserable age, wherein though I acknowledge the great blessing of God restoring vs to the trueth of his Gospell farre aboue our deserts, yet I cannot but lament the dangerous factions, eager dissentions, and headie contempts, whereby the Church of God is almost rent in sunder, whiles euery man will haue his deuise take place, and when they want proofes they fall to reproches.

We make that account of the primitiue Church, that Caluin and other learned men before vs haue done.] You do not. No learned mẽ of any age haue shewed themselues like to the spiteful & disdainful humors of our times. And of all others you do Caluin wrong; who though in some things he dissented from the Fathers of the Primitiue Church in expounding some places that are alleaged for this new discipline, yet grauely & wisely he giueth them that honor and witnes which is due vnto thẽ. His words treating of this very point are these; [2] It shall be profitable for vs, in these matters (*of discipline*) to reuiew the forme of the ancient (*or primitiue*) Church, the which will set before our eies the image of the diuine ordinance. for though the Bishops of those times made many Canons, in which they seeme to decree more then is expressed in the

[2] Caluinus Christianarum institutionum, li. 4. ca. 4.

the sacred Scriptures; yet with such warinesse did they proportion their whole regiment to that only rule of Gods word, that you may easily see, they had almost nothing in their discipline different from the word of God. I could wish that such as seeme to reuerence so much his name, would in this behalfe followe his steps. He declared himselfe to beare a right Christian regarde to the Church of Christ before him; and therefore is woorthie with all posteritie to be had in like reuerend account, though hee were deceiued in some things, euen as Augustine and other Fathers before him were. The wisedome of God will haue no man come neere the perfection of the Apostles, and therefore no blemish to him that wrate so much as he did, to bee somewhat ouerseene in Lay Elders, and other points of discipline; being so busied as he was with weightie matters of doctrine, and interpreting the whole Scriptures.

But such as haue had better leisure to examine this matter since his death, persist still in the same opinion that he did.] But not in the same moderation: they would else not charge the primitiue church of Christ with inuenting and vpholding an humane bishop (*this is*) deuised by man, and not allowed by God: whereas Caluin granteth the ancient regiment of bishops was agreeable to the worde of God, and rule of the sacred Scriptures. [1] If wee looke into the thing it selfe (*he meaneth the gouernment of the Primitiue Church*) we shal finde the ancient Bishops neuer intended to frame anie other forme of gouerning the Church, then that which God in his word prescribed. Now what kind of gouernment that was, you shal heare his owne confession in the same place; and thereby perceiue that many of the points, which I haue before prooued, are so sound and sure, that no man learned can with any trueth resist them. [2] *Habebant ergo singulæ Ciuitates Presbyterorum Collegium, qui Pastores erant ac Doctores. Nam & apud populum munus docendi, exhortandi, & corrigendi, quod Paulus episcopis iniungit, omnes obibant. Quibus docendi munus iniunctum erat, eos omnes nominabant Presbyteros. Illi ex suo numero in singulis ciuitatibus vnum eligebant, cui specialiter dabant titulum Episcopi, ne ex æqualitate, vt fieri solet, dissidia nascerentur. vnicuique ciuitati attributa erat regio, quæ Presbyteros inde sumeret, & velut corpori ecclesiæ illius accenseretur.* Euerie Citie had a College of Presbyters,

[1] *Caluin. Institutionum lib. 4. ca. 4. § 4.*

[2] *Caluin. Institution. li. 4. ca. 4. § 2.*

ters, which were Paſtours and Teachers. for they all had the function of teaching, exhorting, and reprooving in the Congregation, which Paul enioyneth vnto Biſhops. To whome the office of teaching was allotted, they were all called Presbyters. Theſe in euerie Citie choſe one of their owne number, to whome they gaue the ſpeciall title of a Biſhop, leſt by anequalitie as is vſually found, diuiſions ſhoulde ariſe. To euerie Citie was appointed a certaine region, which tooke their Presbyters from the Citie, and was counted part of the bodie of that Church. Firſt then Presbyteries conſiſted of Paſtours and Teachers, and were not had but in Cities. Next, leſt equalitie ſhoulde breede confuſion, ouer theſe Presbyters in eche Citie as well as ouer the flocke, was a biſhop, who in Dignitie and Authoritie was aboue them. Thirdly, euery Biſhop had his region or Diœceſe beſides his Citie, and the Presbyters that were deſigned for ſuch Countrey Pariſhes as were within his Circuite, were ſette from the Citie, and reputed to bee of the bodie of the Epiſcopall Church. And all theſe thinges not onely were in the Primitiue Church, as I haue alreadie prooued, but they were alſo agreeable to the word of God, as Caluin himſelfe confeſſeth.

You ſhould take all. He telleth you that a Biſhop ſhould haue no dominion ouer his brethren, *but* as a Conſul in the Senate, ſhoulde propoſe matters, aske voyces, goe before others in aduiſing, warning, exhorting, and moderate the whole action with his authoritie, and execute that which is decreed by common conſent. *And this kinde of regiment hee ſaieth, the Fathers acknowledge* firſt entred *humano conſenſu*, by the conſent of men according to the neceſſitie of the times, *though it were verie ancient, as* at Alexandria euer ſince Marke the Euangeliſt.] I honour Caluin for his wonderfull giftes and paines in the Church of God, and could eaſily be enduced to embrace his iudgement, were it not, that in this caſe a manifeſt trueth confirmed by the Scriptures, Fathers, and by himſelfe, enforceth me to the contrarie. Ieromes wordes I haue examined before; they do not import that biſhops firſt beganne by humane deuiſe and policy. Ignatius, Irenæus, Egeſippus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Dionyſius of Corinth, Origen, Tertullian, Euſebius, Methodius, and Ierom himſelfe

himself affirme the first bishops were made in the Apostles times, and by the Apostles handes. Saint Iohn in his Reuelation writeth to the seuen Pastours or chiefe moderatours of the seuen Churches in Asia. Whiles Saint Iohn liued, as Eusebius recordeth, there succeeded at Antioch, [1] Ignatius after [1] Euodius; at Alexandria, [1] Abilius after [1] Amianus; at Rome, [1] Clemens after [1] Anacletus and [1] Linus; at Ierusalem, [1] Simeon after [1] Iames. Yea, Saint Iohn with his owne handes made [2] Polycarpe bishop of Smyrna, as Irenæus, Tertullian, Eusebius, and Ierome affirme; and that next after [3] Eucharius, as Socrates noteth. He did the like in many [4] other places, as Clemens Alexandrinus writeth. I can by no meanes forsake so many ancient and assured witnesses, whereof some liued with Polycarpe, and were his Schollers, to followe the mistaking of a few wordes in Ierome by whomsoeuer. Yea Caluin himselfe saith, [5] *Nec humanum est inuentum, sed Dei ipsius institutum, quod singulis suas assignamus ecclesias. Paulus ipse Archippum Colossensium episcopum commemorat.* It is not mans deuise, but the very ordinance of God, that we assigne to euery man his Church. Paul himselfe mentioneth Archippus Bishop of Colossus.

[1] *Eusebii Chronic. con. Hieronym. interpret.*

[2] *Irenæus l. 3. ca. 3*
[2] *Tertul. de præscript. aduers. haretic.*
[2] *Hieron. in Ignatio.*

[3] *Socrates lib. 5. ca. 22.*

[4] *Apud Eusib. lib. 3. ca. 3.*

[5] *Calu. in institutionum lib. 4. ca. 3. § 7.*

That is, Pastour of Colossus; and so we grant eche Church ought by Gods law to haue a Pastour.] We must aske further, whether by Gods lawe eche Church must haue one or many? If one, wee haue our desire; if many, there must yet be one chiefe to auoyde confusion. [6] Equalitie, as Caluin noteth, breedeth factions. Ierome saith, [7] To suppresse the seedes of dissention, one was set aboue the rest; otherwise there would be [8] as many schismes as there be Priests. Beza maketh it an essential and perpetual part of Gods ordinance, to haue one chiefe in eche Presbyterie. His wordes are; [9] *Essentiale fuit in eo de quo hic agimus, quod ex Dei ordinatione perpetua necesse fuit, est, & erit, vt in Presbyterio quispiam & loco & dignitate primus, actioni gubernandæ præsit, cum ea quod ipsi diuinitus attributum est iure.* This was essential in the matter we haue in hand, that by Gods ordinãce which must alwais indure, it hath bin, is, and shal be needeful, that in the Presbyterie, one chiefe in place and dignitie should moderate and rule euery action with that right which is allowed him by Gods lawe. And in this he saieth right, for a multitude vngouerned must needes

[6] *Caluin. Institut. lib. 4. ca 4.*
[7] *Hieron. ad Euagrium.*
[8] *& contra Luciferianos.*

[9] *In responsio. ad tract. de ministrorum euangelij gradibus ca. 23. fol. 153.*

needs be confused, which should be farre from the Church of God; and gouernement there can be none, where all are equall. When the shepeheardes leade into diuers pastures, whom shall the sheepe follow? when sundrie lords make sundrie lawes, which shall the subiect obey? Sure, if no man can serue two maisters, no Church can endure two Pastours. Whiles they consent they haue but one minde though many men; when they dissent, which in all persons is casuall, and in all places, vsuall; then will there be as many sides, as there be leaders. You were as good set two heads on one bodie, as two chiefe rulers ouer one companie. If you confesse there must by Gods law be one chiefe Pastour in one church; then the chiefe Pastour of eche Citie, is the bishop which we seeke for; and he by your owne positions is authorized as Pastour of the place by Gods ordinance.

This you shall neuer auoyde, doe what you can. Eche Church in the Apostles times had many Presbyters that laboured in the word. The Scriptures do plainely witnes it; In the Church of Ierusalem, Act. 15. v. 6. and 23; of Antioch, Act. 13. v. 1; of Ephesus, Act. 20. v. 17. and 28; of Rome, Rom. 16; of Corinth, 1. Corinth. 14. v. 29; of Philippi, Philip. 1. v. 1; of Thessalonica, 1. Thess. 5. v. 12; of other Churches the like is affirmed, Heb. 13. v. 17; James 5. v. 14; 1. Pet. 5. v. 1. Now by Gods essentiall and perpetuall ordinance, as your selues confesse, there must be one chiefe and Pastour of eche Church and Presbyterie, to guide aswel the Presbyters that are Teachers, as the flocke that are hearers, with that power which Gods Law alloweth vnto Pastours. Tell me now, I pray you, what difference betwixt chiefe Pastors established in euery City, by Gods law as you are forced to grant; and Bishops succeeding the Apostles in their Churches & chaires, as the Fathers affirme. If you mislike the worde, Bishop, it is, Catholike and Apostolike; if you mislike the office, it is Gods ordinance by your owne assertion.

We grant the name of a Bishop, and regiment of a Pastor are confirmed by the holie Ghost; but you yeeld more to your chiefe Pastours and Bishops, then the word of God alloweth them. as namely you suffer them to continue for life, where they should gouerne but for a moneth or a weeke; you alote them Diœceses, which should be but parishes; you giue them not onely a distinction from Presbyters, but a iu-

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iurisdiction ouer Presbyters, who shoulde bee all one with Presbyters, and subiect to the most voyces of the Presbyters; all which things wee say, are against the Scriptures.] You frame Churches to your fansies, and then you straight way thinke the Scriptures doe answere your deuises. If we giue Bishops any thing, which the ancient and Catholike Church of Christ did not first giue them; in Gods name spare vs not, let the world knowe it: but if we preferre the vniuersall iudgement of the Primitiue Church in expounding the Scriptures touching the power and function of bishops, before your particular and late dreames; you must not blame vs. They were neerer the Apostles times and likelier to vnderstand the Apostles meanings then you, that come after fifteene hundred yeres with a new plot of Church gouernment neuer heard of before. All the churches of Christ throughout the world could not at one time ioyne in one and the selfe same kind of gouernment, had it not bene deliuered and setled by the Apostles and their Schollers that conuerted the world. So many thousand Martyrs and Saints that liued with the Apostles would neuer consent to alter the Apostles discipline, which was once receiued in the Church, without the Apostles warrant. Wherefore we conster the Apostles writings by their doings; you measure the Scriptures after your owne humours. Whether of vs twayne is most likelie to hitte the trueth?

As for your repining at the things which we giue to bishops; we greatly regard it not, so long as the Scriptures doe not contradict them; wee smile rather at your deuises, which say that a bishop should gouerne for a weeke, and then change, and giue place to the nexte Presbyter for an other weeke; and so round by course to all the Presbyters. What Scripture confirmeth that circular and weekely regiment of yours? By what authoritie do you giue it the name of a diuine institution, when it is a meere imagination of yours without proofe or trueth? Shewe one example or authoritie for it in the newe Testament, and take the cause.

Succession by course was ordained by God after the example of the Priests of Aaron.] Did the sonnes of Aaron loose their Priesthoode, when their courses were ended? *No, but they serued in the Temple by course; and so were Bishops appointed by Gods ordinance to guide the Presbyterie.*] Is this all the ground you haue, vpon this

[1] *De Ministrorum Euangelij gradibus cap. 23. fol. 156.*

this slender and single similitude to make Gods ordinance what please you: If such reasons may serue, we can sooner conclude the perpetuall function of bishops then you can the weekly. for not onely the high Priest kept his honour during his life, but likewise euery Priest that was chiefe of his order. Indeede their courses being ended, they departed home, but they lost not their dignitie. But what rouing is this in matters of weight? Will anie wise men be mooued with such ghesses? Make vs good proofe out of the Scriptures; or leaue tying Gods ordinance to your appetites.

Ambrose is the man that affirmeth it.] If you come once to Fathers, I hope we haue tenne to one, that affirme otherwise. If Ambrose did say so, wee coulde not beleeue him against all the rest of the Fathers, yea, and against the Scriptures themselues, election of Bishops being prescribed by Paul to Timothie and Tite, and not succession in order; but I denie that Ambrose saith anie such thing. *He saieth the next in order succeeded.*] He nameth neither change nor course. It is your owne deuise, it is no part of Ambroses meaning. Anianus the next after Marke, that was Bishop of Alexandria sixe yeeres before Peter and Paul were put to death, was hee made by order or by election? Ierome saith expresly. [1] *A Marco Euangelista Presbyteri semper vnum ex se electum, &c.* they of Alexandria euer since Marke the Euangelist did alwayes choose their Bishop, hee neuer succeeded in order. Neither did Anianus gouerne for a weeke or a yeere, hee sate Bishop there [2] two and twentie yeeres as Eusebius writeth; and Abilius the next that was chosen after his death sate [3] thirtene yeeres more before hee died, and then succeeded Cerdo, and the rest in their times all chosen, and all sitting in the Patriarall chaire so long as they liued. The like you may see in the first Bishops of Rome who kept the Episcopall chaire during life, and not by course. [4] Linus sate twelue yeres, [5] Anacletus twelue, [6] Clemens nine. Saint Iohn the Apostle liuing and ordering the whole Church, whiles the three first Bishops of Rome and of Alexandria succeeded by election, and gouerned without changing for the terme of their liues. Wherefore it is euident, this by-start fansie is far from Gods ordinance.

If you trust not me, marke how your owne friends, I will not say

[1] Hieronym. ad Euagrium.
[2] Euseb. lib. 3. ca. 23. & 21.
[3] Euseb. Chronicon.
[4] Euseb. lib. 3. ca. 13.
[5] 14. &
[6] 34.
[4] [5] [6] Euseb. Chronicon.

say your selues do crosse and confute your owne inuentions. You say, It is Gods disposition, that the [illegible] or chiefe of your Presbyterie should go by course; and that order you call Diuine: they say it is accidentall; and no part of Gods ordinance. [1] *Accidentale fuit quod Presbyteri in hac [illegible] alij alijs per vices in itio succedebant.* It was *accidentall* that the Presbyters did in this chiefdome *at the first beginning succeede one an other by course*. You tell vs, the electing one to continue chiefe of the Presbyterie was an humane order; but they assure vs that election in all sacred functions is the commaundement of God, and may not be altered. [2] *Aliud est electionis mandatum quam immotã non tantùm in Diaconis, sed etiam in sacris functionibus omnibus seruatam oportuit, aliud electionis modus.* The commandement of election is one thing, which must be obserued, not onely in Deacons, but in all sacred functions; the maner of election is an other thing. The precept cannot be immutable, vnlesse it be diuine and Apostolike; others haue no such power to commaund. Now for my learning I would faine know; this ruling by course, if it be diuine, how is it accidental? if it be accidentall, howe is it diuine? And the electing of a President or Bishop, if it be humane, howe is it commanded? if it be commanded, how is it humane? This is the way to call sweete sower, and sower sweete, to make light darknesse, and darkenesse to be light. I must see better coherence then I do before I call this a diuine Discipline.

[1] *De Ministrorum Euangelii gradibus pag.* 153

[2] *Ibidem pag.* 154

You mistake vs. we say it is Gods ordinance for a Pastour to gouerne the Colledge of Lay Elders; but for one chiefe to gouerne the Colledge of Pastours, we holde is mans inuention.] Would God you did not mistake your selues. Your Presbyteries must consist either of lay men alone, or of clergy men only, or of both indifferently. If of Lay Elders only, who shall succeede the Pastour in the ruling thereof when his course is ended, for example as you say, when his weeke is out? His Presidentship must be perpetual which by your rules is against Gods ordinãce, vnles you will haue the lay Elders in course to do pastoral duties, & rule pastor & al, which is more absurde and more against Gods Law then the former. Will you mixe your Presbyteries of both: then yet by Gods law as your selues inforce it, one Pastor must be chiefe of the rest of the Pastors, and if by the Scriptures his superioritie must be perpetuall; as after his election

election it must be; what differeth this chiefe Pastour for his life from a bishop? you would limit his gouernement to a weeke or a moneth; but where doth Paul so? shew vs that rule in Scripture or Father, and set vp your Lay Presbyteries. If not, you walke in the wildernesses of your own fansies, & you would prescribe vs rules of your owne making in place of Gods ordinance; which is dangerous to your selues, and iniurious to others, if it be not presumptuous against God.

Will you haue none chiefe? Then breede you confusion, and lay the Church open to be torne in peeces with euery dissention. besides your selues auouch it is an essentiall and perpetuall point of Gods ordinance to haue one chiefe ouer the Presbyterie. These be the brambles and briars of your discipline, which force you to lay and vnlay with a breath. but we take your assertion as good against your selues, and thence we frame you this argument. It is an essential and perpetual part of Gods ordinance, that one should be chiefe ouer the Presbyterie. But the Presbyteries of eche Church and City, (where the Apostles preached) consisted of Clergie men and Preachers. I hope then it is Gods ordinance to haue one chiefe ouer the Preachers and Labourers in eche Church. And if election be Gods commandement, as you also confesse, and consequently the Electee once lawfully placed must not be remoued without iust and apparant defects; I trust the chiefe Gouernour of the Preachers and Presbyters of eche Church, must continue whiles he liueth and ruleth well. for as hee was chosen for his worthinesse, so may he not be depriued till he proue vnworthy. Now a chiefe Ruler or Pastour ouer the people and Presbyters of eche Citie, elected by Gods commaundement to continue that charge so long as hee doeth his duetie, commeth as neere to the bishops calling which we maintaine, as your head to that which is aboue your shoulders.

If you thwart vs with Lay Elders; we haue this faire Supersedeas for them. First proue them, then place them where you will. If you talke of going round by course; it is the order of good fellowes at a feast; it was neuer the order of gouerning in the Church of Christ. The Priestes of the olde Lawe were after a time eased of their paines, but neuer changed their prerogatiues. If you say they differ not in degree, but in honour and dignitie

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from the rest, I haue already proued that singularity in succeeding the Apostles, and necessarie in obtaining, distinguish them from Presbyters. If you quarrell with their iurisdiction and dioceses, the place now serueth to discusse those things, so farre forth as wee finde their function was deliuered them by the Apostles, and is testified in the Scriptures.

The shute Anker is, if all this were so; that the power of Bishops by Gods law should be nothing else but a right to call the Presbyters of the place together, and to aske their voices, and performe what the most part decree; and this to extend no further then their owne Churches and Cities.] This I thinke be your meaning; if you can not tie them to your fansies, to binde them fast to their chaires that they shall not waggge; and if they must needes be highest in the Session, yet to make them lowest in the action, and to doe one lie what shall please others to determine. But your pleasures, vnlesse you were more indifferent, are little regarded, the Church of Christ more then foureteene hundred yeeres before you were borne, hath considered of their power and charge; the Councils both prouinciall and generall are extant to decide the doubt. But if you will trie their right by the Scriptures, I am wel content, so you take to your Presbyteries no more then you can iustifie to be theirs; and leaue vnto Bishops that interest which wee proue by the word to belong to their calling.

CHAP. XIIII.

The fatherly power and Pastorall care of Bishops ouer Presbyters and others in their Churches and Diœceses.

I Take it to be a matter out of question, confirmed by the Scriptures, and confessed by the olde and newe Writers, that the Sonne of God willed S. Iohn the Apostle in his Reuelation to write to the seuen chiefe Pastours of the seuen Churches of Asia, calling them by the name of Angels. [1] By the diuine voyce, saith Austen, the Ruler of the Church (*of Ephesus*) is praised vnder the name of an Angel. [2] Angels he calleth Bishops, saith Ambrose, as wee learne in the Reuelation of Iohn. [3] Angels hee calleth those that be Rulers of the

[1] *Augustin. epist. 162.*
[2] *Ambros. in 1. ad Corinth. ca. 12.*
[3] *Hieron in 1. ad Corinth. ca. 12.*

Churches, saith Ierom, euen as Malachie the Prophet doth witnesse the Priest to be an Angell. And Gregorie. [1] The Preachers in the Scriptures are sometimes called Angels, as the Prophet saith, the [2] lippes of the Priest should keepe knowledge, and they should aske the Law at his mouth; for he is the Angel (or *Messenger*) of the Lord of hostes. The new Writers with one consent acknowledge the same. [3] The Angels, saieth Bullinger, are the Embassadours of God, euen the Pastours of the Churches. [4] The heauenly letter is directed to the Angel of the church of Smyrna, that is to the Pastor. Now the stories witnes that Angel & Pastor of the church of Smyrna to haue bin Polycarp ordained Bishop (*there*) by the Apostles themselues, I mean by S. Iohn. He was made bishop of Smyrna 13. yeres before the Reuelation (*of Iohn*) was written. Marlorat. [5] Iohn beginneth with the Church of Ephesus for the celebritie of the place; and speaketh not to the people but to the Prince (*or chiefe*) of the Clergy, euen the bishop. *Seb. Meyer.* [6] To the Angell of the Church of Sardis. Amongst the bishops of this church Melito was renowmed, a man both learned and godly; but what predecessors or successors he had in the ministery of the church, is not recorded. Beza saith, [7] *Angelus: id est episcopus, quē nimirum oportuit imprimis de his rebus admoneri, ac per eum cæteros Collegas, totámq; adeo ecclesiam.* To the Angel, that is, to the chiefe President, who should haue the first warning of these things, and from him the rest of his Colleagues and the whole Church.

1 *Gregor. moralium in Iob lib. 11. ca. 3.*
2 Malach. 2.
3 *Bulling. concione 6. in Apocalyps.*
4 *Ib. d. concione 9.*
5 *Marlorat in Apocalyps ca. 2.*
6 *Apud Marlorat. in Apocalyps ca. 3.*
7 *Beza annotat. in Apocalyps. ca. 2.*

By the person that speaketh vnto the Pastours of those seuen Churches, & name which he giueth them, I collect their vocation was not only confirmed by the Lord himselfe, but their commissiō expressed. He speaketh that hath best right to appoint what pastors he would haue to guide his flocke, til he come to iudgement: euen Christ Iesus the prince of Pastors. The name that he giueth them sheweth their power and charge to be authorized & deliuered them from God. for an Angel is Gods messenger; and consequently these seuen, eche in his seueral charge and city are willed to reforme the errors & abuses of their Churches, that is, both of Presbyters and people. They are warned, at whose hands it shall be required; and by him that shal sit Iudge to take account of their doings. Hence I inferre, first their preeminence aboue their helpers, and coadiutors

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in the same Churches, is warranted to bee Gods ordinance? Nay, they are Gods Messengers to reproue and redresse thinges amisse in their Churches, bee they Presbyters or people, that be offenders. Which of these two can you refuse? Shall they be Angels, and not allowed of God? Can they bee his Messengers, and not sent by him? Yee would neuer reward them, if they did not send them. Being sent of God, shall they bee charged with those things which they haue no power to amend? Is the Sonne of God so forgetfull, as to rebuke and threaten the Pastour for the Presbyters and the peoples faultes, if he haue no further power ouer either, but as at the voices? At whose handes doth God require his sheepe, but at the shepeheardes? Yee cannot be Angell of the (whole) Church, but he must haue Pastorall authoritie ouer the whole Church.

The rest of the Pastours, you will will say, had the same charge with him. Further degree they haue, but why not the same of Gods word onely as one of them? If all were euen both in power and charge? You are ouer eagerlie to aske why the Apostle writing to the Churches neuer mentioned any Bishop if there had beene Bishops in the Apostles times. Which obiection, though it be needelesse to be answered, because it is vulgar; yet Ambrose and Epiphanius tell you the Churches at the beginning were not seuered into offices exactly diuided; yea the Apostles themselues, for a time kept the Episcopall power in their owne hands, and in some places Paul namely the Bishop, as Archippus Bishop of Colossus. Bucon the other side we presse you with the affirmatiue, Tell vs (say we) whose the Sonne of God could write precisely to one Angell in euery of those seuerall Churches, if there were many or none? And why declaim to charge him about the rest, if hee had no Pastorall power besides the rest? It is therefore euident the Churches of Christ before that time were guided by certaine chiefe Pastours, that moderated as well the Presbyters as the rest of the flocke; and whole the Sonne of God knoweth by name the Starres and Angels, that is, for the Messengers and Seruantes of the Lorde of hostes? A whole number the rest should all be able to reuoke the knowledge of all his doings? Pastors cayed; the Church cloketh her eyes, the clergie pleaseth [illegible] And as they were chiefe Pastours, so were they thinke faultes in the

[1] Calvin. Instit. lib. 4. ca. 4.

the Church of Christ, ordeyned by his Lawe comprising them vnder that name; and commaunding not onelie reuerence and maintenance, but obedience also to be giuen vnto them. This case is so cleere, it can not be doubted. [1] The Church, saith Austen, calleth (the Bishops) her Fathers. The bishops are thy Fathers, saith Ierome, by whome thou art ruled. Origen. That [3] Teachers are called Fathers, the Apostle Paul sheweth, when hee saith, I haue begotten you in Christ Iesus by the Gospell. [4] Hee is a good father, saith Ambrose, which can teach & frame the Lord Iesus in vs, as Paul saieth, my little children, with whom I trauel againe, til Christ be fashioned in you. Can I be a father, saith Chrysostome, & not lamente? I am a father in affection towards you, and languish with loue. Heare how Paul crieth out, my little children with whom I trauel againe. And therefore [6] worthely, saieth hee, are the Priests to haue more honour, then our owne parents. They are these vnto whome the spirituall births are committed. If they be Fathers, they must be honoured, and the chiefest parte of their honour is obedience. Disobedience of children, is punished in Gods Lawe [7] by death: and shall it be no sinne in vs to disobey the Fathers of our faith?

1 *Augustin. in Psal. 44.*
2 *Hiero. in Psal. 44.*
3 *Origen. in ca. 4. ad Romanos.*
4 *Ambros. in Psal. 43.*
5 *Chrysost. homil. 23. in 11. ad Heb.*
6 *Idem de sacerdotio, lib. 3.*
7 Deut. 21.

Their flocke, you thinke, must obey them, but their brethren and fellow Presbyters must not. As though the rest of their flocke were not their brethren, as well as the Presbyters? or as if among brethren there might be no superioritie? [8] *Omnes vos fratres sumus, Quamquam & inter fratres fas est, vt vnus præscribat ac cæteri obtemperent.* We are all brethren, (saieth Chrysostome speaking to his Clergie) howbeit amongst brethren it is lawfull that one should prescribe, and the rest obey. And speaking of the returne of the Bishop, when himselfe was a Presbyter at Antioch, he saieth; [9] *Benedictus Deus, qui caput corpori reddidit & Pastorem ouibus, Præceptorem discipulis, militibus Ducem vicissim vt inquit.* Blessed be God that hath restored the head to the body, the Pastour to the sheepe, the Maister to the Schollers, the Captaine to the souldiers, the high Priest to the Presbyters. Basill writing to the Church of Neocæsarea vpon the death of their Bishop, saieth; [10] Thy faireſt beautie (O Citie) is decayed: the Church closeth her eyes, the solemne assemblies looke heauilie [illegible], the sacred

8 *Chrysost. homil. 3. in Acta Apostolorum.*
9 *Chrysost. homil. 20. ad populum Antioch.*
10 *Basil. epist. 62. eccles. Neocæsariensi.*

Synedrion

Synedrion (*or Presbyterie*) desire their head, they that are in dignitie their leader, the people their ruler. [1] Be subiect to thy Bishop, (saith Ierome instructing Nepotianus in the dueties of a Presbyter) and reuerence him as the father of thy soule. If I be a Father, saith (*the Prophet*) where is mine honour. What Aaron and his sonnes were, that vnderstand a Bishop and his Presbyters to be. [2] If any (saieth Ambrose speaking of Presbyters and Ministers) obey not his Bishop, hee swarueth from the right way through pride. Austen being newly made Presbyter, and desiring some longer respite of the bishop before he vndertooke the execution of his office, saieth; [3] Will you mee to perish O father Valerius? I beseech you by the goodnesse and mercie of Christ, euen by him that hath inspired so great loue in you towardes vs, that wee dare not offend you for the gaine of our soule. [4] Some of the Presbyters (saieth Cyprian to his Clergie) neither remembring the Gospel, nor their place, neither thinking on the iudgement of the Lorde to come, nor on the BISHOP THAT IS SET OVER THEM; which was neuer doone vnder any of my predecessours, with contempt and reproch of their Ruler, take vpon them to doe any thing (*euen to communicate with those that fall in time of persecution.*) Let those rash and vnwise among you know, that if they persist any longer in such actions, I will vse that admonition which the Lord willeth mee, in suspending them from the ministerie of the Lordes Table; and at my returne, make them answere before vs and the whole people for their dooings. Some ripe youthes will thinke all these Fathers were infected with humane deuises, in attributing so much vnto bishops; but the grauer sorte will remember these learned and godly men were as like to knowe what in Christian duety they were to yeelde, or to aske; as the plotformers of our time, that affirme the bishop must be subiect and obedient to the greater part of his Presbyters; and do nothing but what they determine.

[1] *Hiero. ad Nepotianum.*

[2] *Ambros officior. lib. 2. ca. 24.*

[3] *August. epist. 148.*

[4] *Cypr. li. 3. epist. 14.*

The bishop then, or President of the Presbyters, (for I stand not on names whiles I discusse their powers) is by Christs owne mouth pronounced to bee the Angell of the Church; that is, the chiefe Steward ouer Gods household, and ouerseer of his flocke; and the authoritie that he hath in the Church is Pastorall

and Paternal, euen the same that hath continued in the church since the beginning of the world. This fatherly kinde of regiment began in the Patriarks, dured in the Priests and Prophets of Moses Lawe; was deriued to the Apostles, and so descended to the chiefe Pastours of Christs church to this day: who are to be honored and obeyed in the word and Sacraments as fathers, of all their children. This power and honour I trust is so tolerable and Christian, that you dare not spurne against it.

If you did not giue it onely to them, and take it from all others, wee would not gaine say it, so much as we doe.] That which is common to euery Pastour in regard of those that are vnder them, cannot be denyed the chiefe, to whose ouersight and charge the whole church in euerie place is committed. If you thinke the name of Pastour cannot be common to many in one and the same Church, then the bishop must be Pastour alone: for he is the Angel of Gods Church. If the pastorall charge may be common to many, then must he haue it chiefly and aboue all, because he is Gods Angell and superior to all. You remember your owne positions; it is Gods essentiall and perpetuall ordinance that one shoulde be chiefe as well ouer Presbyters as people. He cannot be chiefe in the Presbyterie, but he must be chiefe in the Church; and consequently if the Presbyters be Pastours, he is chiefe Pastour.

We giue him no power but to moderate the meetings, and execute the decrees of the Presbyters. That we are well content the Bishop shall enioy; but further we giue him none.] Blessed are your Presbyters, that must haue their betters to execute their decrees: but I pray you sirs, for Gods decrees, who shall execute them? Must the Presbyters voyces be asked before Gods Lawes shalbe executed? Take heede not of tyrannicall, but of Satanicall pride, if Gods will shal not take place in your Churches, till the Presbyterie be assembled and agreed. You haue prouided a president to execute your owne pleasures; now let God haue one amongst you to execute his.

Execution in all things we reserue to him that is chiefe, for as to consult and decree a number is fittest; so to execute that which is decreed, one is the surest; lest if execution be committed to many, their excusing themselues one on another, or dissenting from eche other, do hinder the whole.] You begynne to be wise. The honour to determine

determine you keepe to your selues, the paines to execute you lay on your chiefe Ruler; to make him the gladder to be rid of his office, that another by course may succeede in his roume. And so where by Gods ordinance you must haue one chiefe, you take such order with him, that he shal neuer be willing to stay long in it.

Wee doe it to preuent ambition in such as woulde seeke for the highest place.] You decreale the ambition of one that shoulde be highest, and increase the pride of an hundred that should be lowest. for where wee haue one bishop in a Diocese tied to the Lawes of God, the Church and the Prince; you woulde haue three hundred in a Diocese, in some more, all of equall power, and set at libertie to consult and determine of al matters at their pleasures.

We subiect our Presbyteries to the Lawes of God, the Church, and the Realme, as well as you doe your Bishops; and giue them no leaue to resist or reuerse the decrees of any superiour powers.] You doe well; For when the God of heauen hath declared his will; or the Church by her prouinciall or generall Councils determined doubts, and made rules; or Christian Magistrates by their Lawes redressed and ordered things amisse; besides the losse of your paines it were more then pride for your Presbyters in their assemblies to consult afresh, and bring the selfe same things againe to the question. What is decreed by superiours, must not by inferiours be debated, whether it shall take place or no; but be rather obeyed with readinesse. So that in all cases determined by the Lawes of God, the Church, or the Prince, consultation is both superfluous and presumptuous; execution is onely needefull; and that must be committed to some persons that may precisely be chalenged and punished for the contempt; if that which is commanded be not performed. now whom appoint you to execute the decrees of God, the Church, and the prince? The whole Presbyterie? Then vpon the not execution of Gods or mans Lawe by any one Prebyter, all must be punished, as well innocent as nocent, diligent as negligent. The blame must lie on all, where the charge is in common. Were you but once or twise well followed for other mens faultes, you woulde soone ware weary of this generall and confused execution. And though you woulde not, yet neither the equity nor prudency of Gods or mans Lawes endure that wandering kinde of execution. they note and specifie the

persons that shall haue the charge and ouersight to execute their decrees; that vpon any neglect or defect the right offendours may be chalenged. And since to auoide confusion and preuent delayes you committe the execution of your owne decrees to the care and circumspection of your President; what cause can there be why the lawes of God, the Church and the Prince should not likewise be executed by the bishop or chiefe Pastour of eche place? There can be no doubt but the Canons of Councils and Lawes of Christian princes touching Church causes, from the Apostles age to ours, haue bene committed to Episcopall audience and execution: the question is for Gods Law, who shoulde be trusted with the execution thereof. And who rather say we, then hee that is authorized by God to be the Angel of his Church and steward of his house; at whose mouth the rest should aske the Law, and be rather subiect vnto him, then perch ouer him.

The execution of Gods Lawe by no meanes wee grant to the Bishop; for then wee yeelde him all; but in that case, though eche Presbyter be inferiour to him, yet the whole Presbyterie is aboue him, and may both ouer-rule him and censure him.] That is as much as if you had said; when the sheepe list to agree, I will not say, conspire, they must leade their sheepeheard; and when the children are wilfull, they must rule their father. Otherwise, if the bishop be Pastor and father to eche Presbyter, hee is the like to the whole Presbyterie; & consequently they must heare & obey him as Gods Angel, so long as he keepeth within the bounds of his message.

Nay, euery Presbyter is a Pastour and Father as well as the Bishop and equall with him, neither hath hee by Gods Lawe any right ouer them, but onely by mans deuise.] Fie on this wauering. Sometimes the Bishop shall bee chiefe ouer the Presbyterie by Gods essentiall and perpetuall ordinance; Sometimes againe euerie Presbyter shall bee equall and euen with him, and hee not chiefe ouer them; and when you are a little angrie, hee shall bee subiect vnto them and bee censured by them. This tapsing to and fro I impute rather to the rawnesse of your discipline not yet digested, then to the giddinesse of your heades. This it is to wander in the desert of your owne deuises without the line of Gods worde, or leuell of his Church to direct you. But can you shewe vs by what authoritie you claime this power of your

Presbyteries

Presbyteries aboue and against their Bishops? if by Scripture, produce them; if by Fathers, then thinke not from them, when they tell you on the other side what power the Bishop had, & should haue ouer his Presbyters.

Wee haue both Scriptures and Fathers, but specially Scriptures. First, the Apostles Peter and Paul acknowledge the Presbyters to be Pastours, and giue them the feeding, ouerseeing and ruling the flock. Next, the Presbyterie did excommunicate the incestuous Corinthian, and imposed hands on Timothie. Thirdlie, they are the Church, which if a man heare not, he must bee taken for a Publicane and an Ethnike by Christes commandement. Fourthly, the common wealth of Israel had apparantly that kind of gouernment which Christ and his Apostles did not alter. Lastly, the fathers confesse the Churches at first were gouerned with the common counsell of the Presbyters, and without their aduise nothing was done in the Church.] These be the foures of your late erected Consistorie; if these be taken from you, you haue no place left whither your maimed discipline may retreat: and these are most easilie razed to the ground in order as they stand.

For FIRST, the same power which you claime by Peters and Pauls words, vnto Presbyters as Pastours in respect of the flocke committed to their trust; you must yeeld vnto Bishops as chiefe Pastors in comparison both of Presbyters and people; and so you proone against your selues. for the Bishop is as well chiefe in the Church, where he is Gods Angel; as in the Consistorie, where hee gouerneth the Presbyterie. NEXT, you cannot conuince that the Presbyterie did either excommunicate the malefactor of Corinth, or lay hands on Timothie; I haue cleared the inferments of both places before. And if you could conclude any such thing, which you cannot; yet most apparantly the Apostle Paul with his owne mouth [1] adiudged the one, and [2] with his owne hands ordained the other. THIRDLIE, what is meant by the Church in those words of Christ, (if he heare not the Church, let him bee as an Ethnike vnto thee) I haue already discussed; I need not reiterate. If you will with the Fathers apply that censure to excommunication, you must with the Fathers vnderstand by the Church, the Bishops & chiefe Rulers of the Church. FOVRTHLIE, neither had the Iewes that kind of gouernment which you would establish in the Church; nei-ther did our Lord and Master, or his disciples euer prescribe to the Gen-tiles

[1] 1. Cor. 5. v. 3.
[2] 2. Tim. 1. v. 6.

tiles the iudiciall part of fourme of Moses lawe more then they did the ceremoniall; if Moses policie be abrogated, Moses Constitution may not be continued. The Iudges cease where the lawe faileth, the change of the lawe ceremoniall worketh, as the Apostle reasoneth, a chaunge of the Priesthoode; and euen so the vilifying of their penall iudgements, discharged all their Iudges and Consistories. And were it otherwise, what winne you by that against Bishops? If your Presbyters must be the Iewes Elders, your Presidents must answere to their chiefe Priestes, and then haue you spunne a fair threed, for where you thought to diminish the power of Bishops ouer Presbyters, you triple it by this Argument. It
1 Deut. 17. v. 12. must be death [1] to disobey the chiefe Priest in all points and parts of Gods lawe. Would you stand to your tackling, I would neuer wish a better reason against you for the power of bishops then your owne comparison; but you vse to giue backe so fast when you bee pressed, that my labour would be but lost to follow you. In deede Cyprian doeth vehemently vrge that precept of Deuteronomie, and many others of the olde Testament for obedience to be yeelded to himselfe and other Bishops, as well by Presbyters as people;
2 Cypr. li. 1. epist. 3. 8. 11. & li. 3. epist. 9. & li. 4. epist. 9. he that will, may see the [2] places. LASTLIE, for Fathers, as your fashion is, you take a paring of one or two of the where they speake to your liking; but reiect both the same and all other ancient writers, when they mainlie depose against your new discipline.

That the aduise of Presbyters was at first vsed in the regiment of the Church, Ierome and Ambrose seeme to witnesse; but that they might ouer-rule or censure the Bishop, they neuer said nor meant. 3 The safetie of the Church, as Ierome thinketh, standeth on the dignitie of the chiefe Priest (or Bishop) to whom except there be giuen a power without any equal, and eminent aboue all, there will bee as many schismes in the Churches as there be Priests. And so Cyprian; 4 Thou makest thy selfe Iudge of God and of Christ, which sayd to his Apostles, and thereby to all Rulers that succeed the Apostles in being ordained their substitutes: he that heareth you, heareth me, and hee that reiecteth you, reiecteth me. For whence haue heresies and schismes heretofore risen and daily rise, but whiles the Bishop which is but one, & ruleth the Church, is despised by the proud presumption of some? and that one Bishop, he calleth 5 the Lea-

3 Hiero. aduers. Luciferianos.

4 Cypr. li. 4. ep. 9.

5 Ibidem.

der

der of the people, the Pastour of the flocke, the gouernour of the Church, the Bishop of Christ, and Priest of God. Infinite are the testimonies of the Catholike Fathers against the power which you giue to your Presbyters; but because you turne them all ouer the barre, as tainted with humane politie, and neglecters of Gods ordinance; let vs see whether wee can say more for the power of Bishops ouer Presbyters by the Scriptures, then you haue done for your Presbyteriall censures, which in my iudgement are very slenderlie and weaklie proued.

All that wee can say for the power of Bishops aboue Presbyters out of the Scriptures, is this: That the holie Ghost by the mouth of S. Paul, hath giuen the Bishop of each place authoritie to ordaine such as he woorthie, to examine such as be faultie, and reproue and discharge such as be guiltie either of vnsound teaching, or offensiue liuing. Thus much he saieth to Timothie and Tite, and in them to their successours, and to all other Bishops of Christes Church for euer. The places bee plaine and neede no long discoursing till we heare your answere.

Of admitting Presbyters, Paul saieth to Timothie. [1] Lay hands hastily on no man, neither be partaker of other mens sinnes. And to Tite: [2] For this cause I left thee in Creete, that thou shouldest ordaine Elders in euerie Citie (*such*) as I appointed thee. Of conuenting them hee saieth; [3] Receiue no accusation against a Presbyter, but vnder two or three witnesses. those that sinne, rebuke openlie, that the rest may feare. Of dismissing them, hee saieth; [4] I prayed thee to abide at Ephesus to commaund certaine that they teach no strange doctrine. [5] Their mouthes must bee stopped that teach things, they ought not, for filthie lucre. [6] The Presbyters that doe their duties let them bee counted woorthie of double honour. [7] Staie foolish questions and contentions. [7] An heretike after one or two warnings reiect. [8] These things speake and exhort, and reboke with all authoritie. See no man despise thee. [9] I charge thee before God and the Lord Iesus Christ, and the elect Angels, that thou obserue these things, πρὸς οὐδενὸς, μηδὲν κατὰ πρόσκλισιν ποιῶν without carying any preiudice, or inclining to either part. The woordes bee singular, the charge is vehement; the parties were Bishops to whome the Apostle wrate: the case therefore

[1] 1. Tim. 5.
[2] Tit. 1.
[3] 1. Tim. 5.
[4] 1. Tim. 1.
[5] Tit. 1.
[6] 1. Tim. 5.
[7] Tit. 3.
[8] Tit. 2.
[9] 1. Tim. 5.

is

is cleare, that the Bishops power ouer Presbyters in these points is ratified by the expresse commandement of the holy Ghost.

You be mightily deceiued. This power belonged to Euangelists; not to Bishops; and therefore it durst but for their time, and exceeded not their persons to whom the Apostles wrote. See you how easilie the very foundations of your Prelacie are shaken and ouerthrowen.] If your replie be sound, you say somewhat to the purpose; but if it be false, absurd, repugnant to the very Text, and refuted by your own positions, then take you heed, what answere you will make to God for disturbing his Church, despising his ordinance, and deriding his messengers, that himselfe hath placed and authorized with his own mouth. And here I must pray the Christian Reader aduisedlie to marke what is said and answered on either side. This in deed is the maine erection of the Episcopal power and function, if our proofes stand; or subuersion, if your answere be good. For if this faile, well may Bishops claime their authoritie by the custome of the Church; by any diuine precept expressed in the scriptures, they cannot. But if these rules be deliuered by the Apostle to Bishops, as we say, they are; and not to Timothie and Tite in respect of their Euangelship, as the Presbyterists affirme; then can there be no question but this new discipline is a very dreame; and the auncient and Primitiue Church of Christ held the right and Apostolicall fourme of gouerning the house of God according to the prescript of his word. Our reioinder therefore is as followeth.

No power proper to Euangelists, is, or ought to be perpetual in the Church of Christ; their calling was both extraordinarie and temporarie. but power to ordaine fit ministers, to conuent and discharge vnfit, is, and ought to be perpetuall in the Church of Christ. This therefore was no power proper to Euangelists, which S. Paul in these places prescribed vnto Tite and Timothie. Againe, your Presbyters may not claime Euangelisticall power, since your Presbyters are no Euangelists; but your Presbyteries claime this power, which Paul here committeth to Timothie and Tite, euen to ordaine, examine, censure and depriue Pastours and Teachers; *ergo*, this power was not proper to Euangelists. Let all this bee nothing, if Saint Paul in expresse wordes say not as much. [1] I charge thee (saith he to Timothie) in the sight of God, and before Iesus Christ, that thou keepe this commaundement

[1] 1. Tim. 6.

without

without spot and vnrebukeable, VNTILL THE APPEARING of our Lord Iesus Christ. For Timothie to obserue these things vntill the comming of Christ in glory, was vtterly vnpossible, hee was to die long before; these precepts therefore are deliuered to him, and those that should succeed in his place, vnto the ende of the world. *Ergo*, Timothies power and function in this behalfe must be perpetuall in the Church of God, and not faile before the day of iudgement. [1] With great vigilancie and prouidence (saieth Ambrose vpon this place) doeth the Apostle giue precepts to the Ruler of the Church; for in his person doeth the safetie of the people consist. He is not so circumspect as fearing Timothies care, but for his successours, that after Timothies example they should obserue the ordering of the Church. Now let the Christian Reader iudge whether this were a temporarie function in Timothie, that died with his person; or a perpetuall charge to him and his successors for euer.

[1] *Ambros. in 1. ad Tim. ca. 6.*

Surely Timothie was an Euangelist, Timothie was no Bishop.] You say he was no Bishop; [2] Eusebius, Ierome, Ambrose, Chrysostome, Theodoretus, Epiphanius, Oecumenius, Primasius, affirme he was a Bishop; and in that respect S. Paul by this epistle directed him, and all other Bishops in him, how to impose handes on Presbyters, and receiue accusations against them; yea the whole Church of Christ since the Apostles times, without exception hath so construed and obserued the Apostles words, in suffering none but Bishops either to ordaine, or degrade Presbyters: yet all this with you is nothing; your bare fansie must ouerbeare both fathers, were they neuer so learned; and Churches, were they neuer so auncient. And though you auouch, this power must not exceed their two persons, to whom S. Paul wrate; yet you are so liberall and beneficiall to your Presbyteries, that against all trueth and authoritie, you make them succeede Timothie and Tite in their Euangelisticall power. And so according to your maner you will haue this power to be proper, and yet common; to be extraordinarie, and yet vsuall; to cease with their persons, and yet to dure for euer with your Presbyteries. Fire will better agree with water, then you with your selues; except you leaue this rolling too and fro at your pleasures.

[2] *See Chap. 12. pag. 333.*

We say the Euangelists had this power for a time; the Presbyteries for euer.] What you say, no wise man will regard, vnlesse you make

make better hookes then I yet see you doe. You haue not a word, nor a tittle in the Scriptures for the power of your Presbyteries, and yet you pronounce so peremptorilie and resolutelie of the, as if there were nothing els written in the newe Testament, but the power of your Presbyters.

Did not the Presbyterie impose hands on Timothie to make him an Euangelist? did not they watch and feede the flocke in the Apostles times? did not the holy Ghost make them ouer seers of the Church? what would you haue more?] Of laie men, your Presbyteries either wholie or chieflie consist. then they also be Pastours and Bishops, and watch & feed the flocke, & the holy Ghost hath set them ouer the Church; & they also impose hands, as well as the best. And to say the trueth, what thing is there so peculiar to Pastors which you do not communicate to your Presbyters? for whē you be vrged y Presbyters in the Apostles times were by vertue to doe those things, which belonged properly to Pastorall care and ouersight, and therefore laie men were no part of the se Presbyteries; you answere roundlie, that laie Elders in the Consistorie, do watch and feed and ouerlooke the flocke as well as Pastours; and so not onely their power, but also their charge is the very same, as you say, that the holy Ghost gaue vnto Pastors, and yet they no Pastours. And touching hands laied on Timothie by the Presbyterie, you answere your selues, for when you alleage, that the Presbyterie did impose handes on Timothie; wee aske you whether all the Presbyterie had right and power to impose handes, or onely some of them? If all; then Laie Elders must either impose handes (which Caluine conclusiuely denieth: [1] *hoc postremo habendum est, solos Pastores manus imposuisse Ministris*; this wee must vnderstand, that onely Pastours imposed handes on Ministers) or be no part of the Presbyterie. If some onely imposed handes; and yet the Presbyterie is said to doe that which not all, but some fewe, or one of them did; In like maner Paul saieth the Presbyterie laied handes on Timothie, when himselfe did the deede, who was one of the Presbyterie. And thus much Caluine likewise auoucheth; [2] *Paulus ipse se, non alios complures, Timotheo manus imposuisse commemorat.* Paul witnesseth that himselfe, and none others laied handes on Timothie.

[1] Calu. institutionum, li. 4. ca. 3.

[2] Calu. institutionum, li. 4. ca. 3.

And strange it is to see you build the maine foundation of your Pres-

Presbyterical power on a place, that hath so many sound and sufficient answeres as this hath. First, Ierome, Ambrose, Primasius and Caluine tell you the worde (Presbyterie) signifieth in that place the degree and function which Timothie receiued, not the College and number of Presbyters. Next, Chrysostome, Theodorete, Oecumenius, and Theophilact tell you, that Paul by the Presbyterie meant the Bishops (their names at first being common:) for that Presbyters might not laie handes on a Bishop, such as Timothie was. Thirdlie, the Scriptures tell you that the Apostles, Euangelists, Prophetes, and the seuentie disciples were of the Presbyteries in the first Church; and they might well impose handes on Timothie without any Presbyters. Fourthlie, Saint Paul telleth you, as Caluine well obserueth and vrgeth, that himselfe and none others laied handes on Timothie. Lastlie, your selues say Timothie was an Euangelist, which function and vocation the Presbyterie of no particular Church could giue him, but onely the Apostles. What power had the Church of Iconium or Ephesus to make Euangelists, I meane such as should accompanie the Apostles, and assist them in their trauailes? If you trust neither Scriptures nor Fathers; for shame trust your selues and your owne positions. Howe shall other men beleeue your assertions, when your selues doe not beleeue them? If Timothie were an Euangelist, they must be Apostles and no Presbyters that imposed handes on him. If the Presbyterie of any particular Church imposed hands on him, Timothie must be a Bishop, and haue a locall charge in some Church; which you impugne vnder pretence of his Euangelishp. Choose which you will, so you choose somewhat, and stand to it when you haue chosen it. Were they Presbyters or no, that imposed hands on Timothie? If they were, yet they did it iointlie with Paul; and so without the Apostle or his successor, Presbyters may not impose handes, and then must Timothie be a Bishop when Paul wrate vnto him; for Presbyters could not make him an Euangelist. Were they no Presbyters but Apostles, or others of higher calling? Then maketh this place nothing for the power of Presbyters, either to ordaine or depriue ministers of the worde and Sacramentes; and setting this aside, what one iote finde you in the Scriptures concerning your Presbyteries?

The

The conclusion is. We shew you substantiall and full proofe, that TIMOTHIE AND HIS SVCCESSOVRS are charged by Paul to obserue these precepts of the holy Ghost in the Church of Christ for euer; touching the admitting of fit ministers, and remouing of vnfit. Thence we inferre, this power must be perpetuall in Bishops, for they succeed Timothie in the Church; the Presbyteries doe not. On the other side you claime this authoritie from Bishops to your Presbyteries; but you cannot proue either their succession from Timothie, or ioint commission with Timothie, by any sentence or syllable in the Scriptures. That they should feede and watch the flocke; you vrge, and we graunt; in teaching and exhorting, they were ioyned with Timothie, by reason the labourers must of force be many, where the harueſt was so great, as in the Apostles times: but in ordaining and gouerning the Teachers, as there was no need of many, so is there no precept for many, least by the multitude of Rulers, order should be rather confused then preserued. Wherefore as Timothie was placed at Ephesus, and Tite in Creete, to ordaine, moderate and rebuke, as well Presbyters, as people; so was Archippus at Colossus, so were the seuen Pastours in the seuen Churches of Asia, to whom the sonne of God wrate by S. Iohns penne; so in all the Apostolike Churches, were Apostolike men throughout the Christian world left to guide and gouerne the Churches of Christ with like power, and to leaue the same to their successours for euer. And this our construction and exposition of of S. Pauls words to Timothie, the learned and ancient fathers confirme with one consent, and the Catholike Church of Christ hath continued and performed in all ages and places since the Apostles deaths.

Meane you that Bishops alone might doe what they would without the knowledge or consent of their Presbyters? My meaning is soone vnderstood. You establish one chiefe in your Presbyteries by Gods essentiall and perpetuall ordinaunce, to execute that which you decree; whom you call your President. How farre I ioyne with you, you shall quickly perceiue. To auoyd tumults and dissentions, God hath authorized one in each place, and Church able, to haue & maintaine a Presbyterie, who with Pastorall and fatherly moderation, should guide as well the Presbyters that assist him, as the people that are subiect to him according to the lawes of God and man; the

execution

ministerie, whereof is principallie committed to his charge, that is the Leader and ouerseer of all the rest; whom wee call a Bishop. His power I call administration and not a domination, because the wisedom of God hath likewise allowed and prounded Christian meanes as well to bridle him from wrongs, as to direct him in doubts.

That is right the power which we giue to our Presbyteries. Did you not put lairemen in stead of Pastours, to bee Presbyters, and make them controllers, where they should bee but aduisers; your Presbyteries might haue some vse in the Church of God, though farre lesse now, then when they first began: but your disdaining Bishops and taking from them that which the Apostle giueth them, and your enrolling Presbyteries (the most part whereof, if not all, be laie Elders) to determine all cases, and censure all persons in the Church, which the Scriptures neuer speake of; are the spottes and staines of your discipline, which you will neuer wash away. Presbyteries wee acknowledge were in the Apostles times, and in the Primitiue Church, seruing to religious and needfull vses; but no such Presbyteries as you pretend, neither erected to any such end as you conceiue, nor endued with any such soueraigne power, as you imagine.

I finde many vses of Presbyteries ordained in Cities by the Apostles, and after by them conioined in one Church with the Bishop; whereof some are extinguished by the alteration of times, others remaine in force to this day. The first was the conuersion of the world vnto Christ. In great Cities where none yet beleeued, how long would it be before one man should gain any great number vnto the faith; persecutions especially growing so hote, that none might publikely shew himselfe to bee a Christian without danger of life? Wherefore the holie Ghost disposed and appointed many labourers in euerie Citie, to carie the knowledge of the truth from house to house. As at Ephesus Paul at one time furnished twelue with the gifts of Gods spirite for the spreading of the Gospell in that place; at Rome hee saluteth twentie that were of his acquaintance, before those he knew not, who planted themselues and their households in that Citie, to winne the multitude to the obedience of the faith. And so wheresoeuer the Apostle erected any Church, they did store it with as many meete men to teach the worde, as they could finde, that the truth of Christ

[1] Act. 19.
[2] Rom. 16.

might disperse it selfe not onely throughout their Cities, but into the Townes and countries that bordered neere them.

The next vse of Presbyteries was to continue such as they had conuerted, by instructing, exhorting and encouraging the beleeuers from house to house, and from man to man, to stand fast in the doctrine receiued, and neither to shrinke at the bloudie stormes of tyrants, nor to giue eare to the idle charmes of Satan, nor to follow the deceitfull baites of this world; but constantly, with truth and holinesse to serue God, in spite of all aduersaries that exalted themselues against the knowledge of Christ. And as the people did encrease, so did the paines in each place, and consequently the number of Presbyters; one man being no more able to serue the necessities of a great Citie, then to beare the burden of the earth on his backe. Wherefore the spirite of wisedome so guided the Church, that to procure the conuersion, and attend the saluation of men, there was euery where, (as occasion required) store of Pastours and Teachers; and yet to maintaine vnitie, and keepe both Presbyters and people in peace, there was in each Church and Citie, one chiefe amongst them, that as principall Pastour of the place, looked into all their doings, staied them from dissentions, rebuked the vnruly, and with the helpe of the rest reiected the intollerable: least many Teachers by challenging vnto themselues such as they had conuerted, should rent the faithfull into as many Churches as there were Presbyters in euerie Citie. For which cause, each place, were it neuer so great, had but one Church, and one chiefe Pastour or Bishop elected to succeed in the Pastorall charge and chaire aboue the rest that were his brethren in office, children in honour, helpers in labour, and assessours in counsell and iudgement.

The third vse, was the training vp and trying of men that were meete to haue the care of soules committed vnto them, and the regiment of the Church reposed on them. At first, the wonderfull power of the holy Ghost supplied all wants and defectes of learning and knowledge, so that by the laying on of the Apostles handes, men sodainly were made meete ministers of the newe Testament: but because these giftes were not alwayes to continue, or not in so plentifull maner as at the Prime tide of the Gospell; the Apostles seeled in euery Church

and Citie, nerving their seruice, and able to giue them maintenance, by reason of the populousnesse of the place, a Presbyterie, that is, a conuenient number of Deacons to serue about diuine matters and mysteries, and of Pastours to intend for the word and Sacraments. from whence as from a fountaine, both the Cities themselues might at all times after haue sufficient men to furnish their owne turnes, and to helpe the smaller Townes and Villages within their circuite, which for the slendernesse of their state, could neither maintaine Presbyteries, nor nourish vp meete men to supplie their neede vpon the death of the former Incumbents. This to vs that haue Universities for that purpose founded by the bounteousnes of Christian Princes and other benefactours, may seeme superfluous; but the Church of Christ after her first supplie made by the Apostles handes, had no meanes to continue the succession of fitte and able Pastours in each place, but onely her Presbyteries in greater Churches and Cities, that were her nurseries of learning, and Seminaries of sound religion and holy conuersation; which stored both the Cities where they were supported, and the countrey round about, that was vnder the charge and ouersight of the Bishop of each Citie.

The fourth vse of Presbyteries, which you much grate on, but neuer rightlie hit, was the aduising and assisting the Bishop or Pastour of each Church and Citie in all doubts and dangers. At first there were no Councils to make Canons, nor Christian Princes to establish lawes for the good guiding and ordering of the Church; but each place was left to direct it selfe. Least therefore the Bishops onely will should bee the rule of all things in the Church; the gouernement of the Church was at first so proportioned, that neither the Presbyters should doe any thing without their Bishop; nor the Bishop dispose matters of importaunce without his Presbyterie. The Presbyters sate not with the Bishop as equall in power with him, much lesse as superiour aboue him, when the more part consented against him; you would faine haue it so: but the Church of Christ, from the Apostles to this present, neuer vsed or endured any such presumption.

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[1] As Christ (saith Ignatius) doeth nothing without his father, so

[1] *Ignatius ad Magnesios.*

so doe you (*nothing*) without the Bishop, whether you be Presbyter, Deacon, or Lai man. And againe, [1] Presbyters bee subiect to your Bishop, Deacons to your Pesbyters, and Lai men to both. My soule for theirs that obserue this order, the Lord will be alwayes with them. The Canons reporting the ancient discipline that obtained in the Church from the Apostles times, say, [2] Let the Presbyters and Deacons doe nothing without the consent of the Bishop, for the Bishop is hee, to whose charge the people are committed, and who shall render an account for their soules. Tertullian that liued in the next age after the Apostles, prooueth that in his time, neither Presbyter, nor Deacon might baptize without the Bishops leaue. [3] The right to giue baptisme, hath the high Priest which is the Bishop, then the Presbyters and Deacons; *Non tamen sine Episcopi authoritate, propter ecclesiæ honorem; quo saluo, salua pax est:* but not without the Bishops authoritie, for that honour the Church yeeldeth (*to Bishops;*) which being preserued, peace is maintained. Emulation is the mother of schismes. The Councill of Ancyra, that was elder then the Councill of Nice, sheweth; It was [4] not lawfull for Rurall Bishops to ordaine Presbyters or Deacons, nor for the Presbyters of the Citie to doe any thing out of their charge without the licence and letters of the Bishop. The Councill of Laodicea expelling the Bishops preeminence, saieth; [5] The Rural Bishops that are alreadie made, must doe nothing without the consent of the Bishop of the Citie. Likewise the Presbyters must do nothing without the liking of their Bishop. The Councill of Arle in Constantines dayes; [6] *Presbyteri sine conscientia Episcoporum nihil faciant.* The Presbyters may do nothing without the knowledge (*or consent*) of the Bishop. Ierome giueth the same reason for it that Tertullian doeth. If the chiefe Priest should not haue power, [7] eminent aboue all without partner, there would be as many schismes as there be Priests. *Inde venit vt sine Episcopi missione, neque Presbyter, neque Diaconus ius habeant baptizandi.* Thence is it, that without the Bishops leaue, neither Presbyter, nor Deacon may baptize. If Presbyters by the discipline of the Primitiue Church were to obey their Bishop, and might doe nothing, no not baptize without the bishops leaue; how farre were they from ouer-ruling & censuring their bishop by number of voices, which

[1] *Idem ad Sarsenses.*

[2] *Canones Apostolorum, ca. 38.*

[3] *Tertul. de baptismo.*

[4] *Concil. Ancyr. ca. 13.*

[5] *Concil. Laodicen, ca. 56.*

[6] *Concilii Arelatens. 1, ca. 19.*

[7] *Hiero. aduers. Luciferianos.*

which you attribute to your Presbyters?

This was that custome of the Church, *which Ierome confessed was against the* Diuine disposition.] If this were the custome of the Primitiue Church, then were their Presbyteries nothing like your Consistories; neither did the Bishop as a Consul in the Senate all his voices, and execute what the most part decreed; but as a Pastour he gouerned & ouer-looked, as well the Presbyters as the people; and without his consent and liking, the Presbyters might doe nothing, no not baptize nor administer the Lordes supper; neither doeth Ierome say that this custome of the Church was against the diuine disposition; hee is so farre from condemning it, that he saieth, [1] the safetie of the Church dependeth thereon; but Ierome willeth the Bishops to remember, that though the whole care and ouersight of the Church bee now giuen to them, and taken from Presbyters for preuenting of schismes; yet they should vse them with honour, and consult with them for the good of the Church, because by the trueth of the diuine disposition afore schismes began, they were trusted in common with the regiment of the Church.

[1] *Aduersus Luciferianos.*

That disposition which hee calleth diuine, wee seeke to restore.] By pretence of those wordes, you proclaime your owne deuises vnder the title of Gods ordinance. Otherwise, the charge that Paul giueth Timothie, maketh stronglie for Bishops against your Presbyteries; but that we interprete his wordes by the practise of the Church; and thereby conceiue, that though the chiefe power and care were committed to Bishops; yet their Presbyteries were not excluded. for as then Bishops had no meanes to bee directed or assisted, but onely their Presbyteries. Afterwards, when vpon the generall preuailing of the Gospell on the face of the earth, Synodes began to assemble; and the Pastors of diuers Churches vsed by letters and meetings to conferre about such orders and rules as they thought needfull to bee obserued in all their Churches; the Presbyteries of euery particular place had more leasure and leaue to play, by reason prouinciall Councils vndertooke the debating and resoluing of those doubts and difficulties that before troubled the Presbyteries. And as you tie your President to the execution of such things as your Presbyters shall decree; so the Primitiue Church of Christ had greater reason and better ground

to binde her Bishops to set those things perfourmed, which were concluded by generall assent of the Bishops and Pastours of any Prouince. Where you may see, vpon what occasion, the power of Presbyteries first decreased, not that Bishops wrongfully encroched on their liberties, and violently ouer-mastered them; but what things were before handled and debated in the Presbyteries of each place, came nowe to be discussed and concluded in the Synodes and full assemblies of all the Bishops and Pastours of one kingdome or Countrey. So that Synodes in consultation and determination of all ecclesiastical griefes and causes, were preferred by the Primitiue Church of Christ, as Courtes of greater iudgement, higher power, better experience and more indifferencie, then Presbyteries; and if malice doe not blinde you, you will confesse the same.

Was it possible to finde in any Presbyterie, so many graue, wise, learned, and sufficient men as in a Prouince? In Presbyteries, affections and factions mightilie preuaile, by reason men that liue together vpon liking or disliking, soone linke togither: In Synodes where all were strangers to themselues and to the parties, no such thing could be feared. In Presbyteries it was easie for the Bishop to haue his forth, for that the rest were subiect vnto him, and might many wayes be displeased by him, if he would seek reuenge: In Synodes they were all his brethren and equals, no way in danger to him, and therefore the more likelie to bee sincere and indifferent Iudges. And as for authoritie, I trust your selues doe not meane in euery Parish to erect a Pope and a Colledge of Cardinals, from whom there shall be no appeale, of whose wrongs there shall be no redresse, whose censures must stand indissoluble; that were of all tyrannies the most intollerable. In all Christian societies, the whole of like power and calling is greater then any part; and a Prouince must bee respected before a Parish. Wherefore Presbyteries must yeeld to Synodes; and the Bishop of each place is more bound to regard and execute Synodal then Presbyterall decrees.

This whiles you marke not, you imagine the whole Church of Christ conspired against Presbyters to suppresse them, & to change the Apostolicall forme of regiment; where in deed the decrees of Councils and lawes of Christian princes moderating and determining

ning all those doubts and questions which before were examined in Presbyteries, caused them to bee lesse needed and lesse regarded then before; and charged the Bishop with the execution of all lawes and Canons, without assembling or consulting his Presbyters; superiour Courts not submitting their acts to the iudgement of inferiour officers. Wherefore, when you raile at Bishops as vsurpers and tyrants ouer their brethren, you forget that after so many hundred yeres, all things being setled and guided by lawes, which your Presbyteries neither may reuerse, nor can correct; your Elders were as good spare their paines, as loose their labours. More lawes we need not, better you cannot make; no man that hath his right wits will choose to liue vnder the discretion of the Presbyters, rather then vnder the prescript of written lawes. Frustrate them when you will to make worke for your Consistories, and you shall find greater difference betwixt the equitie and certaintie of the Canons, and the affectionate and inconstant headinesse of your Presbyters.

We would change no lawes, but such as are Popish; and where now the Bishop alone doeth all, we would ioyne the Presbyterie with him.]

The lawes that vpheld the Popes superstition or vsurpation are already abrogated, thanks be to God; the rest that agree with the Canons of the Primitiue Church, if you seeke to dissolue, I would wish you did publish the new, that men might see them before you did erathorate the olde, least you make the people as lawlesse as your Presbyters. It is easier to euert or disturbe, then to plant or establish a Church or common wealth. If you take not the same lawes againe, I dare warrant your children children to the fourth generation, shall see neither order nor peace in your Churches. And as for ioyning Presbyters with the Bishop to execute lawes, that is the way to multiplie Bishops, and where we haue one, to make vs twentie; but that is not the way to haue lawes more speedilie or sincerely executed. In a multitude, diuersitie of opinions breedeth delaies, & hindereth execution; in one it cannot; and if each man be subiect to affections, I hope the more, the worse. But what reason we whether one or many shall execute the lawes, when it is not in our hands to limite the law-makers to our choice? They that haue power from God to make lawes, haue likewise authoritie & libertie to chose whō they will charge wth the executiō of their lawes;

and therefore in Gods name, let both Councils and Princes choose what persons they thinke meetest to see their Canons and Lawes obserued; so long as they transgresse not the rules of pietie and equitie.

Our chiefest care is for the right execution of Gods law; which we would not haue committed to the Bishop without his Presbyters.] Giue the Bishop that right and authoritie which Gods law alloweth him, and the ioine with him, whom you can. *What right is that?*] You heard before, he must haue Pastorall and Paternall power; either wholie, if by Gods lawe there may be but one Pastor in one Church; or chiefly, if there may bee more in the same place to aduise and assist him in gouerning the flock. More authoritie by Gods law we claime not for Bishops, then to be Pastours of the places which they gouerne. And Pastorall authoritie since you giue to euerie Rector in his Church, what reason haue you to denie it to euery Bishop in his Dioceese?

We giue no man Pastorall power ouer the Presbyteries; and as for Dioceses, wee say they are intrusions on other mens cures.] If by Gods lawe you assigne one Church to one man as Pastour of the same; then all the members of that Church, be they Presbyters or people, must be subiect to him as to their Pastour, and he must haue Pastorall authoritie ouer them, whatsoeuer they be. And therefore this shift of yours, that the Presbyters shall haue a President ouer them by Gods ordinance, but no Pastour, is a meere collusion, repugnant as well to the worde as Church of God. For what doe the Scriptures call your President in respect of the Presbyters, if not a Pastour? Shew vs either his name or his power in the new Testament; and if it be not equiualent with Pastorall, wee will exempt your Presbyters from all subiection. The power that Timothie receiued, to restraine them from preaching false doctrine, and to conuent and rebuke such Presbyters as sinned, was it not Pastorall? And that charge was to remaine by the Apostles words, to him and his successors till the comming of Christ. Your Pastours that you would erect in countrey parishes, shall they not haue Pastorall power ouer your laie Presbyters? shall your laie Elders be sheepe without a shepeheard? shal no man watch ouer their soules? If your laie Presbyteries must haue a Pastour ouer them in each countrey parish, how commeth it to passe that your Presbyteries

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in Cities may endure no Pastours aboue them? Are they not all of one and the same institution by your owne rules? Is there one ouer in the Scriptures for rusticall Presbyteries; and an other for ciuill? I thinke your selues can hardly shewe any such distinction. Therefore when we giue bishops Pastorall authoritie as well ouer their Presbyters as ouer their people, wee doe it by the warrant of Gods word, that maketh them chiefe Pastours ouer their Churches, which includeth both Presbyters and people; and wee therein giue them no more then by your wils you would giue to the meanest Rectors of countrie parishes. [*Pastours we are content they shalbe ouer their flockes, but not ouer their coequals and copartners.*] Then no man may take or leaue their flockes from them, so long as they teach and guide them right: and consequently your Presbyters may vse no Pastorall power in any bishops charge without his liking. For he is Pastour of the flocke; and by Gods law they must heare and obey the voice of their shepeheard. And as for the rest of the Presbyters, if you make thē copartners with him; that is, not helpers, but equals; you distract the flocke, and rent the Church into as many peeces as there be pastors. One flocke cannot haue many pastors, except they be subordinate one vnder another: but many pastors of equal power must needs haue many flocks. Therefore one Church must haue but one pastor, to whom the rest, be they Presbyters or others, must by Gods Law be subiect and obedient, whiles he rightly directeth them, and worthely rebuketh them; otherwise against God and his truetly, we must obey neither man nor Angell. Yet to temper the Pastourall power of bishops that it might be fatherly, as it hath beene alwaies in the house of God euen from the beginning; and not Princely, for feare of raigning ouer the Lords inheritance; the Church of Christ did in certaine cases of importance not suffer the bishop to attempt any thing without the consent of his Presbyters or a Synode. The fourth Councill of Carthage prohibiteth the bishop[a] to heare and sentemiate any mans cause without the presence of his Clergie, as also it voideth [b] the gifts, sales and exchanges of ecclesiastical goods made by the Bishop without the subscription of his Clarks. The Councill of Hispalis, [c] We decree according to the rule of the ancient fathers, that none of vs presume to degrade a Presbyter or Deacon without the examination

[a] Concil. Carthag. 4. ca. 23. [b] & 32.

[c] Concil. Hispal. 2. ca. &c.

mination of a Councill: for there are many that condemne them without discussing their causes, rather by tyrannicall power, then by Canonicall authoritie. Many like cases there are in which the bishop might not meddle, without his Presbytery or a Synode, whereof some are altered by lawes, some rest in force at this present.

Against this tyrannicall power which you mention we repine; that Bishops alone should excommunicate and deprive Presbyters at their pleasures.] Did you acknowledge the Canonicall authoritie of bishops, we should soone conclude for the tyrannicall; but vnder the shew of the one you impugne the other, and when you come to redresse it, you establish a plainer tyrannie in steade of it. True it is that the frequencie of Synodes, did first rebate the credite and decaie the vse of Presbyteries. For when the bishops of eche prouince, as by the generall Councils of Nice and Chalcedon they were bound, met twise euerie yeere, to heare and moderate Ecclesiasticall griefes and causes; Presbyters were lesse regarded, and lesse employed then before, Synodes, as superiour Iudges entring into the examination and decision of those things, which were wont to be proposed in Presbyteries. And when priuat quarrels & questions increasing, Synodes began to be tired with continuall sitting about such matters, and the bishops of most Churches to be detained from their cures and attend the debating & deciding of griefs & displeasures betwixt man and man, the burden grew so intollerable, that Synodes were forced to settle an appeale frō the bishop to the Metropolitane; & commit it to the care of the Primate, what causes were fit for Synodall cognition. The Counell of Sardica. [1] If any Bishop in a rage hastily mooued against a Presbyter or Deacon, will cast him out of the Church, we must prouide that an innocent be not condemned, and depriued the Communion. All answered; Let the partie so iected, haue libertie to flie to the Metropolitane of the same prouince, and desire his cause to be more aduisedly heard. The great Counell of Affrica finding howe troublesome it was for the bishops of that whole Region to meete and state the hearing of all matters, [2] chose out three of euerie Prouince to end causes vndetermined; and by reason they could not assemble twice a yeare for the length of the way, they were contented with [3] one full Councill in the yeere,

[1] Concil. Sardicensis, 14.

[2] Concil. Afric. ca. 129.

[3] Ibidem ca. 29.

yeere, and left the causes and complaints of Presbyters, Deacons and other Clergie men, first to the Bishops that were neerest, and then to the Primate or Metropolitane of the same prouince. [1] We decree that Presbyters, Deacons, and other inferiour Clergie men, if in any matters they finde themselues agreeued with the iudgements of their own Bishops; the Bishops that are neerest shall giue them audience. And if they thinke good to appeale from them, they shall not appeale to the Tribunals beyond the Seas, but to the Primates of their owne Prouince, euen as wee haue often decreed of Bishops. [1] Ibidem ca. 18.

These Canons did not establish but repelle tyrannicall power in bishops if any did affect it, and required the bishop before he proceeded against Presbyter or Deacon, to take into him assessours of the neerest bishops, such as the parties conuented should demand; and if they could not ende the cause with the liking of both sides, then the Primate to haue the hearing of it, and lastlie, the Councill, if either parte would appeale from the Primate. Thus did the Bishops of the Primitiue Church order the hearing of causes within their prouinces, neither prowdly nor Antichristianly, but in my iudgement, soberly and wisely referred them from the Bishop to the Primate, thereby to ripen causes, and search into the trueth of eche complaint, with a great deale lesse trouble and no lesse indifferencie, then if it had bene immediatly brought to the Councill.

And were you as moderate as you be resolute, you would perceiue what a tedious labour it is, and in our State superfluous for a Synode of Bishops to sit all a yeere long hearing priuate griefes, complaints and contentions. If you be so desirous of it, I would you were for a while fast tied to it, that you might learne to be wise; you would bee the willingeer as long as you liued to let courts alone, and spend your time better then in examinations, depositions and exceptions of witnesses. Howbeit in our realme vnlesse you change all your Ecclesiasticall lawes, I see not how Synodes or Presbyteries should intermeddle with any such matters, for how shal your Presbyters iudge by discretion or by law? Your discretions I know no man so foolish that will trust. What greater tyranny can be vrged on a christian realme, then inforce of Lawes

Lawes to alter the vote in matters of your Presbyteries? Shall each mans safetie and soule depend on your pleasures? But your Presbyteries you meane shall be tied to execute the same Lawes that are already settled. Alas good men; how we many hundred yeres will you all be before your Presbyteries in cities and villages will be able to reade them? and howe many thousand before they vnderstand them? Are you willing your wiues to claime the execution of those Lawes for your Presbyteries, which they neither doe, nor euer will conceiue: first set them to schoole, and when they can reade law, send them to the vniuersities, and vpon their growing to such perfection that they can heare & decide eche mans case by the Lawes of this realme, make petition for them, to haue them authorized in euerie parish in steade of the Arches. If otherwise you will haue them sit Iudges in all mens causes before they can reade either Latin or Law; the world will mule at your madnesse.

Your Bishops are no such great Lawyers.] And therefore they haue the more neede of Chancellors and Registers that are better acquainted with the Lawes then themselues are, and as for appeales, vnlesse you looke to treade gouernement vnder your feet, and ouer-rule all things by the meere motions of your owne wils, though they sometimes aduantage offendours, yet were they prouided to protect innocents, and are Christian remedies to do euerie man right that thinketh he hath wrong. They doe not maintaine the Antichristian pryde of bishops; there can bee none other, nor better waie to represse it, then by appeale to bring the iudgements of all their Courts and Officers to bee tried and examined by the princes power and delegates, which I trust you take to bee no tyrannie. If corruption sometimes creepe in through mens fingers to bolster bad causes, the Lawes are farre from allowing, and I as farre from defending it. What hath bene so sacred, that couetousnesse hath not expugned? and your Presbyteries, except they consist of Angels, and not of men, will soone shew both what affections and what corruptions are in men, as well as other Consistories.

Manslaweswee leaue to such as are skilled in them; we would haue our Presbyteries meddle no further then with rebuking and censuring of vice, as Gods Law requireth.] [a]To admonish those

[a] Tit. 3.

that

that erre, reiect those that persist, and rebuke those that sinne, are Pastorall and not Presbyteriall workes by the wordes of S. Paul. And he that is Pastour, hath both worde and Sacraments committed vnto his care within his owne Church. Wherefore, without their pastour the Presbyters may not iudicially rebuke, nor publikely excommunicate any man within his charge. They may preach the worde, and so generally apply it in the pulpit, they may dispence the Sacraments, and so not deliuer them, where they find men impenitent; but personally to conuent them, or openlie to seuer them from the felld whip of the church that belongeth to the Pastour, and not to the Presbyters. Saint Paul committed that power and care to Timothie, and his successours, not to the Presbyterie of Ephesus. The wordes are plaine. Against an Elder *receiue thou no* accusation; but vnder two or three witnesses: those that sinne, *rebuke thou openly*, that the rest may feare. I charge (*thee*) before God and the Lorde Iesus, and his elect Angels, that *thou obserue these thinges* without preiudice or partialitie; that is, without oppressing or fauouring any side. Shew vs thus much for your Presbyteries, and bring them in with full saile. 1. Timoth. 5.

1. Timoth. 5.

Paul made Timothie no Monarch at Ephesus to doe all this without the Presbyterie; but appointed him to be chiefe in these actions, and the Presbyters to ioyne with him.] Much lesse did Paul make him a voice-asker, to know whether it should please the Presbyters to haue these things done, or no. The charge is precisely and exactlie Timothies, and not the Presbyteries; the power therefore must be his and not theirs. All this notwithstanding, you affirme against the wordes of the Apostle, and against the vse of the Primitiue Church, that the Presbyters might ouer-rule and censure Timothie, if he would not be quiet, and in spite of Timothy doe in all these thinges as they saw cause; and this you haue by supposse without anie kinde of proofe. But either shew vs what warrant you haue to claime this prerogatiue of Presbyters aboue and ouer their bishops and pastours; or giue vs leaue to beleeue the whole Church of Christ expounding and practising those wordes of S. Paul as we doe, before your slender and naked suppositals. The priuate vse of the keyes in appointing offendors vpon the acknowledging of their sinnes, for a time to forbeare the Lordes Table,

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we denie not to Presbyters; but the publike vse of the keies, to excluse an impenitent and obstinate person from all fellowship of the faithfull as well secred as civill; that the Church of Christ allowed alwaies, and only to Bishops.

1 Origen. homil. 24 in Leui, ca. 24

Origen saith; 1 By falling from truth, faith and loue, a man goeth out of the tents of the church, though he be not cast out by the BISHOPS. Vbi ei. Cypr. writing to a bishop, that was reproched by his Deacon, saith; 2 Vse against him the power of your honour either TO DEPRIVE HIM, or TO REMOOVE HIM from the communion. 3 The affection of a good Bishop, saith Ambrose, wisheth to heale the sicke, to remoove cankred sores; to cauterize, not to cut off; lastly, that which can not be healed TO CVT IT OF with sorrow. 4 I maruel, saith Ierom against Vigilantius, the BISHOP, in whose charge he is said to be a Presbyter, DOTH NOT CRVSH this vnprofitable vessel with the Apostolike rod, and deliuer him ouer (to Satan) for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saued. 5 There is no greater punishmēt in the Church (saith Austen) then that damnation, which THE EPISCOPAL IVDGEMENT pronounceth; yet the Pastor must needs seuer the sick sheepe from the whole, lest deadly infection reach vnto others. 6 If (saith Chrysost. giuing ye people admonition of a certaine abuse crept in amongst thē) we be despised, we shalbe cōpelled to bring those threats to effect, & to chastise you by the lawes of the church. Be angry who list, I will keepe them from the church a long space as Idolaters. Beare with mee, neither let any man despise the bandes of the church. It is not mā that bindeth, but Christ which hath giuen this power, & made men masters of so great honor. wee desire not to be brought to that extremity; if we be, we will do our duetie. If any man breake those bands, I haue done my part; thou shalt answer to him, that COMMANDED ME to bind thee.

2 Cypr. lib. 3. epist. 9.

3 Ambros. officior. lib. 2. ca. 27.

4 Hiero. ad Riparium aduers. Vigilantium.

5 August. de gratia & corruptione ca. 15.

6 Chrysost. homil. 5. in 2. cap. ad Hebraeos.

The Counsell of Nice willed Synodes to be kept twise euery yeere, to examine whether any 7 Lay men or Clergy men were excommunicated, by the IMBECILITY, PERTINACY OR INSOLENCIE OF THE BISHOP; and such as were founde to haue OFFENDED THEIR BISHOP, to stand excommunicate, til the Synode released them. The Counsell of Antioch likewise decreed, that if 8 any Lay man Presbyter, or Deacon were excom-

7 Nicen. Concil. ca. 5.

8 Concil. Antioch. ca. 6.

excommunicated BY HIS OVVNE BISHOP, no man should receiue him to the cómunion, afore he were restored by his own Bishop, or by a Synode. The Councell of Sardica in the same manner. 1 If any Deacon Presbyter or Clergy man be excómunicated, & flie to another Bishop of his acquaintance, that knoweth he is depriued of the cómunion BY HIS OVVNE BISHOP, the other must not with reproch to a Bishop and his brother, receiue that person to the cómunion. The Councell of Taurine to which Ambrose was present, decreed touching Exuperantius a Presbyter, (that had reproched Triferius his bishop, & was therfore by him put from the cómunion) 2 *vt in eius arbitrio sit restitutio ipsius, in cuius potestate vna fuit abiectio, hoc est, vt quando vel ideò Exuperantius satisfecerit, vel episcopo Triferio visum fuerit, tùc gratiam communionis accipiat.* That his restitution should BE IN THE (*Bishops*) DISCRETION, in whose power the reiecting of him was: And therefore when Exuperantius (*the Presbyter*) should make satisfaction, or Triferius the bishop be so content, then he should be restored to the communion. The Councill of Affrica take order for such as 3 complaine against the iudgements of their owne bishops, that they shalbe heard by the next bishops; but if any man flie 4 [illegible], THE CANONICAL SENTENCE OF HIS OVVNE BISHOP, no man should receiue him to the communion. By which it appeareth that Gregories words are very true, where he saith, 5 THE BISHOPS now in the Church hold the places (*of the Apostles*.) THEY which haue that degree of regiment, HAVE AVTHORITIE to bind and loose. And Theophilacts. 6 THEY HAVE POVVER to binde and loose, which haue the grace of a BISHOPS OFFICE, as Peter had. The publike vse therefore of the keies, to excommunicate from al Christian company, belonged to the bishop as pastor of the place: the Presbyters sate with him, at first as assessors and consenters, before Synodes ouerrooke such causes; but after when once Councils began to haue the hearing of such grieues, then sate the Presbyters with the Bishop, onely as beholders and aduisers of his iudgement; that the matter being publike might be handled with the more grauitie and sincerite; notwithstanding, to examine it, or reuerse it, pertained only to the assemblie of the bishops of the same prouince.

1 *Concil. Sardic. can. 13.*

2 *Concil. Taurinat. can. 4.*

3 *Concil. Afric. ca. 28.*

4 *Ibidem ca. 9.*

5 *Gregor. lib. 30. homiliarum homil. 26.*

6 *Theophilact. in Matth. ca. 16.*

If the chief Bishop excommunicate, how do you Iudge of the ciuill Law, which giues no Minister any thing vpon them to do?] They take not vpon them the power of the keies committed to the Apostles and their successours; but inflicted punishment for disobedience containing all those penalties, that by lawe were ordained for such as contemned the keies of the Church, by what name soeuer they call it, be it a suspension, condemnation or excommunication it greatlie skilleth not, so long as they claime it not by Gods Law, but by mans; and yet if the sentence of the Canon wrappe all contempt within the band of excommunication, I see no cause but lay Iudges may denounce the offendour to be within the compasse of the Canon, for that is more then if they pronounced him wilfully obstinate, and consequently to haue incurred the sentence of excommunication, which the Canon decreeth. And of all men you should not be so curious, which giue your laie Presbyters power to censure their Pastour by number of voices, and make excommunication to be the iudgement of the whole Church, comprising as well the people, as the Presbyters. For our parts, though we take the power of the keies to be common to all that haue Pastorall charge of soules, in their degree; yet to auoide the infinite shewers of excommunication, which would ouerflow all Churches and parishes, and the intollerable quarrels and brabbles that would ensue, if euerie Presbyter might excommunicate at his pleasure; we praise the wisedome of Gods Church in suffering no inferiour to excommunicate without the Bishops consent and licence; and for ought that I knowe, we follow the same rule. Surely, had we two or three hundred excommunicatours, where we haue one, lightnings flie not so fast about in a tempest, as excommunications would in euerie diocese.

The encrease the power of Bishops, you make them Pastours ouer Churches; but when it commeth to the discharging of Pastorall care, they be further off: but grant them to be Pastours, they can be but ouer those Churches that are in Cities; ouer whole shires they cannot be, since they can not be present at so many places to do any Pastorall duetie.] And we first deuised or else vnderstood dioceses for bishops, you might well haue challenged vs for making them larger then Pastorall care might extend vnto; but your quarel in deede is not to the length or breadth of their dioceses (which must wholy bee

referred

referred to the wisedome and consideration of the State;) you affirme that a Bishop should haue any Diocese at all or gouerne any Church besides that one wherein he teacheth and administreth the Sacraments. Which nice conceit of yours not onely condemneth the whole primitiue Church of Christ that assigned Dioceses vnto bishops, but contradicteth the verie grounds and examples of that gouernement which the Apostles left behind them.

Did the Apostles appoint Dioceses for Bishops? that were newes indeede.] No such newes, but that your owne Principles will confirme the same. For what order say you did the Apostles leaue behind them to gouerne the Church? Did they trust one Pastour or Presbyter alone in euerie place to doe as hee thought good? Or else did they prouide direction and assistance in dangerous and doubtful cases to guide him and helpe him in the gouernement of the church? The power of one man in euery church to doe what he will, be he Pastour or Presbyter, your selues affirme is Antichristian and diuelish. And I thinke you say trueth, if he will haue neither associats to restraine him, nor superiours to ouerlooke him. That were to plant a Pope in euerie parish, with plenitude of power to do what pleaseth himselfe. What you detest in Bishops, I hope you will not endure in the Presbyter or Pastour of euery parish church in the Countrey; that hee shall take vpon him alone to guide his flocke as hee seeth cause, without consent or ouersight of anie man.

You may be sure we abhorre it as the poison of all pietie, and the verie roote of Antichrists pride.] Meanes to auoyde it I see none; but that euery rurall Pastour must haue either a Presbytery in the place with him; or the Bishop of an other church appointed ouer him; that may both direct him and rule him as he doth the Presbyters of his owne citie. If he haue no helpe at home, he must needes seeke it abroad, one of the twaine is inuitable. Nowe for Presbyteries there is no possibilitie to haue either so many meete Clergie men, or so much maintenance as will serue them in euery countrie parish. Six Pastours for so many places, putting one to a Parish, could neuer be founde. Whence then shall wee get so many thousand able Presbyters as to furnish each parish with three or foure? which are few enough, and too few, respecting the burden that they must beare in the sight of God and man.

Againe, had we store of men, which wee haue not, nor no age before vs had; from whome shall we haue maintenance for them and theirs? From the people? Halfe the realme of England employed to that vse will euen but serue. The people nowe yeelde a tenth part vnto God and their Minister, which proportion is so moderate, that where the parishes are small, the Pastour hath worke enough to liue thereon. then must they consequently giue fiue parts of ten, which is iust the halfe of all they haue, before there can be any shew of a Presbyterie in euerie parish. I doe not alleage you how wel the people, that are, God knoweth, poore enough in many places with these nine parts which they haue, will like to spare so much to the furthering of your fancies; or howe a Christian Prince can digest to haue all her subiects so disabled, and halfe the realme allotted to support your conceits. these blockes and a hundred such you neuer stumble at, whiles you runne your selues out of breath to pursue the perfection and profit of your discipline; but this I would know; did the Apostles, besides the reliefe of the poore, which indeede is a diuine precept, impose this charge on euerie parish by Gods commandement? or did euer any Christian kingdome or common wealth since Christes ascension abide this yoke? If they did, shew the instance, and clamme your maintenance; if you can shewe no such thing, doe you not perceiue that your little fingers are heauier to Gods people then the Apostles loynes were? and that your discipline is farre greeuouser to the faithfull, then their doctrine? The best is, you may talke long enough, before either Prince or people, rich or poore will admit or endure this chargeable frame of your needlesse and prooflesse gouernement.

To amend these flawes, which rend the very body of your discipline in sunder, (for hardly can so many Pastours in euery parish be gotten, as you must haue, and more hardly maintained;) you are driuen to change the very substance of the Presbyteries that were in the Apostles times, and inferre of Ministers of the word and sacraments, who preaching the Gospell must liue of the Gospell, to returne vs a quorum of Lay Elders, which you thought might be found in euerie place, and would not be so scarce as the former; and to giue them power to impose handes, to bind and loose sinnes in heauen and earth, to censure doctrine and man-

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uersin all men, euen in Pastours, by depriuation, excommunication or howsoeuer: and rather then they should miscarry, to make them Teachers and Watchmen, Pastours and Bishops in the church of God, contrarie to the whole church of Christ, to all the ancient and learned Fathers and Councils, and contrary no lesse to the Scriptures then to your owne positions. But Masters, you must either confound all, and make no difference betwixt Pastour and people, which nowe you are faire for: or, will you, nill you, you must exclude Lay Elders from these actions, which belong proper to Pastours; and so haue no Presbyteries, but where meete men may be had, and in Christian manner honoured and succoured for their paines. And consequently countrie parishes, which by no meanes can be prouided either of men or maintenance sufficient for such Presbyteries, as the worde of God alloweth, must haue their Pastours restrained by none, and subiected to none, but Pope-like, if not Lucifer-like, to be more then Princes; or if that be not tolerable, then must they be vnited and annexed to some citie that lieth neere them, and be gouerned by the bishop and Presbyterie of that place euen as the churches in the citie are, and so be part of his charge and diocese.

How ancient Dioceses were in the church of God, and howe generally receiued and approoued; will soone appeare by the full consent of all antiquitie. The Council of Antioch renued [1] τὸν ἀρχαῖον κανόνα τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων κρατήσαι, The Canon of their fathers *anciently established*, that no Bishop shoulde vndertake [2] τῶν τῆς μόνης, ὅσα τῇ ἰδίᾳ παροικίᾳ ἐπιβάλλει κώμαις πραγμάτων, ἢ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῶν χώρων: but those thinges onelie which pertained to his owne Church, and the country townes belonging to the same. Euery bishop hath full power τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παροικίας, ἢ ἀφορισμοὺς ποιεῖσθαι πρέπει τῆς χώρας, τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν: in his own Church and in al the Countrie round about which is vnder the iurisdiction of his citie, to make Priests and Deacons and dispose euerie thing discreetely. The generall Councill of Constantinople saieth, [2] τοὺς ὑπὲρ διοικήσεως ἐπεκτεινομένους τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπαρχιῶν: Bishops must not inuade the Churches that are without the bounds of their Diocese, [3] vnlesse they be called, they may not passe the limittes of their own Diœcese either for ordering of Ministers, or for any other Ecclesiastical busines, [illegible]

[1] *Concil. Antioch. ca. 9.*

[2] *Constantinopolitan. concil. ca. 2.*

[3] *Ibidem.*

ἑκάστης ἐπαρχίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, obseruing the Canon that is alreadie established of euerie mans Diocese. The generall Councill of Ephesus hauing report made vnto them, that the Bishop of Antioch presumed to ouer in Cyprus without the compasse of his Diocese and Prouince, repressed that his encroching, being as they terme it, [1] ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς ὅρους, καὶ τῆς ἀρχούσης τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐλευθερίαν καταδυναστεύουσαν. An innouation against the Ecclesiastical lawes, & against the *Canons of the holy Apostles*; and decreed the Bishops of Cyprus should hold their right vntouched & vnuiolated according to the Canons of the holie Fathers and their ancient custome; adding therewithall that the selfe same rule should be obserued in other Diœcteses and Prouinces whatsoeuer, that no Bishop shoulde inuade an others limites, which were not *anciently*, and *from the beginning* subiect to him or his predecessours.

[1] Concil. Ephesini decretum post aduentum Episcoporum Cypri.

The great Councill of Chalcedon determineth [2] τὰς κατ' ἀγροὺς ἐκκλησίας ἀχειροτονήτους πανταχοῦ, καὶ ἐγγράφους μόνον ἀπροσαλώτους παραμένειν τοῖς κατέχουσιν αὐτὰς ἐπισκόποις, that all rurall Churches and Countrie parishes shall remaine vnmooueable (*or without alteration*) to the Bishops that haue had them; specially if they haue quietly possessed and gouerned them aboue thirtie yeeres. For the enlarging of Dioceses vpon the returne of schismatikes and heretikes to the Church; and parting them with the consent of the former Bishop, where the circuite was too wide and troublesome, or ioyning them where the people so desired; he that will, may reade the 57. 102. 103. 119. 120. 121. 122: Canons of the great Affricane Councill. By which it is euident, that the Bishop of euerie Citie besides his principall and Cathedrall Church had the villages and parishes of the Countrie round about that Citie belonging to his Diocese and iurisdiction; and these partitions and distributions began euen from the *Apostles* and from the *beginning*, as the Councill of Ephesus auoucheth, and were confirmed and ratified by the foure great and Oecumenicall Councils, and receiued and continued by all the godly Bishops and Fathers of the Primitiue Church. Wherefore they be mightily deceiued that thinke cathedral churches, and Episcopall Dioceses to be a part of Antichrists pompe and pride, and his first inuention; the wisedome of Gods spirit deuised & setled that course euē from the first enlarging of the church; & all the general and prouincial Councils liked & allowed the same.

[2] Concil. Chalcedonens. act. 15. ca. 17.

There

There is almost no Councell that doth not mention & confirme to euerie bishop his Diocese; and inhibite all others to enter or intermedle with any cause or person in an other mans circuite. The Councill of Ancyra suffereth not the [1] rurall Bishops to ordaine, without the licence of the bishop of the Citie. The Councill of Neocesaria prouideth that [2] [illegible], the Presbyters of the same region, shall not minister the Lords Supper, when the Bishop of the Citie is present. The Councill of Gangris accurseth all that assemble anie Congregation for Diuine seruice, [3] vnlesse a Presbyter licenced by the Bishop bee present with them. The Councill of Laodicea forbiddeth anie Bishop to be made in Countrey townes and villages. The Councill of Antioch calleth it a Canon of their fathers, that anciently stoode in force, euen as the Councill of Nice before them saide it was [6] an ancient vse. The Councill of Ephesus maketh it an [7] Apostolike rule. The Councill of Carthage kept by Constantines procurement, inhibited; [8] *Ne quis alienos fines vsurpet, aut alterius plebes sine eius petitu, quia inde cetera mala omnia generantur:* that no Bishop should vsurpe vpon an others borders, or cures without his request, because thence came all other mischiefe. The Councill of Sardica likewise; [9] *Illud prohibeat sanctitas vestra, vt nullus Episcopo liceat, alterius Episcopi Ciuitatis Ministrum ecclesiasticum solicitare & in sua Diœcesi (vel suis parochijs) ordinare.* Let your Holinesse prohibite, that no Bishop procure away any ecclesiasticall Minister of the Bishop of another Citie, & order him in his own Diœcese, (or parishes,) The third Councill of Carthage woulde haue [10] no Bishop vsurpe ouer an others flocks, nor encroch on his Colleague within his Diœcese. The fourth Councill of Carthage commaunded the [11] Presbyters that guided Churches through the Diœceses to fet Chrisme not from any Bishop, but from their own Bishop. The Councill of Aurelia; [12] All the Churches that haue beene, or are daily builded in sundrie places, wee decree according to the rule of the former Canons, that they shall be in the power of that Bishop, in whose territorie they stand.

[1] Concil. Ancyr. ca. 13.

[2] Concil. Neocaesarien. ca. 13.

[3] Concil. Gangrens. ca. 6.

[4] Concil. Laodic. ca. 56.

[5] Concil. Antioch. ca. 9.

[6] Concil. Nicen. ca. 6.

[7] Concil. Ephes. post aduentum episcoporum Cypriorum.

[8] Concil. Carthag. 1. ca. 10.

[9] Concil Sardicens. ca. 18.

[10] Concil. Carthaginens. 3. ca. 20.

[11] Concil. Carthaginens. 4 ca. 36

[12] Concil. Aurelianens. ca. 19.

As the vse of Dioceses was antient, so the reason that first occasioned them was inuitable, euen by the patterne of the Apostolike Discipline. For when country townes and villages first beganne to

to receiue the faith, howe were they furnished with fit Pastours, and howe were their Churches gouerned but by the Bishop and Presbyterie of some citie adioyning? Lay Presbyteries the church of Christ neuer had any, yea the Scriptures permit none to rule Pastour all actions; other Presbyteries those places were neither able to haue, nor to maintaine. What nowe was left but onelie to submit and incorporate themselues to the Bishop of some Citie neere them, by whome their Churches might be both guided and supplied, when any neede required, euen as the churches in cities were? If to auoyde schismes rising euery where by the multitude of Teachers and Pastours, Bishops were in the Apostles times placed throughout the worlde, in all the cities that accepted the Gospell, to guide and moderate the Presbyters that were many; shall wee thinke this order was needefull onelie for cities, and needeleslie for Townes and Villages? Were not the Presbyters of so many parishes as one shire doeth yeelde, as like to trouble the Region with Schismes and heresies, as the Presbyters of the citie? You lacke sense, if you thinke that dissention and errour could not creepe as well into Villages as into Cities; or that the Apostles prouided one kinde of regiment for cities, another for country parishes. If all the churches in one citie, which at Rome were [1] aboue fourtie in Optatus time, were gouerned by one bishop; why might not the Villages, and Parishes confining round about the Citie, be gouerned after the same maner.

[1] Optatus lib. 2. contra Parmenianum fol. 16.

So that for Dioceses, as well the necessitie, as the antiquitie of them, is euident. It was not possible in the Primitiue church, to haue Presbyters to succeede in the roumes of such as died in countrie parishes, but from the bishop in whose Diocese the churches were. He supplied their wants out of his owne church and Presbyterie, which serued to store the whole Diocese. Otherwise, within his circuite none other bishop could ordaine a Presbyter; nor without his leaue might any Clergie man depart his church. The Councill of Antioch; [2] A Bishop may not inuade an others Citie that is not subiect to him, nor Countrie not pertaining to him, to ordaine anie; neither hee appoint Presbyters or Deacons in places that are vnder an other Bishop vnlesse it bee with the liking (or consent) of the Bishop of that Region or Countrie. The Councill of Nice; [3] If any Presby-

[2] Concil. Antioch. ca. 22.

[3] Concil. Nicen. ca. 16.

ters

ters or Deacons or other Clergie men, not having the feare of God before their eyes, not knowing the Ecclesiastical Canon, leave their owne Church, they must not by any meanes bee receiued in another Church. And if any shall with-holde a Clergie man belonging to another, and ordaine him in his owne Church, (the Bishop, from whome hee departed, not agreeing,) his ordering shall be vtterly voyde. This was the generall and perpetuall discipline of Christs church in al the coasts and quarters of the worlde, as may appeare to him that will take paines to vie w these places. The Councill of Constantinople 1. ca. 2. and 3. of Chalcedon. ca. 8. of Carthage the first, ca. 5. the second ca. 11. the third ca. 20. and 21. the fourth ca. 27. of Orleance, ca. 22. of Sardica, ca. 18. 19. of Taurine, ca. 6. of Auxerre, ca. 8. of Venice, ca. 10. of Tours, ca. 9. 11. And so the Milevitane Councill, ca. 15. Affricane, ca. 21. Aurelian the third ca. 15. the Epaunine, ca. 5. the Valentine, ca. 6. and Armenine ca. 9. and 10.

If these rules were vniuersally and anciently obserued, that no Presbyter might remoue from one church to another, nor departe from the church where he was first called, without the consent of his bishop; neither might any other man impose handes on him, or admit him and intrude him into any church, without the liking and good will of the bishop, in whose diocese the church stoode, and of whose Clergie the partie was: by no meanes could any country parishes in the primitiue church, haue any Presbyters but from some citie, & that not without the liking and assent of the Bishop. which forced all country townes and villages to matriculate and incorporate themselues into the church of some citie, by whose bishop, their Presbyters liuing, were gouerned; and dying, were supplied, euen as the churches in cities were. The reason of their vsages, is as euident as their fact. for if Bishops were placed by the Apostles handes to ordaine Presbyters and containe them in their duelies, lest in so great a number emulation might breede confusion, which all the Fathers were fully resolued was the Apostles deede; they must needes bee of opinion, the Apostles meant to haue Countrey Townes and Villages guided and assisted the very same way that they left for Cities; and the same men that gouerned the one, all things considered, were the fittest to be trusted with the other.

If you obiect that the bishops of the Cities could imploy no pastorall care, but where they were present; I answere that all the Councils and Fathers of the Primitiue Church were not so ignorant as not to vnderstand what Pastorall ouersight a bishop might yeelde to townes and Churches farre distant from him, though hee were not present to dispence the word and Sacraments amongest them. To see them alwayes stored with a sound and able Pastor, that should watch ouer their soules; to take care that they were rightly taught and soberly guided; to keepe both Presbyters and people from sophismes, heresies and open impieties; to direct in dangers, and determine doubts without troubling the whole prouince to meete vpon euerie particular occasion and contention; these be good parts of pastorall vigilancie, and very needefull effects of episcopall regiment, which may be performed as well in a Diocese as in a Citie.

In any mans harueſt he that laboureth himselfe, and ouerseeth the rest, doth more good then any other. In eche mans house, the steward that well ordereth and guideth the familie is more profitable then any of his fellowes. In Gods house and harueſt, shall the ouerlooking of others be counted either needelesse or fruitlesse? Saint Paul himselfe knewe not these curious positions when hee appointed Tite to take the charge and ouersight of the whole Iland of Creete; and saw no cause why one man might not performe many Pastorall and Episcopall dueties to all that were in the same Countrie with him. But what seeke I more examples, when we haue the paterne from the Primitiue Church that first allotted Dioceses to bishops, and the liking and approbation of all prouinciall and generall Councils that ratified and confirmed as wel the partition as distinction of territories, and charged eche mans interest in euery diocese to be preserued without infringing any mans bounds, or encrochīng on anie mans right.

The need that you pretend of hauing Dioceſes, aſwel for the guiding as furniſhing of country pariſhes by the Biſhops and Presbyteries of the cities, we eaſely anoyde, for in euery pariſh with the Paſtour we appoint lay Elders, by whoſe counſel as Ambroſe witneſſeth al things ſhould be doone in the Church; and when the former Incumbent is dead, we reſerue the electing of a new to the people of the ſame pariſh to whom by Gods Law it appertaineth. And here we let you vnderſtād

that

that you haue not so good warrant for the regiment of Bishops, as wee haue for the election of Bishops and Pastours by the people. The Scriptures are cleere with vs; the fathers often and earnest; the perpetuall vse of the Primitiue Church is for vs all with vs in this behalfe, that no example can be shewed to the contrary. Your Bishops therefore being not elected by the people, are no true Pastours in the Church of God.] I know well you haue no other shift to auoid the necessitie of Episcopall regiment, but by your late Presbyteries, and therefore you must cleaue to them, or els admit the forme of gouerning the Church by Bishops, to be Catholike and Apostolike, which would gripe you to the very heart. But how farre both the world and Church of God are, and euer were from mentioning or acknowledging any late Elders to be imposers of hands, and gouernours of Pastorall and Ecclesiasticall actions, we haue already seene, and may not now regresse thither againe. If ame would you fasten them on Ambrose, but of all the Fathers hee is the vnfittest Proctour for your Lay Presbyteries. hee bushetb them off as a man would doe thornes that hang at his heeles. If you beleeue him not alleadging the Romanes Lawes against your Lay Elders, beleeue him speaking in an open Councill against them. [1] *Sacerdotes de Laicis iudicare debent, non Laici de Sacerdotibus.* Priestes ought to iudge of Lay men, not Lay men of Priestes. And condemning Palladius the heretike, wee are ashamed (saieth Ambrose) that hee shoulde seeme to bee condemned of Lay men which chalengeth to be a Priest. *In hoc ipso damnandus est, quod Laicorum expectat sententiam, cum magis de Laicis Sacerdotes iudicare debeant.* He Is Worthy To Be Condemned Even For This Very Point, that he expecteth the iudgement of Lay men, whereas Priests ought rather to iudge of Lay men.

[1] *Concil. Aquileiense in condemnation Palladii.*

How sufficient the barre is that you lay against our Bishops and Presbyters because they are not elected by the people of the place, but named by the Prince, and presented by the Patrone, the Chapter nowe presently following shall fully declare.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

To whom the election of Bishops and Priesters doeth rightlie belong, and whether by Gods Lawe the people must elect their Pastours, or no.

THE want of popular elections is one of the griefs you conceiue, and exceptions you take against the Bishops of this Realme; which quarell doeth not so much touch the office and function of Bishops, as it doeth the Princes prerogatiue. Did wee teach, it were not lawfull for the people to elect their Pastour, you might make some shew against vs; now, when we say no such thing, but you rather thinke, the Prince may not name her Bishops without the consent and election of the people: you impugne not vs, but directly call the Princes fact & her lawes in question. I take not aduantage of mans lawe, thereby to decline the force of your reasons or authorities, but to put you in minde, that if there were any defect in the lawe, it must not be ascribed to Bishops, but imputed rather to the makers of the lawe. Howbeit, to tell you the trueth, I thinke there will be found better reason for the making and maintaining the lawe, then you will be able to bring for the repealing or altering the lawe. for when superstition and blindnesse wholy possessed the peoples hearts, as in time of Poperie; how could the Prince haue restored Religion, or reformed the Church, if the people through the Realme had still beene suffered to choose themselues Pastours after their owne desires? The first occasion of the lawe being good and godly; what ground haue you to dislike the continuance thereof?

Cyprian *saieth it is Gods ordinance that the people should elect* [1] *their Pastour, and* [1] *according to the diuine instruction, the same is obserued in the Actes of the Apostles in the choise of Matthias, and of the seuen Deacons.*] Those examples I haue answered before. It is not written that Matthias and his fellow were chosen by the multitude; an Apostle might not be chosen by men, his calling must be immediate from God. Yea, the wordes of the Text are, [2] Thou Lord which knowest the hearts of all men, shew which of these twaine thou hast chosen, to take the office of this administrati-

[1] Cypr. l. 1. epist. 4.

[2] Act. 1.

on

on and Apostleship. So that thence can nothing be concluded. As for the choise of the seuen in the Actes of the Apostles, Epiphanius saieth; [1] Of the seuentie Disciples were the seuen [illegible], that were set ouer the widowes. The Councill gathered vnder Iustinian, alleaging Chrysostomes wordes vpon that place, concludeth of them in this wise. [2] We therfore denounce that the foresayd seuen Deacons must not be taken for those that serued at the mysteries, but for such as were trusted with the dispensation of the common necessities of those that were then assembled together. Ierome, alluding to this place calleth a Deacon, *mensarum & viduarum ministrum*, the seruant of tables and widowes. The fourth Councill of Carthage, saieth; [3] The Bishop alone shall lay his hands on the head of a Deacon, when he is ordered, *quia non ad Sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecratur*; because he is consecrated not to any Priesthood, but vnto a seruice. Your selues giue the Deacons no charge in the Church, but the care of the poore; as perswaded that these seuen receiued none other function at the Apostles hands. You therefore by your owne rules are excluded from taking any hold of this election. And in deed since they were not chosen to be Presbyters and dispensers of the worde and Sacramentes; what consequent can you frame from their electing by the people, to force the like to be obserued in Presbyters and Bishops?

You giue them power to preach and baptize; against you therefore the argument is good. The Primitiue Church gaue them leaue so to doe in cases of necessitie, where Presbyters wanted: otherwise neither doe we, nor yet they make them Presbyters and Ministers of the worde and Sacramentes. Tertullian saieth; [5] Presbyters and Deacons may baptize, with the Bishops leaue. Ierome saieth, that [6] Presbyters and Deacons in lesser & farre distant Townes did baptize, but not without the Bishops licence. [7] We appoint the Deacons (saieth Gelasius) to keepe their owne worke sure, and to enterprise nothing against the order of the Canons of our forefathers. Without a Bishop or a Presbyter, let not (a Deacon) presume to baptize; vnlesse in their absence extreme necessitie compell, which is often permitted vnto Laie christians to do. The Church of Rome did not giue the leaue to baptize, but in cases of necessitie why others could not be gotten, as they did

[1] Epiph. Hæ. 20. de nomine Christi in eorum.

[2] Concilii in Trullo sub Iustiniano, ca. 16.

[3] Hiero. ad Euagrium.

[4] Concilii Carthag. 4. ca. 4.

[5] Tertul. de baptismo.

[6] Hiero. aduers. Luciferianos.

[7] Gelasius Episcopus per Lucaniam & Siciliam constitutus. §. 9.

vnto Lay men, for my part, though Saint Luke in the Acts do not giue them the name of Deacons; and Chrysostome expressely thinketh they were neither Presbyters nor Deacons, whose iudgement the Councell *in Trullo* followeth; yet by Saint Paules precepts teaching vs what conditions hee required in those that should be Deacons, I collect their office was not onely a charge to looke to the poore, but also to attend the sacred assemblies and seruice of the Church and euen a step to the Ministerie of the worde. Ignatius saith to Heron the Deacon of Antioch; [2] Doe nothing without the Bishops; for they are Priests, thou doest but attend on the Priests. They baptize, consecrate the mysteries, χρισμα, χρεσβειαν, impose hands to ordaine and confirme, thou doest (in these things) but minister vnto them, as holie Stephen did to Iames and the Presbyters at Ierusalem. And so Cyprian; [3] *Diaconos post ascensum Domini in cælos Apostoli sibi constituerunt Episcopatus sui & ecclesiæ ministros.* The Apostles after the Lordes ascension into heauen appointed Deacons to attend both on the Church, and on their Episcopall function. Iustine Martyr an hundred yeeres before Cyprian, saith of his time; [4] After *the obleise* amongst vs hath giuen thankes, and all the people haue answered, those that with vs are called Deacons giue vnto euery one present, of the sanctified bread and wine, and carrie thereof to such as are absent. The Councill of Antyra willeth Deacons that sacrificed vnto Idoles in time of persecution [5] τὰ ναυτικὰ μόνον τὰ ἱερὰ λειτουργεῖν, τῶν δὲ ἄρτον ἢ ποτήριον διακρίνειν, διαφέρειν, to cease from all sacred seruice in the Church, and neither to deliuer the (Lordes) bread or cup, or to speake openly to the people (in time of prayers.) For I interprete κηρύσσειν, not to preach, but to command the people silence, attention and deuotion; which the Deacons vsed to doe whiles the diuine seruice was performed at the Lordes Table. Whatsoeuer their office was, it is certaine, they were not Presbyters and Ministers of the worde and Sacraments; and therefore from the election of those seuen in the Acts, to make a generall and precise rule for the choice of al Presbyters & Bishops to the worlds end, is but a straine of your forwardnesse; it hath neither cause nor consequent in any learning.

[1] Chrys. ſt. homil. 14. in Acta Apoſtolorum.

[2] Ignat. ad Heronem Antiochia Diaconum.

[3] Cypr. lib. 3. epiſt. 9.

[4] Iuſtinus Apologia 2. ad Antoninum p. m.

[5] Concil. Ancyranum. can. 2.

[6] Cypr. lib. 2. epiſt. 4.

You make final account of it, but Cyprian esteemed this to be proofe sufficient to make it Gods ordinance, you shall heare his words. [6] The people

people chiefly hath power to choose worthie Priests, and refuse vnworthie. The which we see descended from the diuine authoritie, that the Priest should bee chosen in the presence of the people vnder all mens eyes, and be approued to be worthie and fit by publike iudgement and testimonie; as in Numbers God commandeth Moses, saying; [1] Take Aaron thy brother, and Eleazar his sonne, and thou shalt bring them to the mount before all the assemblie, and put off Aarons garments, and put them on Eleazar his sonne. Before all the multitude God willeth the Priest to bee made; that is, hee instructeth and sheweth that Priests should not be ordained but with the knowledge of the people standing by; that by the people present, the offences of the euill may bee detected, or the deserts of the good commended; and that to be counted a lawfull and true ordination, which is examined with the voices and iudgement of all, which afterward according to Gods instruction was obserued in the Actes of the Apostles, when Peter spake to the people of ordaining a Bishop in Iudas place. Neither onely shall wee finde that the Apostles obserued this in the ordaining of Bishops and Priests, but also of Deacons. Which surely was therefore so diligently and warily done, the whole multitude being called together, lest any not woorthie shoulde by stealth get either the place of a Priest, or to serue at the Altar. Wherefore it must be duely retained and kept, as comming from the diuine tradition and Apostolike obseruation, which is vsed with vs and *almost* in all prouinces, that in rightly ordaining, the next Bishops of the same Prouince resort to the people for whom they ordayne a Ruler, and the Bishop to be chosen in the presence of the people, which best knoweth the life of eche one, and hath viewed all the manner of his conuersation. *It is a notable place, I was loath to leaue out any, though the wordes were somewhat long.*] I would as soone haue beleeued your report of the woordes, had it bin true, as your repeating them; but you haue done well to put the matter out of doubt, and somewhat eased me by alleadging them. for nowe I shall not neede but to referre you to your owne allegation.

[1] Num.20.

I haue much mused with my selfe, what shoulde leade you to make so great account of this place as you doe; I coulde neuer see

any

any such thing as you intend, either contained in the Scriptures, which Cyprian bringeth: nor expressed in the reason which hee giueth for this kind of choise, nor enforced in the heat of those words by which he summeth his collection. The places of Scripture say nothing for your purpose; Eleazar was not chosen by the people, but expressly by God, and by him alone. Your selues I hope will discharge that quotation, as erroneous and mistaken. There are no such wordes in the text, as Cyprian citeth, there were no such deeds. God willed Moses to [1] bring Aaron and Eleazar his sonne vp into Mount Hor, (whither the people neither did nor might ascend,) and there to put off Aarons garments, and to put them on Eleazar his sonne. And [2] they (*three*) went vp into the mount Hor in the sight of the Congregation (*standing beneath*;) and onely two, [3] Moses and Eleazar (Aaron dying in the top of the Mount) came downe from the Mount. Whereby all the Congregation sawe that Aaron was dead, and they wept for him thirtie dayes. The Congregation did not intermeddle by worde or deed with this election; Eleazar as the eldest sonne was called for by God to succeed in his fathers place. Out of this you may gather that God aduaunced the eldest sonne to haue his fathers office; not that the people elected him: it was not in their power to appoint, who should stand before the Arke to minister vnto the Lord.

[1] Num. 20. vers. 25. 26.

[2] verse 27.

[3] verse. 28. 29.

The choise of Matthias helpeth you as much, as the apparelling of Eleazar did. I haue often sayde, you may remember it, the people had no power to choose an Apostle, no more then they had to choose Eleazar. Hee must haue his calling from God and not from men; and so Matthias had. The faithfull did all acknowledge, that hee was the partie whom God had chosen to take Iudas place, they did not elect him. The wordes of Saint Luke are manifest; [4] Thou Lord shew whether of these twaine thou hast chosen to take the roume of this Apostleship. To the choise of the Seuen I haue oftentimes spoken, I shall not need to distrust your memorie. You haue not forgotten the Apostles wordes to the people; [5] It is not meete, that we should leaue the worde of God to serue the tables. They meant not the Lordes table; the care thereof the Apostles did not transferre from themselues to any others; but because the Grecians mur-

[4] Act. 1. v. 24. 25

[5] Act. 6. v. 2.

mured

mured that their widowes were neglected in the dailie ministring, that care the Twelue committed to such as the people would like and elect. What can be urged out of these Scriptures, let those that be wise, iudge; my capacitie is so slender, that I see vtterly nothing euinceable by these examples.

Neither doeth Cyprian stretch the places to giue the people by Gods lawe the election of their Bishops; hee sawe the precedents would enable no such consequent; hee vrgeth by Scripture the peoples presence to this ende, that their testimonie should bee had touching the life and behauiour of the partie that shall bee chosen, least an vnwoorthie and wicked person should secretlie steale to the office and function of a Bishop. Hee saieth, it commeth from diuine authoritie, *vt Sacerdos plebe præsente deligatur*, that a Priest should bee chosen in the presence of the people; and that ordinations ought not to bee made, *nisi sub populi assistentis conscientia*, but with the knowledge of the people standing by. Nowe why the people should bee present, hee noteth in these woordes, *vt vel bonorum merita prædicentur, vel malorum crimina detegantur*; that as well the merites of the good might bee acknowledged, as the faults of the lewd discouered, by the presence of the people, *quæ singulorum vitam plenissimè nouit, & vniuscuiusque actum de eius conuersatione perspexit*, which knoweth each mans life most exactly, and hath tried his behauiour by his conuersation. Though Cyprians proofes doe not conclude the peoples presence by Gods lawe to bee required in the choise of Bishops, yet Cyprians meaning is verie good, and agreeth both with the order of the Primitiue Church, and with Saint Pauls prouiso, that a Bishop [a] must bee well reported of, euen of them that are without, as also that hee must bee no follower of wine, no fighter, no brawler, no filthie gayner, no desirer of money, but ruling his house honestlie, and hauing his children in obedience; in effect, one whose lyfe and conuersation the whole Church commended, and the aduersarie could not chalenge. Notwithstanding, you may not hence collect that the principall and essentiall right of electing by Gods lawe, consisteth in the peoples voyces; you may no maan liuing can deduce any such thing out of the Scriptures. The Apostle that we read, vsed no such fourme

Cypr. li. 1. epist. 4

[a] 1. Tim. 3. v. 7.

of

of elections, as in the chapter before I was occasioned more at large to shew. And since wee haue neither precept nor example of the Apostles for the people to choose their bishops, I thinke you will hardly make any demonstration for your popular elections by the Scriptures.

Wee haue places now in the newe Testament, but that you elenate and elude them; and besides, wee haue the general and full consent and vse of the Primitiue Church, to iustifie our interpretation of those places to be agreeable to the trueth of the word. but sometimes you do alledge and esteeme the vniuersall custome of the Church and exposition of the Fathers, when they make for you; and sometimes when they please you not, you reiect them as fast.] Do vs no wrong; we refuse nothing that the ancient and Primitiue church of Christ vniuersally obserued and practised as expressed or intended in the Scriptures. It is your maner, it is not ours, to thinke no churches, councils nor Fathers euer vnderstoode the necessary points of doctrine and discipline mentioned in the word before your selues. If the whole church of Christ made any such conclusion out of the Scriptures for the popular election of bishops as you doe, we will presently receiue it; if not, stay your vaunts, till you bring their warrants; and by that time your heate will be well delayed. you shew one that after his maner is eloquent and vehement, for that he taketh in hand; but his proofes are weake, if not mistaken; his purpose is, to haue the peoples presence and testimonie to witnesse their liues that shall be chosen; his confession is, that this was not generall; though in fauour of his cause he saith, *Apud nos, & fere per Prouincias vniuersas tenetur*, It is so obserued with vs, and *almost* in al Prouinces.

The whole Church afterward kept that order in electing their Bishops.] What course they kept, wee shall quickely finde; all the question will be, whether they required the peoples voyces as necessarie by Gods commaundement, which may not be broken, neither for Prelates nor Princes; or whether they vsed that kinde of election as an order in Christian assemblies fittest to preserue the peace of the Church, and to maintaine the good liking of the people towards their Pastors. It shall therefore be best, first to consider, where the holie Ghost layeth the burden and charge of these elections; then, what freedome the wisedome of God leaueth to the multitude

vnder the Magistrates of each Citie and Countrey. These things well marked, will deliuer vs from wandering and erring, as touching Gods ordinance.

The Apostle writing to Timothie and Tite; first, describeth what maner of men must bee admitted to the office of a Bishop; and then assureth the Ordainers that if they laie handes on any other then on such, they communicate with the sinnes of as many as they aduaunce vnfit for that place. [1] Laie handes hastilie on no man; neither be partaker of other mens sinnes; keepe thy selfe pure. [2] Let the Bishops heare, saieth Ierome, that haue power to appoint Presbyters in euery Citie, with what condition the order of ecclesiasticall constitution is tied; neither let them thinke they are the Apostles wordes, but Christes. Whereby it is euident, that they which contemning the Apostles precept, giue any man an ecclesiasticall degree for fauour, not for desert, do against Christ. Chrysostome. Paul [3] meaning to intreat of a Bishops office, sheweth what maner of man in all things a Bishop must be, not giuing it as a warning to Timothie; but *speaking vnto all, and by him directing all.* And againe vpon those words, I charge thee before God and Iesus Christ, and the elect Angels, that thou keepe these precepts, Laie hands hastilie on no man; hee saieth, [4] Paul terrifieth Timothie, and hauing so done, hee mentioneth that which is most needfull, and chiefly holdeth the Church together, [illegible] euen ordination. Lay hands hastilie on no man, neither communicate with other mens sinnes. What is hastilie? not vpon the first triall, not vpon the second, not vpon the third, but oftentimes examining, and exactlie sifting the partie. The case is dangerous, thou shalt beare the punishments of his sinnes, who art the occasion of them, for remitting the former offences out of time, thou shalt answere for those that are after committed, as being the cause of them; and likewise for those that are past, as not letting him alone to lament and repent them. And Ambrose, (*Paul*) [5] chargeth Timothie before God the father, and Christ his sonne, and the elect Angels. Vnder this charge he commandeth those things to be kept which pertaine to ordination in the Church, least easilie any man should get an ecclesiasticall dignitie, but inquisition be first had of his life and maners, that a meete and approued

1 1. Tim. 5.

2 Hiero. in 1. ca. epist. ad Tit.

3 Chrysost. hom. 10. in 1. ad Tim.

4 Idem hom. 16. in 1. ad Tim.

5 Ambros. in 1 ad Tim. ca. 5.

ued Minister or Priest may be appointed; neither any to be ordained whose faults deserue suspicion, least the ordainer be defiled with his sinnes and offences. for hee sinneth, which ordaineth, and trieth not. Oecumenius, Where Paul saieth to Timothie, [1] I prayed thee to staie at Ephesus, addeth; [2] there had Paul ordained him a Bishop. [3] *Let no man despise thy youth.*] for a Bishop must speake with authoritie. [4] Hee giueth precepts not to Timothie alone, but to euery Bishop. And vpon these words, *Lay hands hastily on no man.*] Paul treateth of ordinations, for he wrate to a Bishop. And so writing on the epistle to Tite, he saieth; Paul [5] left Tite to make Bishops in euery Citie, hauing first made him a Bishop. Primasius likewise; [6] Timothie was a Bishop, and Pauls disciple; to him by writing hee giueth authoritie to correct all ecclesiasticall discipline, and to ordaine Bishops and Deacons. And againe, [7] Be not partaker of an other mans sinnes. Paul saieth; It is a communion with another mans sinnes, when one is ordained and not examined. As therefore in ordaining euill men, he is partaker of their sinnes which ordaineth such; so in the ordaining of the holy, he is partaker of their righteousnes which did make choise of so good men. The perill of ordaining Bishops and Presbyters by Pauls owne confession, lieth inuitablie on such as impose hands; and therefore by Gods lawe they must haue power to examine who bee fit, and libertie to refuse those that be vnfit. For as without them there can bee none ordained; so if rashly or corruptly they lay hands on any, they be partakers of their sinnes.

Further, with elections the Scriptures doe not meddle, saue that Timothie (as the Fathers affirme by occasion of Pauls words) was chosen Bishop by prophesie; that is, by the direction and appointment of the holy Ghost, and not by voyces. Oecumenius, [8] By the commaundement (*or appointment*) of the spirite, were Bishops (*at first*) made, and not at randon. So Theodorete. [9] Thou vndertookest this order by diuine reuelation. Chrysostome. [10] Paul to stirre vp (*Timothie*) putteth him in minde who choose him, and who ordained him, as if he had sayd; Thou wast chosen of God; hee himselfe put thee in trust, [11] thou wast not made by mens voices. And Theophilact; [12] Anciently by the oracles

1 *Oecumenius in 1. ad Tim. ca. 1.*
2 *Idem in 4. &*
3 *5. ca. 1. ad Tim.*
4 *Idem in 1. ca. epist. ad Titum.*
5 *Primasii praefatio in 1. ad Tim.*
6 *Idem in 5. ca. 1. ad Tim.*
7 *Oecumenius in 4. ca. 1. ad Tim.*
8 *Theodor. in 1. ca. 1. ad Tim.*
9 *Chrysost. hom. 5. in 1. Tim. 1.*
10 *Theophilact. in 1. Tim. ca. 1.*

ries & appointments of the Prophets, that is, by the holy Ghost, Priests were straightwaies ordained. So was Timothie chosen to be a Priest. Ambrose saieth; Timothie was predestinated when he was taken by the Apostle, to this end that he should bee ordained, as iudged woorthie to be a Bishop. This kinde of election I take was vsuall in the Apostles times; the spirite of God directing them on whom they should lay their hands; other election of Pastours and Teachers, I read none specified in the sacred writings. Popular election of Bishops I find afterward practised in the Primitive Church, but not mentioned in the Scriptures; and therefore well may the peoples interest stand vpon the grounds of reason and nature, and bee derived from the rules of Christian equitie and societie; but Gods lawe doeth not meddle with anie such matter, nor determine more then I haue told you; which is, that such Bishops as ordaine them shall answere for them with the perill of their owne soules, if they doe not carefullie looke into the abilitie and integritie of all that they authorize with imposition of handes to guide or teach the flocke of Christ.

1 Ambros. in 2. Tim. 1.

When I say the people can not chalenge by Gods lawe the right to choose their Bishop, I meane, no such thing is expressed and commaunded in the Scriptures; ouerthwing thereby the false conceites of some fanaticall spirites in our dayes, which affirme our Bishops and Teachers to bee no true Pastours, because they are not chosen by the particular voyces and personall Suffrages of the people; and by consequent, our Sacraments to bee no Sacramentes, and Church no Church; and so this whole Realme to bee drowned in confusion without assurance of saluation; whose madnesse is rather to bee chastised by the Magistrate, then to be refuted by doctrine; the authors being voyde not onely of learning (which they vaunte), but of reason to weigh what is sayde against them. Otherwise, I acknowledge each Christian people, (which haue not by lawe, custome or consent restrained themselues) stand free by Gods lawe to admit, maintaine, and obey no man as their Pastour without their liking, and so the peoples election by themselues or their rulers, dependeth by the very first principles of humane fellowships & assemblees: for which cause though Bishops by Gods lawe haue power to examine & ordaine,

ordaine, before any may be placed to take charge of soules, yet haue they no power to impose a Pastour on any Church against their wils, nor to force them to yeelde him obedience or maintenaunce without their liking. How farre authoritie, custome and consent may prejudice and ouer-rule this liberty, which Gods lawe leaueth vnto vs vnviolated, shall anone be handled, when once we see what order the Primitiue Church obserued in her elections of Bishops and Presbyters.

The Churches of Christ had auncietly two wayes to bee prouided of Bishops and Presbyters the one, Election; the other, Postulation. When the Bishop of any Citie died, whose Church had store of Clergie men to succeede; the Bishops of the same Prouince that were neerest to the place, by conference amongst themselues appointed a day to resort thither, and aduertised both people and Presbyters thereof. At which time the Clergie and Laitie assembling in the Church, so many Bishops as conueniently might (but vnder three they could doe nothing) came thither; and there heard both whom the Clergie named, and whom the Citie liked. If all, or the most of euery sort agreed, the partie was pronounced chosen, & another day prefixed to ordaine him, the Bishops proposing his name, and the time on the Church doores, and requiring euerie man that could or would obiect any thing against him, to bee then and there readie with his proofes and witnesses. At their next repaire, the Bishops that came to giue imposition of handes, heard aduisedly what each man could charge him with; and if in their consciences the elect prooued to bee such as the Apostle prescribed, they ordained him in the eies of all men Pastour of that Church, and burdened him with the due obseruation of Gods and mans lawes. If they found any iust impediment, they reiected him as vnfit, and proceeded to the like election of some other, on whom both Presbyters and Citizens could accord. Alexander Seuerus the Romane Emperour, did commend and imitate the Christians manner in trying and examining their Presbyters and Bishops. When hee would send (saith Lampridius) any Rulers to the Prouinces, or make Gouernours, hee proposed their names, exhorting the people, that if any could obiect any crime, they should make iust proofe; and vsed to say it were a shame not to doe that in the Rulers of the Prouinces, which the Christians

1 Cypr. li. 1. epist. 1

2 Aelius Lampridius in Alex. and Sever.

Christians did in proclaiming their Priests that were to bee ordained.

When the Cities had not store of Clergiemen, or not such as they liked, they were forced to seeke a Bishop from another church: and then did they goe to the Bishop of the chiefe or mother Citie in the same Prouince, and of him desired to haue such a man for their Bishop, or els some other, whom the Metropolitane, that is, the Bishop of the mother Church or Citie should thinke fit for them. This was called Postulation. Upon their request, the Metropolitane, conferring with the Bishop whose Presbyter was desired, and calling vnto him at the least two other Bishops, tried and examined the partie liked, after the same maner that others were, and then ordained him; or if hee were reiected, some other likewise tried, and approoued to bee Ruler of the Church that wanted a Pastour.

And as to keepe the people from faction, & the Presbyters from ambition, the Bishops of the same Prouince were appointed to be present at the choise, & to see the election goe forward in Christian and decent maner, without corruption, canuasse or tumult: so to restraine the Bishops that they should not disorder the action for hatred or fauour of any side, the whole order of their proceeding was to bee intimated to the Metropolitane, before they imposed handes; and if any iust complaint were made of their partialitie, the Metropolitane had power to staie them from going forward, and with a greater number of Bishops to discusse, and vpon cause to reuerse the Election. The Councill of Nice willeth [1] a Bishop to bee made by all the Bishops of the same Prouince, and if any difficultie suffer not all to assemble, yet at least three to meete, and the rest by letters to giue their consent before the partie bee ordained. Yea, they made it a cleare case, that [2] if any were ordained without the knowledge of the Metropolitane, hee should be no Bishop; as also that if any diuersitie of iudgements grew amongst the Bishops, the voyces of the most part should preuaile.

[1] Concil. Nicen. can. 4.

[2] Ibidem can. 6.

For the making of Presbyters, there did not assemble so many Bishops, since one was sufficient to late handes on the, howbeit the same order was obserued in trying & examining Presbyters that I mentioned before in Bishops; & the publike testimonie of y people

touching their conuersation was not omitted, except the Bishops were so assured of their good behauiour, that they would take it vpon the burden of their owne soules. [1] Let no man bee made a Clergie man, (saieth the third Counsell of Carthage) *nisi prius vel Episcoporum examine, vel populi testimonio*, vnelle he bee allowed by y examination of the Bishops, or by the testimonie of the people. And likewise, [2] The Bishop must not ordaine Clarkes without the counsel of his Clergie, & haue also the assent & testimonie of the Citizens. The people might not elect Presbyters, the [3] Councill of Laodicea did vtterlie prohibite it; The multitude must not make choise of such as shall bee called *de lapidibus* to be Priests: (for *lapidibus* is either y place where they sate, or the office which they bare) yet might they present such as they tooke to be meet men for that place, to the Bishop, and pray him to examine and allow the according to his discretion; yea, they were desired by the Bishop to find out such amongst themselues, as they supposed for learning and life to be fit for that calling, though vnknowen as yet to the bishop, and to offer them, that hee with the helpe of his Clergie might trie them whether they were answerable to the Canons of the Church, and worthie that function. So was S. Austen [4] violently caught by the people, when Valerius exhorted them to looke out of themselues some meete men to be dedicated to the seruice of God, and brought to the Bishop to be ordained. The like [5] violence was offered to many by the people, as Austen confesseth. Ierome toucheth this order of presenting by the people, when hee saieth to Rusticus, [6] *Cum ad perfectam ætatem veneris, & te vel populus, vel Pontifex ciuitatis in Clerum elegerit*: when thou comest to perfect yeeres, and either the people, or the bishop of the citie choose thee into the Clergie; thereby noting that in cities some were assumed by the Bishop; some offered by the people as meete men to bee taken into the number of Clergie men.

In countrey parishes when they wanted, they desired a Presbyter or Deacon of the Bishop in whose dioces they were; and he according to their necessities did furnish them out of his own Presbyterie, or out of the store of some other Church in his diocelle; and if he were not able to doe it, they repaired to the Metropolitane, who did furnish them out of the whole Prouince. [7] It happeneth often (saieth Aurelius Bishop of Carthage in the Councill of Africa) that

[1] *Concilii Carthaginens. 3. ca. 22.*

[2] *Concilii Carthag. 4. ca. 22.*

[3] *Concilii Laodic. ca. 13.*

[4] *Possidonius de vita Augustini, ca. 4.*

[4] *August. epist. 348.*

[5] *August. de adulterinis coniugiis ad Pollentium, li. 2. ca. 2.*

[6] *Hiero. ad Rusticum Monachum de videndi forma.*

[7] *Concilii Afric. ca. 56.*

that Churches which want Deacons, Presbyters or Bishops, aske them of me; and I mindfull of the Canons send to the Bishop vnder whom he is, and acquaint him that his Clarke is desired of this or that Church, and hitherto they haue not withstood, but least hereafter it fall out that they denie me requiring this of them, if I demaund any such thing of one of my fellow Bishops with two or three of your place ioyning with mee, and he bee irreligious *(and not regard me)* your charitie must determine what I shall doe, for you know that I sustaine the care of many Churches and ordinations. They answere; This feat hath had alwayes libertie whence soeuer to ordaine a Bishop that was desired of him, at the instance of any Church. One Bishop may ordaine many Presbyters, but a Presbyter meete for a Bishoprike is hardlie found. Three at least were requisite to impose hands on a Bishop; but any one Bishop might ordaine Presbyters, as the auncient Canons of the Church import; [1] Let a Bishop bee ordained by two or three Bishops; but a Presbyter, Deacon, and the rest of the Clergie by one Bishop. [1] *Constitut. Apostolici, ca. 22.*

The Primitiue maner of electing Bishops we see; wherein I obserue; first, that the bishops who were to impose hands, had their warrant by Gods law to reiect the partie chosen, if they found him vnfit either for learning or maners; the wordes of Saint Paul are cleare to that purpose; [2] Laie handes hastilie on no man, neither communicate with another mans sinnes. Next, the whole church was to ioyne in the naming and liking of their Pastour before hee was accounted to be chosen. The nomination as some say, belonged to the Clergie, the rest had the approbation, so that neither could the Clergie preuaile without the peoples, nor the peoples desires take place without the consent of the Clergie. Leo distinguisheth the Clergie from the people, in that the Clergie did elect and subscribe; that is, deliuer their election in writing; the people he deuideth into three degrees, and euery one of thē had an interest in the liking and accepting of their Bishop. [3] *Expectarentur vota Ciuium, testimonia populorum, quæreretur honoratorum arbitrium, electio Clericorum, qua in sacerdotū solent ordinationibus ab iis qui norunt patrum regulas custodiri.* The desires of the Citizens should be expected, the testimonie of the people, the iudgement of the honorable should be had, & the election of the Clergie; which things [2] *1. Tim. 5.* [3] *Leo epist. 89.*

things fit to be kept in ordering of Priests (or Bishops) of all that know the rules of our fathers. And againe, [1] *Teneatur subscriptio Clericorum, honoratorum testimonium, ordinis consensus & plebis. qui præsumus eligamus, ab omnibus quæratur.* Let the subscriptio of the Clergie be examined, the testimonie of the honourable, the consent of the order and people. He that shall ouerlee all, let him be chosen of all.

1 Ibidem.

The wisedome of Gods Church in taking the consent of the people in the election of their Bishops, I cannot but commend, I finde to great and good effects of it in the Church stories. For thence it came to passe, that the people, when their desires were accomplished, did QVEITLIE RECEIVE, WILLINGLIE MAINTAINE, DILIGENTLIE HEARE, and HARTILIE LOVE their Pastours; yea better their whole estates and hazard their lines, rather then their Pastours should miscarie, as may be seene by the zeale of the people of Alexandria for [2] Athanasius and [3] Peter, of Cesarea for [4] Basile, of Constantinople for [5] Paul and [6] Chrysostome, and of sundrie other places for their Bishops. And could the people as well haue temperes their griefe, when their affections were ouer-ruled, as they shewed their loue, when their expectation was satisfied; their interest in electing their Bishop had bene better regarded, and longer continued: but experience of their factions, schismes, tumults, uproares, murders and what not, if they might not haue their wills, caused both ancient Fathers and Councils to mislike that the people bare so great a swaie in these elections, and forced Christian Princes, if not wholie to exclude them, yet greatly to abridge them.

6 Sozom. lib. 6. ca. 12.
5 Socrates, li. 4. ca. 37.
4 Nazian. oratio in laudem Basilii.
3 Socrat. li. 2. ca. 13. & li. 6. ca. 16.

Nazianzene reporting the choise of Eusebius to the Bishoprike of Cesarea, saieth; [7] The Citie of Cæsarea was in a tumult about the choise of their Bishop; and the sedition was sharpe and hardly to be appeased. And as the people distracted in manie mindes, proposed some one, some another, as is often seene in such cases, at length the whole people agreeing on one of good calling amongst them commended for his life, but not yet baptized, they tooke him against his will, and with the helpe of a band of souldiours that was then come to the Citie, they placed him in y Bishops chaire, & offered him to the rest of the Bishops present, & mixing threats with persuasios, they required to haue

7 Nazian. in epitaphio patris.

him ordered, & pronounced (for their Bishop.) Thus was Eusebius chosen, or rather forced & intruded against al the canons, yea against his own liking by the heat & intemperance of the people. In electing Basil, the next that succeeded Eusebius, they againe fell to another vproare, & stood as stiffe against Basil being a most worthy man, as they were heady for Eusebius, til they were calmed by the wisdom and trauel of Nazianzens fathers. Againe (saith Nazianz.) *after the death of Eusebius* the same City grew tumultuous for the same cause; & the sedition the feruenter it waxed, the absurder it proued. The like we reade and wonder of in the next times. There kindled a grieuous sedition at Antioch (saith Eusebius) about the deposing of Eustathius; & after who an other was to be chosen, the flame thereof so inuealed that it was like to subuert the whole city; the people being diuided into two parts. The Magistrates of the city supported the sides, & bands of souldiers were mustered as against an enemy; and the matter had bin tried by the sworde, if God and the feare of the Emperour (*writing vnto them*) had not somewhat assuaged the rage of the multitude. eight whole yeeres the place was without a Bishop.

When Dioscorus Bishop of Alexandria was deposed by the great Councell of Chalcedon, and Proterius set in his place, by the common decree of the Synode, a mighty & intolerable sedition grew amongst the people for it, some affecting Dioscorus, some cleauing to Proterius, the people opposed thēselues against the Magistrats, & when with a strong hand they thought to represse the vproare; the multitude with stones beat the souldiers into a Church, and beseged them, and destroyed a number of them aline with fire. And taking their aduauntage vpon the death of Martian the Emperour, they erected an other Bishop, and brought him to the Church on Easter day, and slue Proterius and sixe others with him in the Temple without anie regarde of the place or the day, and drewe his bodie wounded and mangled along all the quarters of the Citie, beating and hewing his dead carkasse in most miserable wise; and burning as much as was lefte, they scattered his ashes into the wynde, exceeding the fiercenesse of anie wilde beastes. The people of Rome played their partes in the election of their Bishops no lesse then others did, as their owne stories witnesse.

1 *Ibidem.*

2 *Euseb. lib. 2. ca. 24.*

3 *Euagr. lib. 2. ca. 5.*

4 *Ibidem ca. 8.*

witnesse, for example the choice of Damasus, the sedition was so great; yea the warre so fierce (the people maintaining on either side their Bishop elect) that the places of prayer were filled with mans blood. Ammianus saith, the conflict was so sharpe, that the regent of the citie, not able to redresse it nor appeale it, was faine to forsake the place, and in the church where the Christians assembled, in one day there were slaine an hundred thirty seuen; and the rage of the people scarce ceased a long time after.

1 Ruffinus eccles. hist. lib. 2. ca. 10.

2 Ammianus Marcellinus lib. 27.

Euerie where seditions increased so fast, that hardly could a Bishop be quietly chosen, which made Austen in his life time contracte to the Canons to elect his successor. 3 I know (saith he) vpon the deaths of Bishops, the Churches are vsually turmoiled by ambitious & contentious persons, which I haue often seene & sorrowed. Nazianzen seeing their disorder in the choice of Basil, censureth popular elections in these words; 4 It was not obscure who did excell the rest, no more then the Sunne compared with the Starres; but very euident to all others, and specially to the most selected and purest part of the people, I meane the Clergy and our Nazarites, *to whom either wholy, or chiefly, such choices ought to be referred* (so should the Churches neuer take harme) and not to the richest, and mightiest, and to their heapy and indiscretion of the multitude, yea euen to the baiest persons emongst them. The Emperour at last was forced by publike lawes to restraine the people, and take the election of bishops from them, and giue it to the Clergie and certaine chiefe men of euerie Citie.

3 Augustin. epist. 110.

4 Nazianz. in epitaphio patris.

5 Novella constitutio 123.

5 Διοπερ ὁριζομεν, ὁποτε ἀν χρεια γενηται χειροτονειν ἐπισκοπον τῆς ἁγιωτατης τῆς πολεως, τοὺς τῆς ἁγιωτατης ἐκκλησιας τοῦ τοιουτου τοπου, ἡ μαλιστα μὲν ἁπαντας ἐκεινους συνερχεσθαι, ἡ τοὺς τῶν πρωτων ἁπτομενους θρονων, ἡ τοὺς ἐκ τουτων ἐπιλεγομενους

any other cause; but knowing the persons to bee of the right and Catholike faith, and of honest life, &c. that of those three so named, the best may be ordained at the election and iudgement of the ordainer. If any man be ordained a Bishop, and this not obserued, we command him by all meanes to be remooued from his Bishoprick; and likewise the other, that presumed to impose hands against this (our) Lawe. If three sufficient persons could not be found in the Clergie of that Citie which wanted a bishop; the Electours might name two, or one; so it were done within fiue moneths, and the men such as the Lawes requires; otherwise the Metropolitane to choose for them. A Lay man amongst others the Emperour saith, they might name; but the Canons vtterly not permit a Lay man to be elected, but onely to be desired.

I do not thinke the peoples presence, or testimonie were debarred by this Lawe; for that continued a long time after: I take it rather the Electours might offer none without the peoples liking: but by this meanes, the multitude were excluded from electing whom they would; and the power thereof translated to the Clergie and Gouernours of the Citie to name certaine, if the people could like of their choice; otherwise within fiue moneths the right to deuolue to the chiefe Bishop of the Prouince. Then became this rule to be more straitely vrged; [1] *Docendus est populus, non sequendus*; the people (*in electing of Bishops*) must be taught and guided; not obeyed and followed. For Popes themselues could say, though the [2] election belong to Priests, yet the consent of Gods people must be had. [3] When (saith Leo) you goe about the election of the chiefe Priest (*or Bishop*) let him be aduanced before all, whom the consent of the Clergie and people with one accord desireth. If their voices be diuided betwixt twaine, let him be preferred before the other in the iudgement of the Metropolitane, which hath more voices and merites; onely let none be ordained against their wils and petitions, least the people despise or hate the Bishop which they neuer affected; and they lesse care for religion, when their desires are not satisfied. The like regard of the peoples desires and petitions was had in Gregories time a long after: If (saith Gregorie to Antonius) that the Bishop of Salona be dead, haften to admonish the

[1] Dist. 62. § docendus.

[2] Dist. 63. § nosse.

[3] Leo epist. 84. cap. 5.

[4] Gregor. epistolar. lib. 2. ep. 61.

the Clergie and people of that City to choose a Priest with one consent that may be ordained for them. And to Magnus about
[1] Ibidem l. 66. the election of [1] a bishop of Millan. Warde (saith he) the [2] Clergy
[2] Idem habetur lib. 4. ca. 66. 67. & lib. 7. ca. 48. & [2] people that they dissent not in chusing their Priest, but with one accord elect some such as may be consecrated their bishop.

The order of chosing their bishops in the primitiue Church by the Clergie and people was neuer so much respected but that they might many waies forsake and loose their right: as by petition, when they had none of their owne; by compromise, when they could not agree; by deuolation, when they neglected their time about three monethes, or transgressed the Lawes or Canons either in the forme of their election, or in the person elected: specially vpon any corruption, disorder, or violence, the election was vtterly voide, and the parties depriued of all power to elect for that turne, and when they could not agree, they were to send some to the Metropolitane to perswade him the reasons of their dissenting on
[3] Gregor. epistol. lib. 4. ca. 91. both sides, and he to [3] strike the stroke betwixt them, or else they did referre their consents to two or three that should repaire to the chiefe bishop of the Prouince, and there make choice, with his aduise and consent for the whole citie. If you can find (saith Gre-
[4] Gregor. epist. lib. 2. ca. 54. gorie) no fit person (amongst your selues) on whome you can agree, then chuse three wise and indifferent men, and send them to this city, in the name of the whole, to whose iudgement the
[5] Ibidem ca. 74. people will stand. And againe, [5] Conuēt the Clergy of the church of Naples, to chuse 2. or 3. of themselues, and not to slacke to send the hither about the election of their Bishop. And in their certificate to vs let the signifie, that those whom they send, haue authority to supply all their places in this election. So that the peoples right to elect their bishop neuer depended on Gods expresse commandement, but on the foundation & reason of humane gouernement, & was subiect both to the Canons of Councils and lawes of Princes, & might be moderated and restrained by either of them, & by the peoples consent, default, or abuse be transferred, relinquished, or forfeited; and without their wills by superior powers and publike Lawes for iust cause be abridged, altered, or abrogated. For the power & freedome of the people is not only subiected to the power which god hath authorized, but wholy elected in y power, neither is any thing lawfull for the people (leauing aside the commande-

ments

ments of God, which are subiect to no mortall mans will or power,) which the lawes of their country restraine or prohibite. Wherefore there can be no question, but the people may willingly forsake, and worthily loose the right which they had in the choice of their bishops, and the Prince either way bee lawfully possessed of the peoples interest. You must rather if you will needes be so inquisitiue, examine the causes that induced the lawe, whether they were iust or no; and so shall you see whether this manner of election be a wise and good prevention of such corrupt factions, and fearefull tumultes, as our desperate age woulde easely breede; or a rigorous encrochment on the peoples right without cause or consent; which you can not offer to thinke without euident wrong to the Prince and Realme.

It cannot be denied, but the Prince of right hath, and euer had as great interest in the choice of bishops, as the people. There can no reason be pretended for the multitude, but it concludeth more strongly for the Magistrate. If the people by Gods Lawe were to chuse their bishop; the king as the principall part and head of the people, by the same Lawe must be suffered to haue the chiefe place amongest them. Did euer Gods or mans Lawe preferre the feete before the head, the rowt before the ruler, or the people before the Prince? [1] The seruant is not aboue his Master; no not in elections of bishops. for if the rule be generall, it includeth euen that particular. Wherefore though there were no Princes christned in the Apostles times nor in 300. yeeres after to claime or vse their right; yet against the head, that it shall not bee head, to rule and guide the feete, can be no prescription, by reason Gods ordinance for the head to gouerne the bodie, is a perpetuall & eternall lawe; and the vsurpation of the members against it, is no prescription, but a confusion, and the subuersion of that order, which the God of heauen hath immutably decreed and settled. And euen in the Primitiue Church when leisure from greater affaires, and occasion of popular vproares put Christian Emperors in mind to vse their right, they were by Councils acknowledged to haue good interest in the elections of bishops, and by the whole Church suffered not onelie to haue a seuerall and soueraigne consent, but by their Lawes to moderate, restraine and punish the attempts and abuses of bishops and clarks that were electors & ordainers,

[1] Matth. 10.

as

as of the people that were the fauters and supporters of the parties so corruptly or disorderly chosen.

When Valentinian the Emperor, vpon the death of Auxentius willed the bishops assembled to elect for the city of Millane, such a one, as should be fit for the place; [1] the Synode praised him being wise & religious [illegible] to appoint (a Bishop) To whom he answered, the matter is too great for me to vndertake, you that are vouchsafed of the diuine grace, shall better determine (who is meete.) When Chrysost. was chosen to be bishop of Constantinople, Sozomene saith; [2] [illegible] The people & Clergie determining (so him) the king approued it; & sent to fetch him (from Antioch.) [3] After Sisinius was dead, though many labored to haue Philip, others to haue Proclus ordained; yet it seemed good to the powers (or princes) to haue none of that church aduanced to the Bishopike by reason of some vaine men, but it pleased the rather to call a stranger frō Antioch. Vpon the death of Maximian succeeding to Nestorius, [4] lest againe in the election of a bishop variance should arise, and the Church be troubled, the Emperor Theodosius, straitwaies (the body of Maximianus not yet being buried) cōmanded the Bishops that were present to set Proclus in the episcopal seat. Pelagius being chosen bishop of Rome *without the princes cōmandement* for that the city was then beseiged, and no man could passe through ꝑ enemies camp, [5] Gregory was afterward sent to entitle the matter & appease the Emperor. *Nil enim tūc a Clero in eligendo Pontifice actū erat, nisi eius electionē Imperator approbasset*, for then the act of the Clergy in chusing their bishop was void, vnles the Emperor approued the election. Greg. that entitled Pelagius, witnesseth the like of his own choice, & of sundry others. Of himself he saith; [6] Lo, my most gratious Lord the Emperor hath cōmanded an Ape to be made a Lion. Wherefore he must impute al my faults & negligēces, not to me (who was vnwilling) but to his owne deuotion, which hath cōmitted the mysteri of strength to so weak an one *as I am*. To al the bishops of Illyricū he writeth; [7] Because I vnderstand by your letters, that the consent of you al, & THE PLEASVRE OF THE MOST GRATIOVS PRINCE CONCVRRED in the person of Iohn our brother and fellow-Bishop, I greatly reioyce. To the Emperor Mauritius

[1] Theodoret. lib. 4. ca. 6.

[2] Sozomen. lib. 8. ca. 2.

[3] Socrat. lib. 7. ca. 29.

[4] Socr. li. 7. ca. 40.

[5] Platina in Pelagio 2.

[6] Gregor. epist. lib. 1. ca. 5.

[7] Idem epistolar. lib. 4. ca. 38.

Mauritius he saieth; It can bee no small thankes with God, that Iohn of happy memory being taken out of this life, your godlines about the appointing a Bishop, stayed a great while, deferred the time, and sought advise in the feare of God. Wherefore I thinke my brother and fellow-Bishop Cyriacus to be very fit for the Pastorall regiment, whom your holinesse preferred to that order after so long consultation. [1] Iohn epistolar. lib. 6. ep. 17.

Neither had the Roman Emperors this authoritie to dash elections, & appoint bishops onely at Rome and Constantinople; other places were in like subiectiō to them; & though their care were not so great for the smaller cities, which were innumerable, as for the principal Sees, where themselues liued, & whither they often resorted; yet their right was al one in greater & lesser Churches. If the chiefest bishops might not be chosen without the Emperours consent, the meaner places had neither by the Canons, nor by the Scriptures any more freedome from the Princes power then the greater. So that what superioritie was then acknowledged and yeelded by the greatest and chiefest Churches as due to Christian Emperors in the elections of bishops; the same could by no means be denyed them over other Churches though the Princes themselues sometimes neglected, and sometimes refused to be troubled with the choice of so many thousand Bishops, as were vnder their territories. And therefore Adrian Bishop of Rome was not the first that did grant and giue this right to the Empire, as some Romish stories would faine enforce; it was receiued in the Church of Christ many hundred yeeres before Adrian was borne, and vsed as well by other Christian kings in their realmes, as by the Emperour in his dominions. The Pontificall it selfe 580. yeeres after Christ noteth it as a new and strange accident, that Pelagius the second [1] was chosen Bishop of Rome without the Emperours commaundement: and giueth this reason, for that the Longobardes then besieged the Citie; and Gregorie the first of that name that next succeeded after Pelagius, two hundreth yeres before Adrian confirmeth it to be true by report of his owne election; and Gregorie of Turon liuing at the same time, and whose Deacon was present at Rome when Gregorie the first was elected, [2] witnesseth as much in the tenth booke of his history and first Chapter. [1] Ex libro Pontifical. in vita Pelagij 2. [1] Gregor. epistol. lib. 1. ep. 5. [2] Gregor. Turonens. hist. lib. 10. ca. 1.

Wherefore

Wherefore Adrian did but either continue or renue this right, when the Empire was translated vnto Charles the great, and confirmed it, with a curse on the transgressours: hee did not then first grant it; the Romane Emperours long before inioyed it. 1 Adrian and a Synode (*of one hundred fiftie three Bishops and Abbats*) defined that the Archbishops and Bishops of euerie Prouince should take their inuestiture from Charles, so as vnlesse hee were commended (*or allowed*) & inuested by the king, he should be consecrated Bishop by no man; and whosoeuer did against this decree, they did wrap him in the band of excommunication. Leo the eight in another Synode more then 130. yeeres after Adrian, 2 with the Clergie and people of Rome, did reknowledge and confirme vnto Otho the first of that name, king of the Germans, and to his successors, in the kingdome of Italy for euer, power to choose and appoint the Bishop of the Apostolike See (*of Rome*) and consequently Archbishops and Bishops, that they should receiue inuestiture from him. So that if any were chosen Bishop by the Clergie and people, except he were also approoued & inuested by the said king, he should not be consecrated. Which priuiledge to 3 giue Bishoprikes and Abbeys by a ring and a staffe, continued in the Romane Emperors more then 300. yeeres after Charles, and was restored to Henry the fift 1111. yeeres after Christ by Paschalis the second, & not afterward wrested frō him & his successors by the bishop of Rome, but with extreme treacherie, bloodshed and violence.

1 Dist. 63. § Adrianus.

2 Dist. 63. § In Synodo.

3 Sigebert. Chronicon in an. 1111.

As the Emperours of Rome vsed this superioritie in elections of bishops foure hundred yeeres before Charles; so the kings of France continually practised the same three hundred yeeres before the Empire came to their handes. After Licinius the ninth bishop of Turon, 4 in the tenth place Theodorus and Proculus were surrogated by the commandement of Queene Chrodieldis wife to Chlodoueus the first christian King of France. 5 The eleuenth was Dinisius, who came to the Bishopricke by the election of the said king. The twelfth 5 was Ommatius, who was ordained by the commandement of king Clodomere sonne of Chlodouees sonnes. At Aruerne foure yeeres after Chlodouees death, 6 Theodorike (*another of his sonnes*) commaunded Quintianus to be made (*Bishop*) there, and al the power of the Church

4 Gregor. Turonensis hist. lib. 10. ca. 31.

5 Idem lib. 3. ca. 17.

6 Idem lib. 3. ca. 2.

Church to be deliuered vnto him, adding, hee was cast out of his owne Citie for the zeale and loue hee bare to vs. And the Messengers straite way departing, called the Bishops and people together, and placed him in the chaire of the Church of Aruerne. And when [1] Quintianus was dead, Gallus by the kings helpe was substituted in his chaire. After whose decease [2] Cato elected by the Clergie and most part of the people, bare himselfe for bishop; but when king Theodoualdus heard it, [3] certaine Bishops were called vnto Mastright, and Cautinus ordayned Bishop, and directed by the kings commaundement to Aruerne, was gladly receiued of the Clergie and Citizens there. The same Cato was afterward chosen by the precept of King Chlotharius to the bishoppricke of Turon; for so the Clergie tolde him; [4] *non nostra te voluntate expetiuimus sed Regis praeceptione*, We desired thee not of our owne wils, but by the kings commandement; which hee refused, and thereupon they of Turon suggested another to the King; to whom the king replied, [5] *Praeceperam vt Cato Presbyter ille ordinaretur, & cur est spreta nostra iussio?* I commanded that Cato the Presbyter should be ordained (*Bishop*) there, and why is our commaundement despised? They answered, We requested him, but hee would not come. And whiles they were with the king, Cato himselfe came and besought the king, that Cautinus being remooued, hee might be placed at Aruerne. At which the king smiling, hee then secondly requested he might be ordained at Turon, which before he had neglected. To whom the king saide: I first commanded, they shoulde consecrate you to that Bishopricke: but as I heare you despised the place, and therefore you shal be farre enough from it. When Pientius bishop of Poictiers was dead, Austraphius hoped to succeede in his place. [6] But king Charibert (one of Chlotharius sonnes) turned his minde, and Pascentius succeeded by the kings commandement. To belike precepts of diuers christian kings of France, euen, peeres before our dayes for the making of [7] Iouinus, [8] Domnolus, [9] Nonnichius, [10] Innocentius, [11] Sulpitius, [12] Promotus, [13] Nicetius, [14] Desiderius, [15] Gundegisilus, [16] Virius, [17] Charimetes, [18] Pronimius and other bishops of France in sundry churches of that realme, he that liketh to see, may reade in the storie of Gregorie time Bishop of Turon before

[1] *Idem lib 4. ca. 5*
[2] *Idem li. 4. c. 6.*
[3] *Idem lib. 4. ca. 7.*
[4] *Idem li. 4. ca. 12*
[5] *Idem li. 4. ca. 15*
[6] *Idem li 4 ca. 18.*
[7] *Idem li. 6. ca. 7.*
[8] *9.* [9] *15.* [10] *38.*
[11] *39 lib 7. ca.*
[12] *17. lib 8. ca.*
[13] *20.* [14] *22.* [15] *39*
& li. 9. ca. [16] *33.*
[17] *24.*

before Gregorie the first was placed to the See of Rome. By which it is euident, that other Princes before the Romane Emperours, haue from their first profession of Christianitie, not onely ruled the elections of Bishops as they saw cause, but appointed such as were meete for the places to be consecrated, without depending on the voyces of the people, or Clergie.

And what should hinder christian Princes to take this right into their owne handes from the people; since there is no precept in Gods Lawe to binde the church that the people should elect their bishops; and consequently the manner of electing them must bee left to the lawes of eche Countrie, without expecting the peoples consent? Bullinger a man of great reading and iudgement alledging both the examples of the Scriptures and the words of Cyprian, which are before repeated at large, and also the vse of the primitiue Church in chooling their Bishops, concludeth thus; [1] *Quanquam ex illis omnino colligere nolim, deligendi Episcopum ad promiscua plebis suffragia esse reducendum. Vtrum enim totius ecclesiæ comitijs an paucorum suffragijs Episcopum designari melius sit, nulla potest certa omnibus præscribi ecclesijs constitutio. Sunt enim aliis regionibus alia iura, alij ritus & instituta. Si qui abutuntur (iure illo) per tyrannidem, cogantur in ordinem à sancto Magistratu, vel transferatur ab eis ius designandi Ministros. Satius est enim eligendis muneri seniores aliquot ex regis vel magistratus iussu defungi, aduocatis consultisq;, &c.* Notwithstanding I would de not collect by these, that the right to chuse a Bishop, should be recalled to the voyces of the people. Whether it were meeter to haue a bishop appointed by the assebly of the whole church, or by the suffrages of a few, there can bee no certaine rule prescribed to all Churches. for diuers Countries haue different Lawes and customes. But if any tyrannically abuse (*their right*) they may be punished by the godly Magistrate, or the right of electing taken from the: for it were better that some graue men by the Magistrates or the kings commaundement made the election, calling to them and consulting with such as know what belongeth to the function of a bishop, what is fit for the people and church where he shalbe placed, and how to iudge of euerie mans learning and maners.

[1] *Bullingerus de episcoporum institutione & functione lib. 2. ad Henricum octauum Angliæ regem.*

Beza that polweth harp for discipline, grieueth ouer popular elec-

tions,

ctions, as no part of Gods ordinance; and confesseth that in Geneua it selfe, though their state be popular, yet they allow the people no such power. [1] The erecting of the Deconship (saith he) was essential, & neuer to be abrogated in the church of God. And the maner of appointing (some) for that function in the Church, to wit, by election, was likewise essential; but that the whole multitude was called together & gaue their voices, that was neither essential, nor perpetual. for after, when experience taught that confusion & ambitiō rising by occasiō of the multitude increased, was to be preuented; the Synode of Laodicea being indeed but prouincial, yet approued by the first Oecumenical council, prudently took order by their 13. canon, that the electiō of such as were chosen to the sacred ministery, should not be permitted to the multitude, or to the people: not as if the whole Church ought not to be acquainted with sacred elections and eo allowe them, but for that a meane therein is to be obserued; the prerogatiue being yeelded to assembly of Pastours; and the second place to the liking of the godly magistrate; and lastly, the people to be certified openly of the whole matter; and leaue giuen thē, if they haue any reason of dissenting, to propose their causes orderly. Which course being hitherto religiously and wisely obserued in this City, when one Morellius a fanaticall spirite in fauor of the people presumed to reprehend, his writing was worthily condemned both in this church, and in many Synodes of France. The choise of the seuen in the Acts maketh no perpetuall nor essential rule for elections in the Church of God. The Counsil of Laodicea did well and wisely prohibite the people to haue the choise of such as should be called to the sacred ministery. The Pastours elect, the magistrates consent, & open report thereof is made to the people: and if they haue any iust cause to alleage against the parties chosen, they must propose and proue their exceptions; and when Morellius would haue challenged more interest then this for the people in the election of their Pastours, his opinion was condemned both by the censure of Geneua, and by the Synodes of France. All this is confessed by Master Bezaes owne testimonie.

[1] In confessione ad tractationem de Ministrorum Euangelij de gradibus ca. 22. fol. 154. & 155.

Three differ, you thinke, in some pointes from the maner of Geneua: well haue great reason so to doe. They liue in

in a popular state; we in a kingdome. The people there beare the chiefest rule; here the Prince: and yet there the people are excluded from electing their Pastors. If the multitude haue any cause to dislike, their allegation is heard and examined by the Pastours and Magistrates; but they haue no free power to frustrate the whole by dissenting, much lesse to elect whome they like. Nowe that one state hath farre better cause to exclude the multitude from electing their Bishops, then theirs hath, is loone perceiued. The people there maintaine their Pastours; our Bishops are not chargeable to the Commons, but endowed by the liberalitie of Princes, without any cost to the multitude. Their Pastours are chosen out of the same Citie, and their behauiour knowen to al the Inhabitantes; our Bishops are taken from other places of gouernement, and not so much as by name knowen to the people, which they shall guide. With vs therefore there is no cause why the people should be parties, or priuie to the choosing of their Bishops; since they be neither troubled with the maintaining of them, nor haue any triall, or can giue any testimonie of their liues and conuersations; which were the greatest reasons that inclined the Fathers of the Primitiue Church to yeelde so much vnto the people in the choyce of their Bishops. And lastly, if Princes were not heades of their people, and by Gods and mans law trusted with the direction and moderation of all externall and publike gouernement, as well in Religion as in policie, aboue, and aboue al others, which are two most sufficient reasons to enforce that they ought to be trusted with elections, if they please to vndertake that charge, wherof they must yeelde an account to God; yet the people of this realme in the making of the Lawe most apparantly submitted and transferred their right and interest to the Princes Iudgement and wisedome; which lawefully they might, and wisely they did, rather then to endanger the whole common wealth with such tumultes and vproares as the Primitiue Church talkes of, and lay the gappe open againe to the factions and corruptions of the vnlearned and vnbrideled multitude.

Think you all corruptions are cut off by reseruing elections of Bishops to Princes?] Factions & tumultes I hope you will grant are by that meanes abolished and vtterly extinguished. As for liberty, howsoeuer

howsoeuer ambitious heads and couetous hands may finde oppor-
tunitie vnder colour of correspondence to heresie and state affaires,
eares, yet reason and vnitie betweene mee and all others, to thinke,
and say, that Princes persons, are of all others farthest from the
bargaining for any such pretences. The wordes of Guntchramnus,
Chlotharius sonne, & king of France more then a thousand yeeres
ago, make me so to suppose of all Christian and godlie Princes;
who when Remigius bishop of Bourges was dead, and many gifts
were offered him by diuers that sought the place, gaue them this an-
swere: It is not our princely manner to set Bishopriks for money, [1] Gregor. Turonen. de historia Franc. lib. 10. cap. 31.
neither is it your part to get them with rewardes, lest wee bee
infamed for filthie gaine, and you compared to Simon Magus.
In meaner persons more iustly may corruption be feared then in
Princes; who of all others haue least neede, and so least cause, to
set Churches to sale. Their abundance, their magnificence, their
conscience, are sureties for the freedome of their choice. And there-
fore I see no reason to distrust their elections as likelier to be more
corrupt, then the peoples. It is farre easier for ambition to pre-
uaile with the people then with the Prince. And as for the meet-
nesse of men in learning and life to supplie such places, Princes
haue both larger scope to choose, and better meanes to knowe
who are fit then their people: for since Bishops are not, and for
the most part cannot be chosen out of the same Church or Citie;
what course can the people take to be assured of their abilitie or in-
tegritie, whom they neither liue with, nor whose doctrine or man-
ners they are any whit acquainted with?

This difference betweene our times and the former ages of the
Primitiue Church whiles some marke not, they crie importune-
ly for the peoples presence and testimonie in the choise of Pastors;
neuer remembring, the people before there were any Christian
Magistrates, must needes haue greater interest in the election of
their Pastours then afterward they could haue: and when godlie
Princes began to intermeddle with Ecclesiasticall matters, the
peoples testimonie was still required, because the parties chosen
conuersed alwaies with them euen in their cies and eares, where-
by they could be witnesse the behauiour of the electors to be sincere
and blamelesse, which in our dayes is cleane otherwise, by reason
the Vniuersities and other places of the Realme traine vp men

meete for Episcopall charge and calling, and not the same Churches and Cities where they shall gouerne. [1] *Requiritur in ordinando &c. [illegible]* The people's presence (saith Iosephus) is required in ordaining a Priest (or Bishop) that all may knowe and bee sure, that out of the whole people, the better, the holier, the learneder, the higher in all vertue, one is chosen to the Priesthoode, the people willingly agreeing thereto; for that is it which the Apostle commaundeth in the ordaining of a Priest, saying, hee must haue a good testimonie of those that are without.

If this were the reason, why the people were called to the election of their bishops; then the cause ceasing, why should not the effect likewise cease? If they can giue no testimonie, (as in our case they cannot,) why should they haue their presence? If the authoritie of the people were requisite in place their pastour, as when there was no beleeuing prince happily it was; in that respect alls the Magistrate is more sufficient then the multitude to allowe the election, and assist the elect. If consent be expected, lest any man should be intruded vpon the people against their willes; the peoples consentes by the publike agreement of their betters perhaps may referred to the princes liking. If iudgement to discerne betweene fit men need must be necessarie; I hope the grauitie and prudencie of the Magistrate may worthily be preferred before the rashnesse and rudenesse of the many, that are often led rather with affection then with discretion, and are carried with many light respectes and leuel meanes as vnto faction and flatterie, fauour and feare, corruption and briberie, and such like vices, from which Gouernours are, if not altogether free, yet farre freer then the intemperate and vnruly multitude: chuse so take what respect you will, either of DISCERNING, ASSISTING or MAINTAINING of fit pastours, and you shall finde the choice of Bishops liethe more safelie in the princes then in the peoples hands.

[1] *Hieronym. cauſ. 8. quæſt. 1. § licet.*

[2] *Dist. 62. § breuiter, & dist. 63. § nullus § adeo-mnes § omnes § non licet.*

[2] *The Clergy of the diocese should chuse the people shall like and allow their Pastour: and so say the words, mean of the same profession, if they be not blinded with affections, or hurt vnder such means sinnes.*] Yet saith the Canon Law rule the case thus; [2] *Electio clericorum est,*

may

consensu Principis, petito plebis. Clergy me must elect, the Prince may cõsent, the people must request: & the late bishops of Rome neuer left cursing and fighting, till they reclaimed both prince & people, & restored the election wholy to the Clergie, whom they might command at their pleasures: but by your leaue, it was not so from the beginning. The forme of election prescribed by y Romã lawes 1000. yeeres since, willed the Clergie & (*the gouernours or*) chiefe men of the city to come together, & taking their oths vpon the holie gospel, *to decree*, (that is to elect or name) 3. persons, of which y ordainer was to chuse y best at his discretiõ.

1 *Nouella constitutio 123.*

The fullest proofes that the ancient Greeke Writers vse for all the partes of election, as [illegible] to propose, to name, to choose, to decree, are in the stories ecclesiasticall applied to the people. When Eudoxius of Constantinople was dead, and the Arrians had chosen Demophilus in his place; the Christians being sore grieued [illegible] chose one Euagrius, [illegible] they decreed Euagrius to be their bishop. Nazianz. speaking of y election of Eusebius saith, the people were diuided into many sides, [illegible] some naming one, and some another; (which words Socrates vseth of the people in the choise of Ambrose) and presently after in his title, [illegible] the first naming of the bishop was permitted [illegible] to the headie and vnadiscreete multitude. At the choise of Paulus to the Bishoppicke of Constantinople, Socrates saith, the people were diuided into two partes, and the Arrians [illegible] elect Paulus to the Bishoppicke. The Councell of Nice was content that such as were ordained by Meletius, should be reserued, and placed in the roomes of other bishops that died, [illegible] if they were found worthie; and the people elected them. Vpon the death of Athanasius at Spalato, [illegible] the multitude, saith Sozomene, fell to sedition, not agreeing on the election of anyone. When Nectarius was dead, and Chrysostome chosen to succeede him, Sozomene saith, [illegible] the people and Clergie desiring it, the Emperour confirmed. Socrates saith he was chosen [illegible] by the common decree of the Clergie and people. Vpon the

2 *Socr. li. 4. ca. 14.*

3 *Soz. li. 6. ca. 13.*

4 *Nazianz. in epitaph. patris.*

5 *Socr. li. 4. ca. 30.*

6 *Nazianz. vt supra.*

7 *Socr. libr. 2. ca. 6.*

8 *Socr. lib. 1. ca. 9.*

9 *Sozomen. lib. 6. ca. 24.*

10 *Soz. li. 8. ca. 2.*

11 *Socr. li. 6. ca. 2.*

[1] Socrat. lib. 7. ca. 35.

deputing of Nestorius, [illegible] named Philip, [illegible] another, but more chose Proclus: and Proclus election had preuailed, had not some of the multitude preferred a Canon against him, that being named Bishoppe out of Title, hee could not be translated to another. [2] Which being heard and beleeued [illegible] forced the people to hold their peace. So that in the primitiue church the people did propose, name, elect and decree as wel as the Clergie; and though the Presbyters had more skill to iudge, yet the people had as much right to choose their Pastour; and if the maiſt part of them did agree, they did carrie it from the Clergie; so the persons chosen were such as the Canons did allow, and the ordainers could not iustly mislike.

[2] Socrates ibid.

If it seeme hard to any man that the people in this point should be preferred as farre forth as the Clergie; let him remember the Apostles in the Acts, when they willed the Church at Ierusalem to choose the seuen, that vndertooke the care of the widowes, did not make any speciall or euen hande or distinction of the seuentie Disciples from the rest, who were then present, and part of that company; but committed as well the discerning as electing of fit men in compare to the whole number of brethren; reseruing approbation and imposition of handes to themselues. For [3] calling the multitude of Disciples together, they said [illegible], consider of seuen men of your selues that are well reported of, and full of the holie ghoſt, and of wisedome, whome wee may appoint ouer this businesse, [illegible] and they chose Steuen (and the other five) whome they set before the Apostles. Since then the Apostles left elections indifferently to the people and Clergie of Ierusalem; if you make that choice a preſident for elections, what warrant had the Bishop of Rome to exclude them? if their immediate seruice after ward to haue their libertie diminished, or their voice restrained; this belonged not to the Popes, but to the Princes power, and therefore he was but an vsurper in taking it both from Princes and people without their consents; and christian Princes vſe but their right, when they reserue elections out of the Popes handes, & by conference with such as shal impoſe handes on them within their owne realmes, name whom they iudge fit to succeede in the episcopall seate. So did the ancient Emperours and Princes that were in the primitiue church as I haue shewed.

[3] Act. 6.

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They neuer tooke the whole into their hands, but onely gaue their consents before the election could take place.] It was a most tedious and troublesome worke for one man to name and elect all the Bishops in the Romane empire, and therefore the Emperours left the Magistrates of each Citie to performe that care together with the Clergie, thereby easing themselues of infinite labour and danger; yet where occasion so required, they shewed what right they had to elect and name such as should gouerne the Churches. When Nazianzene had resigned and relinquished the bishoprike of Constantinople to the Fathers assembled in the second generall Councill, Theodosius the elder, [1] commanded the Bishops to giue him the names of such written in a paper, as euery of them thought fit to bee ordained, reseruing power to himselfe to choose one out of that whole number. The Bishop of Antioch (being the chiefest man then present) put their names in writing, whom hee and the rest thought fittest; and in the last place set Nectarius to gratifie Diodorus Bishop of Tarsus, that had commended him for his grauitie and person, though otherwise vnknowen. [2] The Emperour reading the Catalogue of those that were written, stood at the name of Nectarius, and holding his finger there, read them all ouer againe, and at length choose Nectarius. Euerie man marueiled and asked who this Nectarius was, and of what profession, and of what place. And vnderstanding that hee was not yet baptized, they marueiled the more at the Emperours iudgement. Diodorus himselfe vnderstood not so much, for had he knowen it, hee durst not to haue giuen his voyce to one vnbaptized to be made a Bishop. The Emperour hearing that hee was not yet baptized, stood in his resolution, notwithstanding many Bishops laboured against it. And so was Nectarius baptized, and whiles he was in his christening vesture, declared to be Bishop of Constantinople by the common decree of the Councill. The people intermeddled not with this choise, the Bishops naming euery man his [3] friend whom he sought to preferre. Nectarius came by chance to know whether Diodorus would any thing vnto Tarsus, whither he was then trauelling, who fell on the sudden in liking with him being an ancient and graue man, but had no further knowledge of him, and shewed him to the Bishop of Antioch, praying him to remember the man, when hee wrote the names for the

[1] Sozom. li. 7. ca. 8

[2] Ibidem.

[3] Socrates, li. 7. ca. 7.

1 Ibidem. the Emperour. The Bishop of Antioch derided the conceite of Diodorus, by reason many woorthie men were nominated for this election, and for fashions sake to please Diodorus, placed Nectarius last. The Prince not knowing the one nor the other, fastened on his name, and would not be removed, though by the Canons he could not have bene elected, and many Bishops benethemselues to alter the Emperours minde. This election was made onely by the Prince, not onely without the Clergie and people, but against both the Canons and the liking of the Bishops then assembled; and yet the generall Councell could not be there duelies to pronounce him and against him Bishop of Constantinople according to the Emperours choise.

The Bishops you see delivered the names, which Princes neuer doe nor deserue. The Bishops you see knew not the man; for had they knowen him, they could not by the Canons have named him. and had the Emperour of himselfe knowen any other to bee fit he liues whose names in his paper, he might as well have chosen one of them, as yee see Nectarius. Howbeit I doe not gainsay, but Princes should be well aduised whom they choose; and assured either by their priuate experience, or by the publike commendations of others, that the men are likelie to liue vnspotted, and doe good in the Church of Christ. For since the holy Ghost hath pronounced that such as imposé hastie on any Presbyters or Bishops are partakers of their sinnes if they doe not thoroughly examine and refuse such as they find vnfit, I must confesse, that if Princes will not endure to haue the persons whom they choose, to be tried by such as shall ordaine them, they vndertake that burden themselues, which otherwise lieth on their shoulders. No power on earth may frustrate or abolish the precept which the holy Ghost giueth; Lay hands hastilie on no man. if handes be hastilie layed on, that is, if men apparantlie vnworthie be called to the gouernement of the Church of God, be it people, Prelate, or Prince, that is wittingly the cause thereof, God will not so be mocked. The suffering of wicked men to infect or trouble the Church is euill, the commending of such to bee placed in the Church is worse. I doe not speake as if Christian princes might not safely elect and name Bishops, without danger of scruple; onely they must remember, as it is an honour in preheminence to choose those that shal guide the Church vnder them, so is

2 1. Tim. 5. a burden

diuorce of conscience to prouide by the best meanes they can, that no venemous nor vncleane thing so much as enter the house of God, to defile it with his presence, by offence or such his negligence.

The ancientest lawes of this Country witnesse that Elections were free from force, feare or intreatie of all secular powers; and the king of this Realme it self would it should be so.] As ancient lawes of this Realme as those, witnesse that the kings of England had the gift and collation of bishoprikes and other dignities of their aduowrie, before free election was granted. And when Princes first yeelded that the Clergie should make free elections, they restrained the same to certaine conditions; that they should aske licence of the king to choose, and when their election was made, it was not good without the roiall assent. The statute of Prouisors of benefices made at Westminster the 25. of Edward the 3. will tell you so much; the words bee: [2] Our soueraigne Lord the King and his heires (in case the Bishop of Rome doe intermeddle against the lawe) shall haue and enioy for the time the Collations to the Archbishoprikes and other dignities electiue, which be of his aduowrie, such as his progenitors had before that free election was granted, sithence that the first elections were granted by the kings progenitors vpon a certaine forme and condition; as to demaund licence of the king to choose, and after the election, to haue his roiall assent, and not in other manner; which condicions not kept, the thing ought by reason to resort to his first nature. By which it is euident, the kings of England had right to conferre bishoprikes and other dignities, before free elections were granted, and when they graunted free elections should be made, they did neuer dispossesse themselues of these two prerogatiues: first, that the kings licence must be asked to choose; next, the kings consent to make the election good; yea, Henry the first, the Conqueros sonne, sent the Pope word in great earnest, that he would not lose the loue & fauour of his Churches, not for the losse of his kingdom, and so neither Clergie nor people had euer any right in this realme to choose their bishops since the kings of this land began to endow them with large and liuings for the ease of their people, and benefit of the Church, but by the kings grant, and with the kings [illegible] & of Gods late preferring no forme of election, it is manifest inough by the lawes of this realme, that princes being the first

founders

[1] Articuli Cleri, ca. 14. & Westminster the 1. ca. 5.

[2] Statutum de Prouisoribus beneficiorum apud Westminster. an. 25. Edward. 3.

[3] Matthew Paris fol. in Henrico 1. an. 1103.

founders of Churches and endowers of bishoprikes haue had, and ought to haue the [1] custodie of the same in the vacancie, and the [2] presentments and collations of those Prelacies, as Lordes and Aduowees of all the landes and possessions that belong either to Cathedrall Churches or Bishops.

[1] *Magna charta, ca. 5.*
[2] *In parliamento Edwardi 1. apud Kaerbile, 25. regni sui, edatur 25. Edwardi 3. in Statuto de Prouisoribus apud Westminster.*

If you speake of former ages when as yet Bishops liued on the oblations of the faithfull; I haue then likewise shewed by the example of Theodosius and others, twelue hundred yeeres agoe; that Princes though not as Patrones, yet as higher powers made elections of Bishops as they sawe cause; and though they did not reserue all elections to their personall and royall assent, yet in their steads the [3] Magistrates and chiefe men of each Citie were to consent, before the election could bee good; yea, they were to [4] make the election iointlie with the Clergie, as we find confirmed by the Romane lawes.

[3] *Theodoret. li. 4. ca. 20.*
[4] *Nouella constitutio. 123.*

Not onely Princes but Patrones are suffered in euery Church to present whom they thinke meete, to take cure of soules; and so the people are euery way defeated of their choise.] Call not that the defeating the people of their right; which was begun with so great reason for the good of the people, and hath now continued more then a thousand yeeres, warranted by the lawes, and practised with the liking of all Nations. The law of this land knoweth not the beginning of Patronages, [5] Aduocations & [6] Presentations are remembred in *Magna Charta*, as things long before currant by the lawes of the Realme. [7] The plea of *Quare impedit*, when the Bishop refuseth the Patrones Clearke as well for the summonitions, as for the returne, is mentioned in the Statute of Marlebridge, *anno* 52. *Henrici* 3. the lawes of forren countries are farre ewer then ours that are extant. Amongst the lawes of Charles the great, made for France and Germanie, and collected by Anegisus in the yeere, 827. this is one. [8] *Statutum est vt sine authoritate & consensu Episcoporum, Presbyteri in quibuslibet ecclesijs nec constituantur nec expellantur. Et si Laici Clericos probabilis vitæ & doctrinæ Episcopis consecrandos, suisque in ecclesijs constituendos obtulerint, nulla qualibet occasione eos reijciant.* It is decreed that Presbyters shall not be appointed in any Churches, nor remooued from thence without the authoritie and consent of the Bishops. And if laie men offer Clerkes of tolerable life and learning vnto Bishops to

[5] *Magna Charta, ca. 33 & 43.*
[6] *Statutum de Marlebridge.*
[8] *Anegisus legum Francie, li. 1. ca. 84.*

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be placed in their owne Churches (*that is where laie men are Patrones*) *the Bishop vpon no maner of occasion shall reiect them*. Neither might the Patrone place a Clarke without the Bishop, neither could the Bishop refuse the Patrones Clarke, if he were such as the Canons did tolerate.

In Spaine, about the 7. yeere of king Recceshunthus, and the 654. yeere of Christ, the Counsell of Toledo made this Canon; [1] We decree, that as long as the founders of Churches remaine in this life, they shall be suffered to haue the chiefe and continuall care of the layd places, *atque Rectores idoneos in eisdem basilicis ijdem ipsi offerant Episcopo ordinandos*; and themselues shall offer meete Rectors vnto the Bishop, to be ordained in those verie Churches. *Quod si spretis eisdem fundatoribus, rectores ibidem præsumpserit Episcopus ordinare; & ordinationem suam irritam esse nouerit, & ad verecundiam suam alios in eorum loco, quos ijsdem ipsi fundatores condignos elegerint, ordinari.* And if the Bishop, neglecting the founders, shall presume to place any others; let him know that his admission shall be voyd and to his shame, others shall bee placed in their steads, euen such as the founders shall choose being not vnworthie. Long before this, the Romane lawes determined the like throughout the Romane Empire. [2] If any man build a Church or house of prayer, and would haue Clarkes to be placed there, he or his heires; if he allow maintenance for those Clarkes, and name such as are woorthie, let them bee ordained vpon his nomination. But if such as they choose be prohibited by the Canons as vnwoorthie, then let the Bishop take care to promote some, whome hee thinketh more woorthie.

[1] *Concilij Toletani, 9. ca. 2.*

[2] *Nouella constitutio. 123. ca. 18.*

This lawe giueth two reasons for Patronages, which I take in deede were the very grounders of that interest they haue at this day; to wit, building the Church, & maintaining the Ministers. Before the lawe for Tithes was made in Cities, the Clergie liued of the voluntarie Oblations and Donations of the faithfull; in countrey villages the lord of the Soile was left to his discretion to appoint what allowance he thought good out of his lands for the maintenance of the Minister; the rest of the inhabitants being but his husbandmen and tenants, had neither wealth to build Churches, nor right to giue any part of the fruites and profites of their lords land.

lawe. So that either Churches must not at all haue bene built in countrie townes, or the lordes of each place were to be prouoked to the founding of Churches, and allowing conuenient proportions with the honour and preheminence to dispose their owne to their liking.

Neither doe I see any thing in Gods lawe against it. for when you affirme the people should elect their Pastor, I trust you doe not include in that word children, seruants, beggers or bondmen; but such as are of discretion to choose, & abilitie to maintaine their Pastor. But then the case, which was in the Primitiue Church when the villagers & bul bondmen of each place had no state nor interest in the lands which they tilled, but serued the lord of the Soile, & had allowance for their paines out of the fruits of the earth at his pleasure; what assurance or maintenance could those men yeeld vnto their Pastors? Call to mind but ỳ conquest of this land, when there was neither free-holder, nor copie-holder, but all bond beside the lord; who could then elect a Clerke, but onely the lord of the place, since no man was free but he alone? Wherfore Patronages & Presentations are farre ancienter in this & all other Christian realmes, then either the liberte or habilitie of bul bondmen & copie-holders; and when the lordes of villages hauing erected churches, & allotted out portions for diuine seruice, made afterward some free, & some bond tenants; did either Gods or mans lawe command or intend, that their latter grants should ouerthrow their former rights? That which hath so many hundreth yeres bene setled and receiued by the lawes of all nations, as the remembrance & inheritance of the first Founders or Donours of euery Church, shall a few curious heads make the world now beleeue it is repugnant to the lawe of God? By your eager impugning of Patronages, without vnderstanding either the intent, or effect of them, wise men may soone see what soundnesse of iudgement the rest of your discipline is likelie to carrie.

To close vp this question, if the allowance giuen at first to the ministers of each parish by the lord of ỳ Soile, were matter enough in the iudgement of Christes Church, to establish the right of Patrones that they alone should present Clerkes, because they alone prouided for them; the Princes interest to conferre Bishoprikes hath far more sound and sufficient reason to warrant it, for besides

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the maintenance which the kings of this land yeelded, when they first endowed bishoprikes with lands and possessions, to unburden their people of the support and charges of their Bishops; & in that respect haue as much right as any Patrones can haue: the preheminence of the sworde whereby the Prince ruleth the people, the people rule not the Prince, is no small enforcement, that in elections, as well as in other points of gouernment, the Prince may iustlie chalenge the soueraignitie aboue and without the people, Gods law prescribing no certaine rule for the choise of Bishops; the people may not chalenge the like without or against the Prince. And lastly, though the people in former ages, by the sufferance of magistrates, haue somewhat to doe with the elections of their Bishops; yet none for the auoiding of such tumults and vprores as the Primitiue Church was afflicted with, by the lawes of this Realme and their owne consents, the peoples interest and liking is wholie submitted and inclosed in the Princes choise, so that whome the Prince nameth, the people haue bound themselues to acknowledge and accept for their Pastour, no lesse then if hee had bene chosen by their owne suffrages. And had they not hereunto agreed, as by Parliament they haue; I see no let by Gods lawe, but in Christian kingdomes when any difference groweth euen about the elections of Bishops, the Prince as head and Ruler of the people hath better right to name and elect, then all the rest of their people. If they concurre in iudgement, there can bee no variance; if they dissent, the Prince (if there were no expresse lawe for that purpose, as with vs there is) must beare it from the people; the people by Gods lawe must not looke to preuaile against their Prince.

If we might safelie vse it, *we could shelt against the Princes giuing of Bishoprikes, that Athanasius saieth*; [1] *Where is there any such Canon, that a Bishop should be sent out of the palace?* And the second Councill of Nice alleageth an ancient Canon against it; [2] *All elections of Bishops, Presbyters or Deacons made by the Magistrate, are voyde by the Canon which saieth; If any Bishop obtaine a Church by the helpe of the secular Magistrate, let him bee deposed and put from the Lordes table, and all that communicate with him.* The Councill of Paris likewise in earnest manner. [3] *Let neuer [illegible] Bishop against the will of the Citizens, but onely*

[1] Epistola Athanasii ad solitariam vitam agentes.

[2] Nicena Synodi can. 3.

[3] Concilium Parisiense. 1. cap.

such whom the election of the people and Clergie shall seeke with full affection. Let him not be intruded by the Princes commaundement, nor by any other meanes against the consent of the Metropolitane & the Bishops of the same Province. And if any man by ouermuch rashnesse presume to intrude the height of that honour by the Princes ordination, let him in no wise be receiued by the Bishops of the same Prouince.] Rules of discipline be not like rules of doctrine. In Christian faith whatsoeuer is once true, is alwayes and euery where true; but in matters of ecclesiasticall gouernement, that at some times, and in some places might be receiued and allowed, which after and elsewhere was happily disliked and prohibited. If any Father or Councill affirme, that by Gods lawe the people haue right to elect their Bishop, the Prince hath not; the assertion is so false, that no man need regard it. Neyther can be made, that the people haue by the word of God an essentiall interest in the choice of their Pastours. If we speake of mans law; what some Councils decreed, other Councils vpon iust cause might change; and what some Princes permitted, their successours with as great reason might recall or restraine, as the varietie of times and places required. Of Councils S. Austen saieth; [a] *Ipsa plenaria* (Concilia quis nesciat) *sepe prior posterioribus emendari.* Who can be ignorant that generall Councils are often amended, the former by the latter, when by the experiment of things, that is opened which before was hid, and seene which before was not perceiued, and that without any smoke of sacrilegious pride, obstinate arrogance, or enuious contention. Of Princes edicts I take the case to be so cleare, that no man doubteth whether humane lawes may bee altered or no. All Princes haue the sword with like commission from God, and beare their scepters with one and the same freedome that their progenitors did. As they may with their owne liking abridge themselues of their libertie; so may they with the assent and consent of their state resume the grants of former Princes, and enlarge the priuiledges of their royall dignitie as farre as Gods lawe permitteth.

[a] *August. de baptis. contra Donatist. li. 2. ca. 3.*

For answere then to your authorities. I say: First, Athanasius and the other two Councils might speake of those times, when as yet christian Princes had not reuoked elections of Bishops to their owne power, but by their publike lawes committed to their Clergie and

and people to make choise of their Pastors. And in that case, he that contrary to the positiue lawes of any kingdome or common wealth made secret meanes or procured to be placed by the priuate letters of Princes against the open lawes of the Realme where hee liued, was an ambitious & violent intruder, and not-woorthie to beare the name of a Pastor & Bishop in Christes Church. Next, Athanasius and the rest may speake not of election, but of examination & ordination, which by Gods law is committed to Bishops, & not to Princes; and then their meaning is, It is not sufficient for a Bishop to haue the Princes consent & decree; he must be also examined and ordained by such as the holy Ghost hath appointed to impose hands on him, which no man may omit though he be neuer so much allowed & elected by ỹ Princes, & so both their words & proofs seem to impoze.

Athanasius misliketh that Constantius [1] sent such as should be bishops, one of his pallace, and forceably inuaded the Churches by his souldiers and captaines, none of the comprouincial bishops approuing or admitting them. The second council of Nice doth not impugne that princes should elect, but that [2] the decree of the magistrate is not enough to make a bishop. And why? he must be approued & ordained by the bishops of the same Prouince, & by the Metropolitane, as the Nicene Canons witnesse. Now the 4. Canon of the Nicene Council which they mention, speaketh not a word who shal elect & name bishops, but who shall examine & ordaine thē, as is euident to be seene. And so the council of Paris, [3] *Non principis imperio ingeratur*; let him not be imposed by the Princes precept against the Metropolitanes good will. And therefore if any rashlie presumed to intrude that honor *per ordinationē regiam*, as ordained by the king, & not by the Metropolitane & his Comprouincials, no man might accept him or acknowledge him for a Bishop. Neither hath the ancient Canon any other sense, which saith; [4] [illegible] If any Bishop resting on worldly gouernors, by their helpe get any Church, let him be deposed & excommunicated, & all that ioyne with him. They do not exclude Princes frō naming & electing of bishops, no more then they do the people; only they reiect violence, for so much as a bishop by the rules of the holy Ghost, must be throughly examined, & peaceablie ordained by such as shal impose hands on him, and not perēptorilie intruded or imposed by any earthly force or power.

[1] *Ad epistolam ad Solitarium vitam agentes.*

[2] *Nicena Synodi 2. ca. 3.*

[3] *Concilii Parisiensis ca. 8.*

[4] *Apostol. Canon. ca. 30.*

CHAP. XVI.

The meeting of Bishops in Synodes, and who did call and moderate those assemblies in the Primitiue Church.

THe necessitie and authoritie of Synodes, is not so much in question betwixt vs, as the persons that should assemble and moderate those meetings. The disciplinarians themselues, if I be not deceiued, are farre from making their Pastours or Presbyteries in euery parish supreme Iudges of doctrine and maners without all exception or reuocation; and wee bee further. for what if the Pastours or Presbyters of any place maintaine heresie or offer iniurie, which are cases not rarelie incident, but euery where occurrent euē in those that beare the names of Christians: shall impietie and iniustice so raigne and preuaile in the Church, that none may withstand it, or redresse it? That were to make the house of God worse then a den of theeues; for theeues feare the detecting, and flie the punishing of their offences; which many Presbyters would not, if there were no way to restraine and ouer rule their pestilent and wicked purposes. Wherefore, as in ciuill affaires there are Lawes and Powers to vphold iustice, and prohibite violence; without the which, humane societies could not consist: so in the Church of Christ, when it is without the helpe and assistance of a Christian magistrate, there must bee some externall and iudiciall meanes to discerne errour, and redresse wrong, in case any particular person or Church be infected or oppressed; otherwise, there is no possibilitie for trueth and equitie to harbour long amongst the sonnes of men.

The remedie which the Primitiue Church had, and vsed against heresie and iniurie, she deriued as well from the promise made by Christes owne wordes, as from the example of the Apostles in the like case, Christ willing such of his Disciples as were griefued by their brethren, after the first and second admonition, to tell it to the Church; adueth for the direction and confirmation of all religious assemblies and conferences; [t] Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the middest of them;

[t] Matth. 18.

them; and whatsoeuer you shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heauen, and whatsoeuer you shall loose in earth, shall bee loosed in heauen. Whether the name of the Church in this place bee taken for the assemblie of Elders and Rulers vnder Moses lawe, or of Pastours and Teachers vnder the Gospell, to me it is indifferent; this is euidentlie the order, which our Sauiour willeth to be obserued; from priuate admonition to goe to witnesses, and from witnesses to assemblies. So the worde εκκλησια doeth most plainelie signifie; and so the promise annexed doeth clearelie import; where two or three are assembled together in my name, I am in the midst of them.

Neither could any other course bee established in the Church. for since an ende of controuersies must bee had amongst men, least perpetuall contention bring finall confusion, and plucke vp the verie rootes of all charitie and equitie from amongst men, when neither priuate perswasion, nor friendlie mediation can appease the parties contending; what other order could bee prescribed, but a Iudiciall hearing and determining of things in question? Nowe Iudges must needes bee either single or assembled; and single Iudges of force must either be Soueraigne and supreme Iudges, or els vnder superiours appointed by the same warrant. The Bishop of Rome claimeth a single and sole commission to heare and conclude all causes, concerning either faith or right; and were his proofe as good, as his chalenge is proude, it were worth the discussing. but the more he claimeth, the more he sinneth, by reason he taketh vnto himselfe without commission, an infallible and ineuitable iudgement ouer all men and matters vpon the face of the earth, that any way touch the trueth or the Church. Princes are single and soueraigne Iudges of earthlie things, and when they beleeue, the defence and maintenance of the Church and fayth is by God himselfe committed to their power and care; but Christ did not settle the sworde to bee the generall and perpetuall rule to gouerne his Church. for then without a Prince there could be no Church; and consequentlie, neither in the Apostles times, nor three hundred yeeres after, had Christ anie Church heere on earth, since none of the Romane Princes that were lordes of the world, publikelie maintained the Christian faith before Constantine.

Since we find no single nor supreme Iudges, on whome the Church of Christ must alwayes depend for the debating and ending of ecclesiasticall strifes and contentions; of necessitie there must either be none, which were the vtter subuersion of all peace and order amongst the faithfull, where there wanteth a Christian Magistrate; or els the Pastours and Stewards of Christes Church, to whome the care and charge thereof is committed, must assemble together, and with mutuall conference and consent, performe those duelies to the Church in generall, which otherwise they doe to each particular place and person. for though Pastours be affixed to their places and charges, yet that doeth not hinder the common care they should haue of all the members of Christes bodie; and therefore when need so requireth, they must as well imploy their trauell abroad, as bestow paines at home, to direct or pacifie the household of faith. This brotherlie kind of succouring and assisting each other in troubles and dangers, is sometimes performed by letters, but neuer so throughly and effectually, as by meeting and assembling together, when with deliberate and full aduise, they may heare and determine what they thinke meetest for the safetie and quietnesse of the Church of God.

Their warrant so to doe, is builded on the maine grounds of all diuine and humane societies, strengthned by the promise of our Sauiour, and assured vnto them by the example of the Apostles and perpetuall practise of the Church of Christ. By Gods lawe what obedience and reuerence the father may expect from his children, the same or greater must all beleeuers yeeld to the fathers of their faith. They are comprised in the same name, and in the same commaundement with the fathers of our flesh, and consequently must haue the same honour. And if the fulnesse of each mans reward must be according to the excellencie of his labour; they that beget vs, nourish vs, and continue vs in Christ, deserue farre greater honour, then they that bring vs into this worlde, and prouide onelie for the things of this life. Agayne, the Church is the bodie of Christ, and in that respect, as in our bodies, so in his, not onelie the members haue a common care for the whole, but the principall partes must direct and guide the rest; namelie, the eyes to see, the eares to heare, and the mouth to speake for the whole body. Such therefore as Christ hath placed

to

to be the [1] watchmen & leaders, [2] the light and salt of his Church, must not onely warne and guide, but also lighten and season in their measure the whole body. For what commission they haue from Christ seuered & single in their proper charges, the same they must neuertheles retaine assembled and ioined throughout their circuites. Yea, the Lord so much tendereth the fatherly care, and brotherlie compassion of the Pastors of his Church, that he hath promised to be present in the midst of their assemblies, and with his spirite to assist them, so they come together, not to accomplish their owne lusts and desires, but to sanctifie his name by detecting errour, resisting wolues, maintaining truth, curing the sores and malades that pestred and poison the members of his body.

[1] Hebr. 13.
[2] Matth. 5.

Celestinus writing to the generall Councell of Ephesus, saieth; [3] The assemblie of Priestes testifieth the presence of the holie Ghost. It is true that is written, since the trueth cannot lie, and in the Gospel are these wordes; Where soeuer two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. This being so, if so small a number be not destitute of the holie spirite, shall wee not much more beleeue that he is nowe in the midst (of you,) where so great a multitude of holy men are assembled? The Councill of Chalcedon applieth the same wordes to the same purpose. [4] We sawe (say they) as we thought the heauenly spouse conuersant amongst vs. For if where two or three are assembled in his name, he hath promised hee will bee in the midst of them; what peculiar regard (thinke we) hath he shewed toward those Priestes which haue preferred the knowledge of his confession before Countrey and children? So Recaredus king of Spaine that first abiured the Arrian heresie, 589. yeeres after Christ, wrate to the Councill of Toleto. [5] I perceiued it to be very necessarie that your blessednesse should assemble together in one place, giuing trust to the Lordes words when he saieth; where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. For I beleeue the Godhead of the holy and blessed Trinitie to be present in the sacred Synode, and therefore I haue presented my faith in the midst of you as in the presence of God.

[3] Celestini epistola ad Concilium Ephesinum.
[4] Relatio Synodi Chalcedonens. ad Leonem actione 3.
[5] Concil. Toleta. 3. cap. 2.

This course the Apostles taught the Church of Christ to follow by their example, when about the question that troubled the Church of

of Antioch, * the Apostles and Elders came together to examine the matter, and to verifie their masters words to be true; not onely the Apostles, but the whole assemblie, write thus in their letters; [1] It seemed good to the holy Ghost & to vs. For if it be sure which the Apostle said; [2] the holy Ghost made you ouerseers to feede the Church: And if our Sauiour could not be deceiued when hee said; [3] he that heareth you, heareth me; &c. this must be verified as well of Pastors assembled, as singled; yea, Pastors gathered together in Christes name, are rather assured of his direction and assistance, then when they bee seuered, [4] vnlesse there bee any that thinketh God inspireth one particular person with righteousnesse, and forsaketh a number of Priests assembled in Synode; which the Councel of Africa reputeth to be very absurd and repugnant to Christes promise, so long as they meete together in his name, and not to deface his trueth, nor oppresse their brethren.

This hath in all Ages, as well before, as since the great Councill of Nice bene approoued and practised as the lawfullest and surest meanes to discerne trueth from falshoode, to decide doubtes, and strifes, and redresse wrongs in causes ecclesiastical; yea, when there were no beleeuing magistrates to assist the Church, this was the onely way to cleanse the house of God, as much as might be, from the lothsome vessels of dishonour; and after Christian Princes began to professe and protect the trueth, they neuer had, nor can haue any better or safer direction amongst men, then by the Synodes of wise and godly Pastours. A Synode at Antioch about three score yeeres before the Councill of Nice, condemned and deposed Paulus Samosatenus for heresie; and when he would not yeeld the Church, but kept it by violence; vpon complaint made to Aurelianus the Emperour, though he were an Ethnike, Samosatenus [5] was with extreme shame driuen from the church by the worldlie Prince. Three score and ten yeeres before that, many Synodes were assembled in diuers places for the keeping of Easter, as in [6] Palestine vnder Theophilus and Narcissus; in [6] Rome vnder Victor, in [6] Pontus vnder Palmas, in [6] Fraunce vnder Irenæus, in [7] Asia vnder Polycrates. The like wee finde in the dayes of Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria, of [8] Cornelius Bishop of Rome, of [9] Cyprian Bishop of Carthage; and the like no doubt was obserued in all Ages of the Church euen from the beginning

* Act. 15.

[1] Ibidem, v. 28.

[2] Act. 20.

[3] Luc. 11.

[4] Concil. Africa, ca. 138. epistola ad Celestinum.

[5] Euseb. l. 7. ca. 30

[6] Euseb. l. 5. ca. 23. & 24.

[7] Idem li. 7. ca. 5. & 7.

[8] Idem li. 6. ca. 43

[9] Concil. Carthag. sub Cyprian.

ginning, as necessitie forced, and the safetie of the time permitted.

The great Nicene Councill perceiued, and by their decree witnessed how needfull the vse of Synodes was, and would set in the Church of Christ. [1] It seemeth *(vnto vs)* very requisite (say they) that in euerie Prouince twice euery yeere there should be a Synode, that all the Bishops of the Prouince meeting together, may in common examine such questions as are occurrent in euerie place. The Councill of Antioche continued the same course; [2] for ecclesiasticall businesses, and the determining of matters in controuersie, we thinke it very fit that in euery Prouince, Synodes of Bishops should bee assembled twise euerie yeere. So did the generall Councill of Constantinople. [3] It is euident that the Synode in euerie Prouince, must gouerne the causes of euery Prouince, according as it was decreed in the Councill of Nice. The great Councill of Chalcedon reproued the slacknesse of Bishops in omitting the prescribed number of Synodes. [4] It is come to our eares, that in *(some)* Prouinces the Synodes of Bishops are not kept, which are appointed by the Canons; and thereby many ecclesiasticall matters, which need reformation, are neglected. This sacred Councill therefore determineth, according to the Canons of our godly Fathers, that the Bishops of euery Prouince shall twise euery yeere assemble together at the place where the Bishop of the Mother Citie *(that is the Metropolitane)* shall appoint, to amend all matters emergent *(within their Prouince.)* The tedious length of the iourney, and pouertie of the Churches in some places, forced the Bishops to assemble but once in the yeere. So the Councill of Toledo determined for Spaine. [5] This holy & generall Council decreeth, that the authoritie of the former Canons standing good, which command Synodes to be kept twise in the yere, in respect of y length of the way, and pouertie of the Churches of Spaine, the Bishops shal assemble once in the yere at the place which the Metropolitane shal appoint. The 2. Councill of Turon tooke the same order for France, in cases of necessitie. [6] It hath pleased this holy councill, that the Metropolitane & the bishops of his Prouince shal meet twise euery yere in Synode at the place which the Metropolitan by his discretiō shal chuse; or if there be an ineuitable necessitie, then without all excuse of persons, and occasion of pretences, once

[1] Concilii Nicæni, ca. 5.

[2] Concilii Antiochen. ca. 20.

[3] Concilii Constantinopolitani 1. ca. 2.

[4] Concilii Chalcedonensis, ca. 29.

[5] Concilii Toletani, 3. ca. 18.

[6] Concilii Turon. 2. ca. 1.

once in the yeere shall euery man make his repaire. And if any Bishop faile so to come to the Synode, let him stand excommunicate by his brethren of the same Prouince vntill a greater Synode, and in the meane time let no Bishop of an other Prouince presume to communicate with him.

There is no Christian Realme nor Age, wherein the vse of Synodes hath not bene thought needfull, as well vnder beleeuing magistrates for consultation and direction, as vnder Infidels for the stopping of irreligious opinions, withstanding wicked enterprises, and procuring the peace and holynesse of the Church, as appeareth by the Councils that haue bene kept in all kingdoms and countries since the Apostles times, when any matter of moment came in question, which are extant to this day; and likewise by the Synodes that euery Nation and Prouince did yeerely celebrate according to the rules of the great Nicene and Chalcedon Councils, which can not be numbred, and were not receyued. Neither is the continuance of Prouinciall Synodes prescribed onely by Councils; the Imperiall lawes commaund the like. [1] That all the ecclesiasticall State and sacred rules may with more diligence be obserued, we require (saith the Emperor) euery Archbishop, Patriarch, & Metropolitane, to call vnto him once or twise euery yeere the Bishops that are vnder him in the same Prouince, and throughly to examine all the causes which Bishops, Clerkes, or Monkes haue amongst themselues, and to determine them, so as what so euer is trespassed by any person against the Canons, may bee reformed. The lawes of Charles alleaging the Councils of Antioch and Chalcedon; [2] that the Bishops of euery Prouince with their Metropolitane, should assemble in Councill twise in the yeere for the causes of the Church, commaund that course to be continued, and [3] twise euery yeere Synodes to be assembled. And vnlesse you giue the Pastor and Presbytera of euery parish full and free power to professe what religio they best like, to offer what wrongs they will, to vse what impietie and tyrannie they themselues list, without any restraint or reuersse, which were an heathenish, if not an hellish confusio; you must where there is no christian magistrate, (as oftentimes in the Church of Christ there hath bene, and may be none) yeeld that libertie to the Church of Christ, which euerie humane societie hath by the principles of nature; to wit, that the whole

[1] Nouell. constitutio. 123. ca. 10.

[2] Legum Francia. li. 1. ca. 13.

[3] Ibidem ca. 127.

wholesome guide each part, and the greater number ouer-rule the lesser, which without assembling in Synode can not be done.

We neuer meant to depie the authoritie or vse of lawfull Synodes; [1] *we confesse they are a sure remedy against all confusion: but this we dislike, that you giue the power to all Synodes from the Magistrate to the Metropolitane, thereby maintaining a needelesse difference amongst Bishops, and suffer none but such as you terme Bishops to haue voyces in Councils, whereas euerie Pastour and Preacher hath as good right to sit there, and by consent and subscription to determine, as they haue.*] What right wee yeelde to Christian Magistrates to call Synodes within their Territories, shall soone appeare; in the meane time you must tell vs, who called Synodes in the Primitiue Church before Princes fauoured Christian Religion. was it done by Magistrates, who then were Infidels: or by Metropolitanes? And when Princes protected the truth, did they moderate prouinciall Councils by their substitutes? or was that charge committed to the Bishop of the chiefe and mother Church and Citie in euerie prouince? you challenge to bee men of learning and reading; speake of your credites, who called in ancient times prouinciall Synodes, or at any time who moderated them besides Metropolitanes? If your Presbyteries by Gods essential and perpetual ordinance must haue a President to rule their actions for auoyding of confusion; howe can Synodes be called & gouerned without one to prescribe the time and place, when and where the Pastours shall meete; and when they are met, to guide and moderate their assemblies: perceiue you not that men liuing in diuers cities and countries, and assembling but seldome, haue more neede of some chiefe to call them together, then these that liue in one place and euery day meete? And if confusion and disorder in Presbyteries be pernicious to the Church, is it not far more dangerous in Synodes? Wherefore you must either cleane reiect Synodes, and so make the Presbyters of eache parish supreme and soueraigne Iudges of all Ecclesiastical matters; or if you receiue Synodes, you must withall admit some both to conuocate and moderate their meetings.

[1] De Ministrorum euangelii gradibus ca. 13. fol. 159.

The Magistrate may call them together; and themselues, when they are assembled, may choose a director & guider of their actions.] But when the Magistrate doeth not regard but rather afflict the

Church

Church, as in times of infidelitie and hereſie, who ſhall then aſ-
ſemble the Paſtours of any prouince to deliberate and determine
matters of doubt or danger? Shall error and iniurie ouerwhelme
the church of God without any publike remonſtrance or refuſance?
In queſtions of faith, caſes of doubt, matters of faction, offers
of wrong, breach of all order and equitie, ſhall eche place and Preſ-
byterie be free to teach and doe what they pleaſe, without depend-
ing on, or ſo much as conferring with the reſt of their brethren? Tal
you that the diſcipline of Chriſtes Church, and not rather the diſ-
ſolution of all peace, and ſubuerſion of all trueth in the houſe of
God? I thinke you be not ſo farre beſides your ſelues, that you
ſtriue for this peſtilent kinde of anarchie to be brought into the
worlde. our age is giddie enough without this frenſie to put them
forward. Howbeit we ſeeke not what ne we courſe you can deuiſe
after fifteene hundred yeeres to gouerne the Church; but what
meanes the ancient and Primitiue Church of Chriſt had, before
Princes embraced the trueth, to aſſemble Synodes, and paci-
fie controuerſies as well touching religion as Eccleſiaſticall regi-
ment, and if in the Church ſtories you finde any other beſides Me-
tropolitanes, that called and gouerned Prouinciall Councils,
name the men, and note the places, and we yeeld you the prize.

*Metropolitanes were firſt eſtabliſhed, if not deuiſed by the Coun-
cil of Nice; before that, we reade nothing of any Metropolitane.*]
If that were their firſt originall, they neede not be aſhamed of it.
all Chriſtendome theſe twelue hundred yeeres hath reuerenced
and followed the decrees and iudgement of the Nicene Fathers;
the founders of your newe diſcipline compared with them in anti-
quitie and authoritie, come a great way behinde them: but if you
looke better about you, you ſhall finde that Metropolitanes are
farre elder then the Nicene Councll. They are not deuiſed, but
acknowledged in the Councill of Nice by theſe wordes; [1] τὰ ἐν ἑκά-
στῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ κρατείτω. Let the ancient vſage continue ſtill in Egypt, Libia
& Pentapolis, that the biſhop of Alexãdria haue τὴν ἐξουσίαν power
(*and authoritie*) ouer all theſe places. Likewiſe at Antioch
and in other prouinces καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κατὰ τὰς ἐπαρχίας, Let the chur-
ches keepe their prerogatiues. What thoſe prerogatiues were,
which anciently belonged to the Metropolitane Churches and
their Biſhops; though the Councill doeth not expreſſe them all,

yet

1 Concil. Nicen. ca. 6.

yet these two are there mentioned. In the 4. Canon; [1] ... The chiefe authoritie (or ratification) of things done, must belōg in euery prouince to the Metropolitane: and in this very Canon the next words are; [2] In al places (or prouinces) this is euident, that if any man be made a bishop without the knowledge (or consent) of the Metropolitane, this great Council determineth he must be no Bishop. So that neither could Synodes be called, nor Bishops ordained without y Metropolitane, by the Canons of the Nicene Councel, & their power & prerogatiue within their own prouince began not first in that Councel, but is there mētioned to be ... an ancient vse, & as they speake in the 7. Canon, ... an ancient tradition.

[1] Concil. Nicen. ca. 4.

[2] Concil. Nicen. ca. 6.

The Councill of Antioch that assembled fifteene yeeres after the Councel of Nice, concluded as much as I no out of the Nicene Canons; [3] A Bishop must not be ordained without a Synode, and the presence of the Metropolitane; the Bishops of euche Prouince to make a Synode, the Metropolitane by his letters must call together. [4] It is very requisite that in euery Prouince Councils be kept twise in the yeere; to the which Presbyters, Deacons, and all others that thinke they haue wrong, may repaire to receiue iustice from the Synode. It is not lawfull for any to assemble (Synodes) of themselues, without those to whom the mother Cities are committed. [5] For that is a perfect Councel where the Metropolitane is present. [6] What power the Metropolitane had about the rest, they likewise exercise. [6] The Bishops of euery prouince must assure the Metropolitane to haue the ouersight and care of the whole Prouince. Wherefore we thinke it meet, that in honor he be afore them, & the rest of the bishops do nothing without him, according to the canon of our fathers that hath anciently preuailed, but onely such thinges as pertaine to their owne (charge and) Diocese. Further they shall enterprise nothing without the Metropolitane, nor the Metropolitane without the consent of the rest. The generall Councill of Ephesus affirmeth, that Metropolitanes had their preeminence from the beginning of the Church. [7] It seemeth good to this sacred & Oecumenicall Council to reserue vnto euery prouince vntouched and undiminished *the rights* which they haue had ... *from the first beginning*, euery Metropolitan hauing liberty

[3] Concil. Antioch. ca. 19.

[4] Ca. 20.

[5] Ca. 16.

[6] Concil. Antioch. ca. 9.

[7] Concil. Ephes. edictum post adnotatum episcopo. rum Cypri.

libertie [illegible] to take the copie of our Acts, for his owne security, according to the vse anciently confirmed. These 3. Councils confesse, that Metropolitanes were no late nor newe deuise, first authorized by the Council of Nice; but their right and preeminence was an ancient vsage and Canon of the Church euen from the beginning.

Nowe that all Christendome euer after the Nicene Councill embraced this kinde of gouernement by Metropolitanes, is a case so cleare, that no shift can refuse it. The second Councill of Arle in France that immediately followed the Councill of Nice, saith: [1] *Nullus episcopus sine Metropolitani permissu, nec Episcopus Metropolitanus sine tribus Episcopis comprouincialibus præsumat Episcopum ordinare.* Let no Bishop presume to ordaine a Bishop without the permission of the Metropolitane, nor the Metropolitane himselfe without three Bishops of the same Prouince. [2] For this is first euident, that hee which is made a Bishop *sine conscientia Metropolitani*, without the consent of his Metropolitane, he ought to be no Bishop, according to the great Councill *(of Nice.)* And so for Synodes. [3] The Synode shall be assembled at the discretion of the Bishop of Arle, and if any being summoned can not come by reason of sickenes, hee shall send another to supplie his place. [4] But if any shall neglect to be present, or depart before the Councill be dissolued, let him know he is excluded from the communion of his brethren, and may not be receiued, vnles he be absolued in the next Synode. The Councill of Laodicea in Phrygia. [5] Let Bishops be appointed to the regiment of the church by the iudgement of the Metropolitane and the Bishops adioyning; & [6] being called to the Synode, they must not neglect it, but go thither and teach or learne *(what is requisite)* for the direction of the Church and the rest *(of their brethren.)* The second Councill of Carthage in Affrica. [7] We all thinke good, that (the Primate of euery Prouince being not first consulted) no man presume though with many Bishops in what place soeuer without his precept to ordaine a Bishop, but if necessitie force, three Bishops wheresoeuer with the Primates precept may ordaine a Bishop. The fifte Councill of Carthage. [8] Wee thinke good that the Primates of euerie Prouince be written vnto, that when they assemble

1 Concil. Arelatens. 3. ca. 5.

2 Ca. 6.

3 Ca. 18.

4 Ca. 19.

5 Concil. Laodicen. ca. 12.

6 Ca. 49.

7 Concil. Carthaginens. 2. ca. 12.

8 Concil. Carthaginens. 5. ca. 7.

Councils

Councils in their owne Prouinces, they hinder not the day (*limited for the generall meeting.*) The Vticutane Councill. [1] Aurelius (*Bishop of Carthage*) saide; This is a common cause, that euery one of vs should acknowledge his order allowed him by God, and the lower (*Bishops*) yeeld to those that are aboue them, and not presume to doe any thing without them. Wherefore they which attempt to do ought without regard of their superiors, must be accordingly represſed by the whole Synode. All the Bishops answered; This order hath bin kept by our fathers and forefathers, and by Gods grace shall be kept of vs. The Councill of Rhegium in Italie. [2] The ordination which the Canons define to be voyde, we also determine to bee frustrate, wherein since there were neither three present, nor the Letters of the Comprouinciall Bishops, nor the Metropolitanes goodwill obtained, there was vtterly nothing that shoulde make a Bishop. And againe; [3] Let no (*Bishop*) repaire to the Church, which hath not her chiefe priest, except he be inuited by the letters of the Metropolitane, least he be circumuented by the people. The Councill of Tarracon in Spaine; [4] If any Bishop warned by the Metropolitane, neglect to come to the Synode, except he be hindered by some corporal necessitie, let him be depriued of the cõmunion of all the Bishops vntil the next Councill, as the Canons of our fathers haue decreed. The Epaunine Councill. [5] *Prima & immutabili constitutione decretum est, vt cùm Metropolitanus fratres vel Comprouinciales suos ad Concilium, vel ad ordinationem cuiusque Consacerdotis crediderit vocandos, nisi causa euidens extiterit, nullus excuset.* By an immutable constitution we first decree, that when the Metropolitane shal thinke good to call his brethren the Bishops of the same Prouince either to a Synode, or to the ordination of any of his fellow Bishops, none shall excuse without an euidence cause. The like, as wel for ordaining of Bishops, as calling of Synodes by the Metropolitane, may be seene in the Councils of Agatha, ca. 35. of Taurine, ca. 1. of Aurelia the second, ca. 1. 2. the fift, ca. 18. of Turon the second, ca. 1. 9. of Paris, ca. 8. of Toledo the third, ca. 18. the fourth, ca. 3. and in diuers others. All which testifie that as the Metropolitanes power in the gouernement of the Church was a thing receiued and confirmed by vse long before the Nicene Councill;

[1] *Concil. Milevitan. ca. 13.*

[2] *Concil. Rhegin. ca. 8.*

[3] *Ca. 6.*

[4] *Concil. Tarracon. ca. 6.*

[5] *Concil. Epaunens. can.*

Council; so it continued throughout Christendome till the bishop of Rome wholy subuerted the freedome of the church, and recalled all things to his owne disposition.

The power of Metropolitanes was rather lengthened, then shortned by the Bishop of Rome. for who suppressed Prouinciall Synodes, and brought Bishops and Archbishops to this height of pride they are at, but onely the Romish Decretals of Antichrist?] If your wisdome serue you to call that Antichrists pride, whereto godly councils were forced for their owne ease, & wherewith religious Princes were contented for the better execution of their lawes; my dutie to the church of God and the magistrate stayeth me from reuealing or disliking that course, which I see both Councils and Princes by long and good experience were driuen vnto. As for Antichrist, he vsurped all mens places, and subiected all mens rights to his will and pleasure; other wise I doe not finde, what increase hee gaue to the power of Metropolitanes. Let them enioy that which the councils and princes of the Primitiue church by triall saw meete full to be commited to their care; and we striue for no more. I trust you will not call that Antichristian pride when they are required by christian Princes to see their Lawes and Edicts touching causes Ecclesiasticall put in practise.

The fault we find is, that Archbishops haue suppressed the libertie of Synodes, and reserued all things to their owne iurisdiction.] A greater fault then that is; you be so inflamed with disdaine, that you know not what you say. Who, I pray you, prohibiteth the vse, or abridgeth the power of Synods to make rules & determine causes ecclesiastical: the Metropolitane, or the Prince? Take good heed, lest by eager and often calling for the indiction and decision of Synodes at the Metropolitans hands without the princes leaue, you erect a new forme of Synodes, not to aduise & guide the Magistrate, when they be thereto required, but to straighten or forestall the Princes power. True it is, that with vs no Synodes may assemble without the Princes warrant, as well to meete, as to consult of any matters touching the state of this Realme; and why? They be no Court separate from the prince, nor superiour to the Prince, but subiected in all thinges vnto the Prince, and appointed by the Lawes of God and man in trueth and godlinesse to assist and direct the Prince, when and where they shall be willed

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to assemble. Otherwise they haue no power of themselues to make decrees, when there is a christian Magistrate, neither may they chalenge the iuricial hearing or ending of Ecclesiastical controuersies without or against the princes liking. Now iudge your selues whether you do not grosely betray your own ignorance, I am loth to say malice, when you declaime against the Metropolitane for want of that which is not in his power to performe but in the princes; and be more silent hereafter in these cases (if you be wise) lest you trauuce the Princes power vnder the Metropolitanes name. If waspishnesse would suffer you soberly to consider, not onely what things are changed in our times, but also why, and by whom; you should better satisfie your selues, and lesse trouble the realme then now you do.

Afore princes began to profesle christianitie, the church had no way (as I noted before) to discusse right and wrong in faith, and other ecclesiastical causes, but by Synodes and assemblies of religious & wise pastors. that course alwaies continued in the church (euen when the sword most sharply pursued the church) from the Apostles deaths to Constantines raigne; and was euer found in the church, when christian Princes were not. Those Synodes were assembled and gouerned by the Bishops of the chiefe and mother churches and cities in euerie prouince, who by the ancient Councils are called Metropolitans. When princes embraced the faith, they increased the number of Synods, and confirmed not onlie the canons of generall Councils; but also the iudgements and decisions of prouinciall Synodes, as the best meanes they could deuise to procure peace, and aduance religion in euerie place. for as by their lawes they referred Ecclesiasticall causes to Ecclesiastical Iudges, so lest matters should hang long in strife, they charged euche Metropolitane to assemble the Bishops of his Prouince twise euerie yeere, and there to examine and order all matters of doubt and wrong within the Church. The rules of the Nicene Councill, touching that and al other things, Constantine ratified as Eusebius witnesseth, and like wise the sentences of Bishops in their Synodes, kept according to that appointment. The decrees of the (*Nicene*) Councel Constantine confirmed with his (*consent*) seale (*or authoritie.*) And reporting the lawes made by him in fauour of Christians,

[1] *Euseb. de vita Constantini lib. 3*

Christians, Eusebius saith; [1] The determinations of Bishops deliuered in their Synodes he sealed (*or ratified*) that it might not be lawfull for the Rulers of Nations to infringe their decrees, since the Priests of God (as he thought) were (*more approoued or*) better to be trusted then any Iudge. yea whatsoeuer is done in the holie assemblies of Bishops, [2] τὸ θεῖον βούλημα ἐχειν τὰς ἀποφάσεις, that (saith Constantine) must bee ascribed to the heauenly wil (*or counsell of God.*) Concerning the foure first generall Councils, Iustinian saith; [3] We decree that the sacred Ecclesiasticall rules, which were made and agreed on in the foure (*first*) holie Councils, that is, in the Nicene, Constantinopolitane, Ephesine, and Chalcedon, shall haue the force of (*Emperall*) Lawes. for the rules of the foure aboue named Councils we obserue as Lawes.

[1] *Idem lib. 4. de vita Constantini.*

[2] *Idem lib. 3.*

[3] *Nouella constitut. 131. ca. 1. de 4. sanctis concilijs.*

In tract of time, when causes multiplied, and Bishops could neither support the charge they were at in being abroade, nor bee absent so long from their Churches, as the hearing and concluding of euerie priuate matter would require; they were constrained to assemble but once in the yeere, and in the meane space to commit such causes as could abide no such delay, or were too tedious for their short meetings, vnto the hearing and iudgement of the Metropolitane or Primate of the prouince & country, where y strifes arose. The Councill in Trullo saith; [4] The things which were determined by our sacred Fathers wee will haue to stand good in all points, and renue the Canon, which commaundeth Synodes of Bishops to be kept euery yeere in euery Prouince, where the Metropolitane shall appoint. But since by reason of the inuasions of the Barbarians, and diuers other occasions, the Gouernors of the Church cannot possibly assemble in Synode twise euery yeere; wee decree, that in any case there shall be a Synode of Bishops once euery yeere for Ecclesiasticall questions likelie to arise in euery Prouince, at the place where the Metropolitane shal make choice. The second Nicene Councill; [5] Where the Canon willeth, iudiciall inquisition to be made twise euery yeere by the assemblie of Bishops in euery Prouince; and yet for the misery and pouertie of such as should trauell, the Fathers of the first Synode decreed, it should be once in the yeere, and then things amisse to bee redressed;

[4] *Concil. in Trul. in. can. 8.*

[5] *Synod. Nicen. 2. can. 6.*

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we renue this (later) Canon; insomuch, that if any Metropolitane neglect to doe it, except he be hindered by necessitie, violence, or some other reasonable cause, he shall be vnder the punishment of the Canons. The Council of Affrica. [1] The decrees of the Nicene Councill did most plainely leaue, both inferiour Clerkes and Bishops TO THEIR OVVNE METROPOLITANES. They did wisely and rightly perceiue, that all causes ought to be ended in the places where they did first spring. for they d d not thinke any Prouince shoulde bee destitute of the grace of the holy Spirit, whereby iustice shoulde bee prudently discerned, & constantly pursued by the Priests of Christ; specially when as euery man hath libertie, if he find himselfe grieued with the censure of those that examine his cause, to appeale to the Synodes of the same Prouince, or to a general Council. And againe, [2] It hath pleased vs that Presbyters, Deacons, and other inferiour Clergie men, if they complaine of the iudgements of their owne Bishops, shall be heard by the Bishops adioyning. And if they thinke good to appeale from them, let them not appeale but either to the Synodes of Africa, OR TO THE PRIMATES of their owne Prouinces. So the Council of Sardica. [3] If a Bishop in a rage wil by and by cast a Presbyter or Deacon out of the Church, we must prouide, that being innocent, he be not condemned, nor depriued the communion. Al (*the Bishops*) answered; Let him that is ejected haue liberty TO FLIE TO THE METROPOLITANE of that Prouince. The Emperor confirmed the same. [4] If the Bishops of one Synode haue anie matter of variance betwixt themselues, either for Ecclesiastical right or any other occasions; first the Metropolitane with other Bishops of that Synode shall examine and determine the cause; and if either part dislike the iudgement, THEN THE PATRIARKE of that Diœcese shall giue them audience ACCORDING TO THE ECCLESIASTICALL CANONS AND OVR LAVVES, neither side hauing libertie to contradict his iudgement. But if anie of the Cleargie, or whosoeuer complaine against his Bishop for anie matter, LET THE CAVSE BE IVDGED BY THE METROPOLITANE, answerable to the sacred Rules and our Lawes. And if any man appeale from his sentence, let the cause be

[1] *Concil. Africanum. ca. 138 in epist. ad Celestinum.*

[2] *Concil. Africani ca. 127. & ca. 28.*

[3] *Concil. Sardicens. ca. 14.*

[4] *Novella constitutio 123. ca. 22.*

brought To The Archbishop & Patriarke *of that Diocese, and he* according to the Canons and Lawes *shall make a finall end.*

So that not Antichrist, but ancient Councils and Christian Emperours perceiuing the mightie troubles and intolerable charges, that the Bishops of euery prouince were put to by staying at Synodes for the hearing and determining of al priuate matters & quarrels occurrent in the same Prouince; and seeing no cause to busie and imploy the bishops of the whole world twise euerie yeere to sit in iudgement about petite and particular strifes and brables, till al parties were satisfied, but finding rather, that by that means all matters must either be infinitely delayed, or slenderly examined, and hastily posted ouer; as well the Princes as the Bishops, not to increase the pride of Archbishops, but to settle an indifferent course both for the parties and the Iudges; referred, not the making of Lawes and Canons, but the execution of them alreadie made to the credite and conscience of the Archbishop. And though the Fathers leaue an appeale either to the Councils, or to the Primates of euerie Nation and Countrie; yet the Emperour seeing howe long causes woulde depend before Councils coulde duelie examine and determine them; and that to bring all priuate matters from Prouinciall Synodes to Nationall Councils, were to breede a worse confusion then the former was; decreed that all appeales should go to the Archbishop.

If you murmure at this alteration first established by the Romane Emperours, and stil continued by the Lawes of this realme now in force; remember how vnreasonable and intolerable a matter it were for al the bishops of this realme to assemble, and at their owne charges to stay the hearing, examining and sentencing of all the doubts, wrongs, quarrels and contentions which al the Consistories throughout England at this day do handle and determine. Did you exclude matters of tithes, testaments, legacies, contracts, marriages and such like, which the ancient Lawes of all Nations commit to episcopall audience, and reserue onely matters of correction for Synodes; see you not by experience, how long causes by reason of the number and weight of them depend in the Arches, in the Audience, afore the high Commission, though the Iudges thereof sit all the yeere long at the dayes prefixed

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without intermission: were it not a proper peece of worke for your pleasures to bring all the pastours of this land to keepe continually in one place, and to doe nothing else but attend for appeales, that must and woulde bee sent from all the shires and quarters of this realme: who shoulde teach and administer the Sacraments to the people in the meane time: who shoulde defray the expences of so many hundred pastours, as are not able to maintaine their families at home, and themselues abroade: who shall instruct them in the knowledge of the Lawes, without which they shall doe more wrong then right: How long will it be afore so great a number, or the most part of them concurre in one minde to conclude euerie cause that is brought vnto them: And when all these inconueniences be endured, and absurdities digested; to what purpose, since euerie man may presently appeale from them to the Princes power and delegates: If Synodes were supreme Tribunals, though it were not worth their paines and expences, yet they shoulde ende strifes; but now you would haue them waste their time, spend their liuings, and wearie themselues in looking their labour, whiles euerieman that liketh not their order, may forthwith appeale, and frustrate their proceedings.

We could deuise many ways to preuent al this that you obiect, if we might be suffred. for we would haue standing Synodes in euery Citie that should consist of the Pastors, and some graue & wise Lay Elders there dwelling to determine matters emergent within a circuite to be appointed vnto them; and from them appeales to be made to the Synode of Pastours and Elders residing in some Principall and chiefe Citie within this Realme; so that vnlesse the matter were of verie great weight, the Pastours at large shoulde not bee troubled to assemble together; and when they assembled, their abode not to bee long, for sauing of time and charge; which men of their calling neither shoulde loose, nor can spare; lest wee busie them rather as Iudges of mens quarrels, then Stewardes of Gods mysteries.]

The chiefe ground of your Discipline is your owne deuise, as may well appeare in that no part of it is ancient, or was euer vsed in the Church of Christ; and the ioyntes of it hang together like sicke mens dreames. The Pastours and Lay Elders of euerie Church serued at first to fill vp your Presbyteries; and now your vessels are so low drawen, that you vse them for Synodes.

And where you could not abide, that Bishops shoulde haue Dioceses; nowe you be pleased, that Presbyteries shal haue circuits, and Ecclesiasticall regiment, without their Church and Citie. Metropolitanes were not long since the height of Antichristes pride; and nowe you are forced for repressing of disorders and enormities in euery parish, to allowe some chiefe and mother Cities; and to yeelde their Presbyteries Metropoliticall iurisdiction ouer whole prouinces. And all this, your selues being priuate men, take vpon you to deuise and establish without precedent to induce, or authoritie to warrant your doings; and yet you thinke it not lawfull for the Prince and the whole Realme to imitate the example of the Primitiue Church, nor to followe the steppes of religious and godly Emperours, that appointed Metropolitanes to call and moderate prouinciall Councils; and for ease of all sides, to examine such matters before hand as were not woorthie to molest and trouble full Synodes. Wherein, what else do you, but shewe your inconstant and inconsiderate humours; that woulde haue the Church guided by Presbyteries and Synodes parochiall and prouinciall, and admit Presidents and chiefe Gouernours of either; and yet cannot abide that Princes shoulde retaine the ancient and accustomed fourme of Ecclesiasticall regiment by Bishops and Metropolitanes, settled so long agoe in the Church, and euer since continued without interruption? But I pray you, what places or voices haue Lay Elders in Synodes? what example or reason can you pretend for it?

If they may iudge in Presbyteries, why not in Synodes? Belike you woulde haue none but Bishops haue decisiue voyces in Councils according to the Romish order of celebrating Synodes.] If you were as farre from noueltie, as I am from Poperie, wee shoulde soone agree; howbeit euerie thing vsed or beleeued in the Romish Church is not rashlie to be disclaimed. You make it a resolute conclusion, that Lay Elders were part of the Presbyteries in the Primitiue Church; but when wee come to examine your proofes, we find thē as weake, as your imagination is strong. Nowe though the Pastours of each parish, when they are single, might happilie neede, as you thinke, the aduise and assistance of Lay Presbyters; yet that Pastours assembled in Synodes, where their number is great, & their gifts of all sorts, should stand

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in like neede of Lay Elders to leade or direct them, is neither consequent to reason, nor coherent with the rules of the sacred Scriptures. for to whome hath the Lord committed [1] the teaching of all Nations? to pastors, or to Lay Presbyters? who by Gods law are appointed [2] watchmē in ỹ house of Israel, [3] Stewards ouer his familie, [4] Bishops ouer his Church, and [5] Leaders of his flocke: Lay Elders, or Christes Ministers: If in the Church the sheepe must [6] heare and follow their sheepeheardes, as well for trueth of doctrine as holinesse of life; by what commission bring you Lay Presbyters into Synodes, where the Teachers and Pastors of an whole prouince or nation are assembled: Shall your Lay Elders by Christs commandement be scholers in the Church, and teachers in the Synode: Or do the gifts and graces of preachers so change, that in pulpit eache one must be beleeued and obeyed, in Councill all ioyning together must be restrained and directed by Lay Elders: If you haue reason or authoritie for it; let us heare it: if neither; you trouble the Church of God with a pang of your wilfull contradiction, and take vpon you to ouer-rule Christian princes and churches with greater surlines, then euer did Patriarke or Pope.

1 Matth. 28.
2 Ezech. 3.
3 1. Corinth. 4.
4 Act. 20.
5 Heb. 13.
6 Iohn. 10.

In the Apostles Councill were not onely the [7] *Presbyters, but all* the brethren *of the Church of Ierusalem, and the letters of resolution, were written in all their names: and now you disdaine that anie Lay men should be present at your Prouinciall Synodes and Councils, which you see the Apostles did not refuse.*] To be present at Synodes is one thing: to deliberate and determine in Synode is an other thing. If you thinke that either Presbyters or Brethren were admitted to the Apostles Councill to helpe and aide the Apostles in their debating or deciding the matter there questioned, you be much deceiued. The Apostles singled, were sufficient to decide a greater doubt then that was: much more then, the whole assembly of the Apostles able to searchout the truth thereof without their assistance. Therefore why al the church was admitted to be present, & to ioine with one accord in sending those letters, I noted before. not only the gainsaiers, but the whole Church were to be resolued in a case that touched them all. Otherwise all well the people as the teachers of ỹ Iewes would haue abhorred the Gentiles, though beleuers, as prophane persons, vntil they had bin circūcised, which

7 Act. 15.

was the high way to euacuate the crosse of Christ, and to frustrate his grace. And therefore not for deliberation, or for determination, but for the satisfaction of contradictors, and instruction of the rest was the whole Church assembled, and vpon the full hearing and concluding of the question by the Apostles, the rest ioyning with them acknowledged by their letters and messengers that it pleased the holie ghost, the Gentiles shoulde not be troubled with circumcision nor the obseruation of Moses Law; but that the partition wall betwixt them was broken downe, by the blood of Christ, and they which were [1] Aliens from the common wealth of Israel & straungers from the couenants of promise, were nowe citizens with the Saints, & of the household of faith, without the legall obseruances of Moses Law. S. Luke himselfe witnesseth, that to [2] discusse the matter, the Apostles and Elders assembled together, and after great disputation on either side, Peter and Iames concluded the cause, whereto the rest consented.

[1] Ephes. 2.

[2] Acts 15. vers. 6.

Yet then Elders were admitted to deliberate with the Apostles in that Synode, whereas you suffer none but Bishops to haue voices in Councils.] I make no doubt but Presbyters sate with the Apostles in Synode to consult of this cause: all the scruple is, what kinde of Presbyters they were. Lay Presbyters I reade of none, & therfore I can admit none to be of that Councel. Besides, such of the seuety and such other Prophets, as assisted Iames in the regiment of the church of Ierusalem, are in all reason expressed by that name, for since the whole church there is diuided into Apostles, Presbyters, and Brethren; the helpers & coadiutors of the Apostles, were they Prophets or Euangelists that either came with Paul & Barnabas from Antioch, or were conuersant with Iames & the rest at Ierusalem, must rather be contained in the name of Presbyters, then ioyned with the general multitude. for if they were of the many, what men of more worthines were there to be honored with the title of Presbyters? I hope the next degree to Apostles are not your Lay Elders; S. Paul was then fowly ouershot, to set [3] first Apostles, secondly Prophets, thirdly Teachers, and to reiect Gouernours, which you take for your Lay Presbyters, into the 7. place. Howbeit vnles you make some fresher and better mooke for them, then yet I see; your Lay Elders are no where numbred by S. Paul for church gouernors.

[3] 1. Corinth. 12.

As for Presbyters ỳ were beneath Apostles (vnderstand by that name prophets, euangelists, pastors, teachers or whom you will, so no lay Elders,) we deny thē neither places nor voices in Synods, so long as they haue right to teach or speake in the church. for we esteeme Synodes to be but the assemblies & conferences of those to whom the Churches of any prouince or nation for the word & doctrine are committed. And therefore to our Synodes are called, as your selues know, not only bishops, but deanes, archdeacons, & other clerks as wel of the principall & cathedrall Presbytery, where the episcopall seate & church is, as of the Diocese at large. And though some Romish writers do stiffly maintaine, that none but bishops haue voices in Councils; yet you see the ancient institution of our synodall assembly in this realme ouerthroweth their late & new assertion. Neither lacke we examples of the course which we keepe, euen from the beginning.

The Synode of Rome called by Cornelius against Nouatus about the yeere of Christ 255; consisted of [1] 60. Bishops and many Presbyters and Deacons, as Euseb. noteth. From the Synode of Antioch, that deposed Paulus Samosatenus about the yere of our Lord 270. wrate not only Bishops, but [2] Presbyters & Deacons, as appeareth by their epistle. In the Council of Eliberis about the time of the first Nicene Council sate besides the Bishops, [3] 36. Presbyters. In the second Councill of Arle about the same time subscribed [4] 12. Presbyters, besides Deacons & other Clergy mē. The like may be seene in the Councils of Rome [5] vnder Hilarius; & vnder Gregory, where [6] 34. Presbyters subscribed after 22. Bishops; & in ỳ first vnder Symmachus, where after 72. bishops subscribed 67. Presbyters. So in the third, fift, & first vnder the same Symmachus. Felix also bishop of Rome kept a Councill of 43. bishops, & [7] 74. Presbyters; & after the same maner haue diuers other Metropolitanes assembled in their prouincial synods, as wel Presbyters, as bishops. The councel of Ancilodorum saith, [9] Let all the Presbyters being called, come to the Synode in the city. The 4. council of Toledo describeth ỳ celebrating of a prouinciall council in this wise. [10] Let the bishops assembled go to the church together, & sit according to the time of their ordination. After all the bishops are entred and set, let the Presbyters be called, and the Bishops sitting in a compas, let the Presbyters sit behind them, and

[1] Euseb. li. 6. ca. 43.

[2] Idem li. 7. ca. 30

[3] Subscriptiones Eliberini Concil. fol. 282.

[4] Subscript. Arelatens. Concil. 2. fol. 293.

[5] Tomo Conciliorum 1. fol. 951.

[6] Epistolarum lib. 4. ca. 88.

[7] Tomo Conciliorum 1. fol. 1002.

[8] Tomo Conciliorum 1. fol. 959.

[9] Concil. Antisiodorense ca. 7.

[10] Concilium Toletanum 4. ca. 8.

and the Deacons stand before them. The Councill of Tarracon 1100. yeeres agoe prescribed almost the verie same order that we obserue at this day. [1] Let letters be sent by the Metropolitane vnto his brethren, that they bring with them vnto the Synode, not only some of the Presbyters of the Cathedral church, but also of eche Diœcese. And why should this seeme strange euen to the Romish crew, when as in the great Council of Lateran, as they call it, vnder Innocentius the third, there were but 482. Bishops, and of Abbats and Priors conuentuall almost double the number, euen [2] eight hundred?

[1] Tarraconens. Concil. ca. 13.

[2] Platina in Innocentio 3.

If Presbyters haue right to sit in Prouincial Synodes, why are they excluded from generall Councils?] Many things are lawful which are not expedient. I make no doubt but all pastours and teachers may sit and deliberate in Councill; yet would it breede a sea of absurdities to call all the pastors and preachers of the world into one place, as often as neede should require to haue any matter determined or ordered in the Church. As therefore in ciuill policie, when a whole realme assembleth, not al ỹ persons there liuing are called together, but certaine chiefe ouer the rest or chosen by ỹ rest, to represent the state, and to consult for the good of the whole common wealth; so in the gouernement of the Church it were not only superfluous and tedious, but monstrous to send for all the Pastors and Presbyters of the whole world into one Citie, and there to stay them from their cures and Churches till all things needeful could be agreed and concluded. It is more agreeable to reason, and as sufficient in right, that some of euerie place excelling others in dignitie, or elected by generall consent, should be sent to supplie the roumes of the rest that are absent, and to conferre in common for the directing and ordering of the whole Church. And therefore Christian Princes in wisedome and discretion neuer sent for all the Presbyters of the world to anie generall Council, but onely for the chiefest of euery principall church and citie, or for some to be sent from euery realme far distant, as legates in the names of the rest, and by that meanes they had the consent of the whole world to the decrees of their Councils, though not the personall appearance of all the Pastours and Presbyters that were in the world.

So to the Council of Nice the first christian Emperor sent for by

by his letters not all the Preachers & Presbyters of the world, but [1] τοὺς τῶν τοπικῶν ἐπισκόπους, the Bishops of euery place; and there came, [1] from all the Churches through Europe, Asia and Africa, τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ διοικήσεων, the best (or chiefest) of the Ministers of God; each countrey sending not all their Bishops, (for then would they farre haue exceded the number of 318.) but [2] τοὺς καθ' αὑτοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους, the most speciall and selected men they had; and though there were present [3] an infinite number of Presbyters and Deacons, that came with the Bishops; yet the Council consisted of 318. Bishops and no more, by reason the Emperour sent not for the Presbyters of each place, but for the Bishops. The like examples are to be seene in the three generall Councils that followed, where onely Bishops determined matters in question; and the Presbyters that subscribed, in the Councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon supplied the places of Bishops, as their Legates and substitutes, which in the [4] Council of Chalcedon is more fully expressed.

[1] Socrat. l. 1. ca. 8.

[2] Ibidem.

[3] Ibidem.

[4] Vide Subscriptiones episcoporum, actio 1. 3. 16. concilii Chalcedonensis.

But what need we rip vp these things at large, which pertaine not so much to our purpose: we seeke now for the antiquitie and authoritie of Metropolitanes; and those we find not onely receiued and established in the foure first generall Councils, but confessed by them to haue anciently continued in the Church euen from the beginning. And surely, if you graunt Prouinciall Synodes to be ancient and necessarie in the Church of Christ, which you cannot denie; Metropolitanes must needs be as ancient and requisite, without whom the Synodes of each Prouince can neither be conuocated nor moderated.

If to auoid Metropolitanes you would haue the prerogatiue of calling and guiding Synodes torun round by course, which order you fansied before in Bishops; our answere is easie: we looke not what you can inuent after 1500. yeeres to please your owne humours; but what maner of ecclesiasticall gouernment the Church of Christ from the Apostles times established and continued by the generall consent of the whole world; and that we proue was not onely in euery Church and diocesse to haue a Bishop chiefe ouer the Presbyters, but in euery Prouince to appoint a Mother Church and Citie; and the Bishop thereof to haue this honour and dignitie aboue the rest of his brethren, that hee might by letters consult, or call together the Bishops of his Prouince for any question or cause that

that touched the faith or peace of the Church, and not onely moderate their meetings, but execute their decrees; and see them performed throughout his Prouince. This was the ancient and originall vse of Christes Church, long before any Princes professed the trueth; and when they began to vse their Synodes, for the doctrine and Church of Christ, then did Synodes serue for the direction of Christian Princes; and Metropolitanes had the execution as well of Princes lawes, as Synodall decrees committed to their power and care throughout their Prouince.

This course if you disdaine or dislike, you condemne the whole Church of Christ from the first encreasing and spreading thereof on the face of the earth to this present age; and preferre your owne wisedome, (if it be worthie that name, and not rather to be accounted selfe loue and singularitie,) before all the Martyrs, Confessors, Fathers, Princes and Bishops that haue liued, gouerned and deceased in the Church of God since the Apostles deaths. How well the height of your conceites can endure to blemish and reproch so many religious and famous lights of Christendome, I know not; for my part I wish the Church of God in our dayes may haue the grace for pietie and prudencie to follow their steppes, and not to make the world beleeue that all the seruaunts of Christ before our times, fauoured and furthered the pride of Antichrist, till in the endes of the world, when the faith and loue of most men are quenched or decaied, we came to restore the Church to that perfection of discipline, which the Apostles neuer mentioned, the auncient Fathers and Councils neuer remembred, the vniuersall Church of Christ before vs neuer conceiued nor imagined.

We want not the witnesse of auncient Fathers and stories that reproue the ambitious and tyrannous dominion of Metropolitanes and Archbishops. Socrates *saieth,* [1] The Bishoprike of Rome, as likewise that of Alexandria, were long before his time growen frō the bonds of Priesthood vnto worldly dominion. Nazianzene *not onely lamenteth the mischiefs which follow these diuersities of degrees, but heartily wisheth there were no such thing, that men might be discerned onely by their vertues. His words are worth the hearing.* [2] For this (*prosidencie of Bishops*) all our estate totte reth & shaketh; for this the endes of the earth are in a iealousie and tumult both senceleſſe and nameleſſe; for this we are in danger to be thought

[1] Socrat. lib. 6. ca. 11.

[2] Nazian. oratio post summum sacerdotem redditum.

to

to be of men, which in deed are of God, and to loose that great and newe name. Would God there were neither prioritie of seate, neither superioritie of place, nor violent preheminence, that we might be discerned onely by vertue. But the right hand and the left, and the midst; the higher and lower seate; the going before, and going euen with, haue to no purpose done vs much hurt, and cast many into the ditch, and brought them to be goates, and those not onely of the inferiour sort, but euen of the shepeheards, which being masters in Israel knew not this.] You may soone find of the auncient Fathers that misliked the contention, ambition, and pride of many Bishops in the Primitiue Church; but any that misliked their calling, you cannot finde. The sharper they were in reproouing their vices, the sounder witnesses they are in allowing their office. If either Socrates or Nazianzene had opposed themselues against the iudgement of the Nicene Counsil; yea, against the whole church of Christ before & after them; their credites would not haue counteruailed the weight of that antiquitie & authoritie, which the others caried: but in deed neither of thē dispraiseth the wisedom of the Council, or customs of the church; only they tare the vices of some persons & ambitiō of some places, which not content with the christian moderation of their predecessors, daily augmented their power and their pride by all meanes possible.

Socrates saith, the bishops of Rome and Alexandria were growen beyond the limits of their Episcopal function, εἰς δυναστείαν, vnto power & dominion. The fault he findeth in that place with Celestinus bishop of Rome, was for [1] taking from the Nouatians their churches, and compelling their bishop to liue at home like a priuate man. But herein Socrates leaned a litle too much in fauour of the Nouatians, to mislike more then he sheweth cause why. Would God the bishop of Rome had neuer worse offended then in so doing. He toucheth [2] Cyrillus bishop of Alexandria with like words for the same cause; how iustly, let the wise iudge. If otherwise either of them aspired aboue the compasse of their calling, I am farre from defending any pride in them, or in whomsoeuer.

[1] Socrat. li. 7. cap. 8.

[2] Li. 7. ca. 7.

Nazianzene lighted on very tempestuous & troublesom times, heresie so raging on the one side, & discord afflicting the Church on the other, that he thought best to leaue all, and betake himselfe to a quiet & solitarie kind of contemplation. Of the councils in his time he

he saieth; [1] I am minded, if I must write you the trueth, to shunne all assemblies of Bishops; because I neuer sawe a good euent of any Councill, that did not rather encrease then diminish our euils. Their contention and ambition passeth my speach; not that hee condemneth all Councils, (for what follie had that bene in so wise a man:) but he noteth the diseases of his time, the Church being so rent in pieces vnder Valens, that it could not be restored nor reformed in many yeeres after. Euen so in the wordes which you alleage, he traduceth not the vocation or function of Bishops, as a thing superfluous or dangerous to the Church of God, but sheweth how farre the thirst of honour and flame of discord had caried many, euen to the disturbance of the whole world, and shaking of the Christian profession in sunder. His wordes are, [2] Will they depriue me of the chiefe seate? which heretofore some wise men haue admired; but nowe as I thinke, it is the first point of wisedome to decline it. Then folow those wordes which you alleage; for which our whole estate is troubled and shaken, for which the vttermost parts of the world are in an hart-burning & dissentiō that cannot be appeased, nor expressed; for which we are in danger to be thought to be of men, when we are of God, and to loose that great and new name.

[1] *Nazianz. epistola 42. ad Procopium.*

[2] *Idem in Maximum post reditum in vrbem.*

The occasions of this speach, as may be seene in his life, were the horrible tumult that Maximus raised in aspiring to the Bishoprike of Constantinople; the inconstancie of Peter bishop of Alexandria, who first by letters confirmed him in the place, and yet after sent some to ordaine Maximus against him; and the generall dislike the Bishops of Egypt and of the West partes had of him, (though they could not but commend the man) because he was placed without their consent. Seeing himselfe therefore vndermined and betraied by his familiar friends, deserted and forsaken by the Bishop of Alexandria, after the death of Meletius Bishop of Antioch, murmured and repined against by so many, for not expecting their presence, and the Bishops readie to warre one with another about his election and ordination; he wisely and stoutly came into the Councill, and said; [3] Ye men that are my fellow Pastours of the sacred flocke of Christ, it will be a shame and very vnseemlie for you, teaching others to be at peace, if you be at warre amongst your selues. for how shall you perswade them to agree, if you varie in your

[3] *Gregorius Presbyter in vita Nazianzeni.*

your owne opinions. I beseech you rather by the (blessed) Trinitie that you dispose of your matters wisely and peaceably. And if I bee a cause of strife vnto you, I am not better then Ionas the Prophet; cast me into the Sea, and let this troublesome tempest cease from among you. I am content to endure any thing for your concord, though I be guiltles; thrust me out of my throne, driue me from the Citie, onely embrace you trueth and peace. Thus christianlie preferred hee the vnitie of Gods Church before his owne safetie, and made more account of quietnes and secrecie, then of honour and dignitie.

At the first rising of this tumult, Nazianzene was absent from the Citie; and vpon his returne, when Maximus and the rest of that faction threatned him with many things, he presently and pithilie made that oration to the people, whence your wordes are taken. Hence you may proue there were many contentious and ambitious heads in Nazianzens time; which in no time before or after, did, or will want; but you can inferre nothing out of these words against the lawfull vse of Episcopall or Metropoliticall moderation and superuision prescribed and limited by the Canons of graue and godly Councils, which Nazianzene neither did, nor could mislike. If you thinke I restraine his meaning, examine his words.

The time was (saieth he) when a wise man might admire this presidencie, but now, it is the first point of wisedom in my iudgement to shunne it; not because it was then more vnlawfull then before, but by reason of the manifold troubles, dislikes, and dissentions, that then oppressed the Church. The endes of the earth (saieth he) are (for this) in suspicion and warre, which hath no eares nor name; that is, whose cause and remedie are both vnknowen: for this, we which are of God, are in danger (saith he) to be thought to bee of men, and to loose that great and newe name. Hee cleerelie confesseth, they were of God; that is, their calling and function was ordained and approoued by God: wherefore he willeth them to beware, least by their quarelling and contending, they occasioned others to suppose they were not of God, but of men. Doth this place, thinke you, confute, or confirme the vocation of Bishops? What more could be sayd for them, then that they are of God, and not of men? After this, whatsoeuer he saith, it toucheth not the vnlawfulnesse of the office, but the vnruli-

nesse of

of the persons; and the vices of men he might traduce, without any preiudice to their calling.

He saieth, the name *(of Bishops)* was new; *and wisheth there were* no superioritie *nor* preheminence *amongst them, but that euery man might be knowen by his vertues.*] The newnesse of the name doeth not so much disgrace the office, as the greatnesse of the name doeth commend it. Let it bee new, so it be great, and both of God. In what sense Nazianzene calleth the name of Bishop new, (if he meane the name of Bishop, as one of the greatest Patrones of your discipline precisely noteth;) is not so soone agreed on. If he meane a new name, as the prophet Esay doeth, whē he saith; [1] thou shalt bee called by a newe name, which the mouth of the Lord shal name; or as S. Iohn doeth, when he reporteth the wordes of Christ to the Angel of the Church of Pergamus; [2] I will giue him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written; if hee allude I say, to either of these places, as he may well doe; he could not giue the name of Bishop an higher praise, then to call it great and new, and that from God. If by new, you would haue him vnderstand a name lately deuised by men, not authorized by God, as it seemeth you would; you make Nazianzene very forgetful, and your selues were scant waking, when you made that obseruation in his words ([3] *nempè Episcopi*) as though the name of Bishop had bene new in Nazianzenes time. For could that name bee new to Nazianzene, which the holy Ghost hath so aunciently, so often, so honourable mentioned in the Scriptures? Read you not this alleaged by Peter out of Dauid, [4] Let another take his Bishoprike? And againe, [5] the holy Ghost hath made you Bishops? As also, [6] a Bishop must be blameless? And likewise, [7] you are returned to the Shepeherd and Bishop of your soules? How could that name be new, which is so authentically recorded in the Apostolike writings?

Haply you will shrinke from that, and say the name was newlie theirs, because in the Scriptures it is generall to all Presbyters, and here it is speciall to Bishops; but that is neither true, nor any part of Nazianzenes meaning: for euen the seuering of chiefe Pastours from Presbyters by the name of bishops, was no late nor new deuise in Nazianzenes time. That very distinction of names had continued at Alexandria from the death of Marke the Euangelist, as [8] Ierome affirmeth. In all histories and writers before Nazianzene liued, there is no word so common and vsuall to signifie the

1 Esay 62.
2 Apoc. 2.
3 *De Ministrorum Euangelii gradibus, ca. 23. fol. 164.*
4 Act. 1.
5 Act. 26.
6 1. Tim. 3.
Tit. 1.
7 1. Pet. 2.
8 *Hiero. epistola ad Euagrium.*

Prælident and Ruler of the Presbyterie, as the name of Bishop: and therefore it could not then be newe. Besides, Nazianzene reputeth it a wonderfull inconuenience to loose that great and newe name; and to bee all one, as if they should bee taken not to bee of God. Now, if the name were new, and lately inuented by men, the losse thereof were not great; yea, retaining the name, they must be knowen to be of men, and not of God; which is contrary to Nazianzenes words. Therefore by the great and new name, he meaneth the name of Christians, grounding his speach on the words of Esay, that saith; the Church [1] shalbe called by a new name; or if he referre it to bishops, he speaketh rather in praise of the greatnes, thē in dispraise of the newnes of the name; & accounteth it to be great & new because it was first vsed by ỹ holy Ghost in ỹ new Testament. [1] Esay 62.

He wisheth there were no preheminence, *nor* prioritie *amongst Bishops, and calleth their* superioritie tyrannical.] Hee wisheth, if it were possible, that preheminence and prioritie amongst Bishops went not by the mightinesse of their Cities, but by the deserues of their vertues; not that the first is vnlawfull, but that the second is farre more commendable. [2] O that there were, saith he, μηδὲ σχοίνια μηδὲ τὸν τόπον σχήματος, ἢ τυραννικὰ προτερήματα, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρετῆς μόνη διαγινώσκεσθαι, &c. neither prioritie of See, nor priuiledge of place & tyrannical preheminence, that we might be distinguished onely by vertue. If this last were possible, the former might well be wished out of the Church. for then should none but fit and worthie men haue the places of gouernment, where otherwise the worst are often highest, and rule as impotently, as they aspire vnshamefastly. This is the summe of Nazianzens speach, and what fault to finde with it, truelie I know not. Happy were the Church of God, not if all were equall, as you would haue them, but if each man had superioritie according to his integritie. So should the Church of Christ neuer be besieged with ambition, nor surprised with corruption, nor wasted with dissention, but the chiefe would circumspectly and wisely leade, and the rest would gladly and quietly follow; where nowe aspiring and striuing for places of dignitie, hath subuerted many not of the meanest, but of the highest degree. So saieth Nazianzene. But now (when men are superiour by their Cities, and not by their vertues) the right hand & the left, and the midst, the higher and the lower seate, the precedencie, or going checke by [2] *Nazian. in oratione post reditum in vrbem.* [3] *Ibidem.*

by cheeke, hath made many breaches amongst vs to no purpose, and cast many into the ditch; and made them goates not onely of the inferiour sort, but euen of the shepeheards, who being masters in Israel knew not this. He misliketh not generally the calling of Bishops, nor their diuersities of degrees, but the falling of some of them into the ditch, and becomming goates, whiles they pressed ouer eagerly to the higher places; otherwise, he must first haue condemned himselfe, who accepted and retained one of the chiefest seates of honour, though after to conserue the peace of the Church, he resigned it.

Last lie, the wishing of a better way, if it were possible, is no defacing of that which was already setled; by reason it cannot be expected that Nazianzenes wish should take place. For that all men should be sincerelie regarded and honoured according to their vertues, is rather an heauenly, then an earthlie condition; and sooner to bee wished for, then to bee looked for at mens handes; yea, that course which he wisheth, vnlesse the execution might be answerable to his wish, would doe more harme then good. For it would not quench ambition and contention, as some men dreame, which are the vices that he complaineth of, but rather inflame them, whiles euerie man conceiuing well of his owne vertues, would make small account of other mens gifts and deserts. If to decide the strife, you reserue the iudgement thereof to other mens voyces; you amend the matter nothing at all. For if all men setting aside corrupt and partiall respects, would chuse the best to euery place, the Church of Christ would soone flourish without any wishing; and wish what you will, except that be first brought to passe, all the rest will doe you no good.

An equalitie amongst the Pastours must needes slake ambition. If you could reduce the Cities, Churches and parishes of each common wealth to a iust proportion: that one should not exceed another in any thing, you might chance with a generall equalitie of the places, somewhat to temper ambition; but if you leaue any difference in the things, you shall soone finde a difference in mens affections. Nowe when, or how that may bee compassed, I leaue you to consider, that are so good at deuising. I thinke you may sooner vndertake to new build all Cities and Townes to make them equal, then suffering them as they are, to bring them to a iust and euen proportion.

tion. If leauing an inequalitie of the places, which you must needs; you settle a generall equalitie amongst the Pastors and ministers of Christes Church; what fresh experience the later ende of the world may teach vs I will not foretell; I am sure, the meane to preuent schismes and dissentions in the primitiue Church, when the graces of Gods spirite were farre more eminent and abouudant then nowe, was not to make all equall; but to appoint some chiefe to ouersee and moderate the rest. That course the Apostolike times imbraced, and the Church of Christ euer since preferred, as the safest and readiest way to resist confusion, and stay contention in the Church of God. Ierome saieth: [1] *Propterea inter duodecim vnus eligitur, vt capite constituto, schismatis tollatur occasio.* Amongst the twelue *(Apostles)* one was therefore chosen, that a chiefe being appointed, occasion of dissention might be preuented. If the twelue were not likely to agree; except there had bene one chiefe amongst them; I maruelle how you imagine, that equalitie woulde keepe all the Pastours of the worlde in peace and vnitie. If euerie Presbyterie by Gods ordinaunce must haue a Ruler as your selues auouch, least they growe to dissention and confusion, howe shall the Bishops of a whole Prouince or kingdome meete, conferre, and conclude, as often as neede requireth, without one to call and moderate their assemblies?

[1] *Hieron. contra Iouinianum, li. 1.*

We mislike not that so much, as that you giue the Metropolitane, dominion and imperie ouer the rest.] Your Presbyteries haue an other maner of dominion then we giue either to the Diocesans, or to Metropolitanes. for they determine all matters by discretion; which is euen as much, or more then Princes haue with vs. As for Bishops and Archbishops, I see no such dominion in this Realme allowed them. We haue Lawes consisting partly of Synodal constitutions, partly of the royall edicts of Princes, and by the tenour of them it is prescribed what the Bishop or Metropolitane shall require at eche mans hands; not what they list, but what the Canons of former Councils and lawes of Christian Princes haue thought meete to be performed by euerie one to the glorie of God and good of his Church. Nowe if the execution of Lawes bee Dominion and Imperie in your conceite; when as there is a present remedie by appeale to the Princes audience, if anie wrong

wrong or hard measure be offred; what will you call it, to iudge by discretion, as your Presbyteries doe: which is the greater kind of Imperie to determine all matters as you list, or to be limited in euery point by the Lawes of the Realme, what you shall doe; and if you transgresse neuer so little, to giue account thereof to the supreme Magistrate: If I vnderstand any thing, it were more libertie for Bishops to bee referred to Synodes, where they shoulde beare some sway; then to be restrained to Lawes, from which they may not shrinke. The execution of your Presbytericall decrees, you giue to the moderatour of your Presbyterie; and yet you giue him no dominion nor imperie. Why then are you so inconsiderate or so intemperate, as to cal the execution of ecclesiastical Lawes by the Diocesane or Metropolitane, a tyrannicall power and dominion ouer their brethren:

Would you haue no Lawes at all; but euery case as it falleth out, so to be censured at the pleasure of the Presbyters: That were a right tyrannie in deede, and not tolerable in any common wealth that hath a Christian Magistrate. If you admit euery matter to be ruled by written Lawes; and leaue appeales in all causes for such as find themselues grieued to the Prince, which is obserued in this Realme; the execution of Lawes is rather a burden imposed, then an honour to be desired; and but that some men must needes vndertake that charge, it were more easie for Bishops to bee without it, then alwayes to trouble, and often to endanger themselues with the difficulties and penalties of so many Lawes as we haue, and must haue to guide those causes that are committed to their Consistories.

They haue others to discharge it for them.] They must haue some to assist them, except you wil haue Bishops to bestow more time in learning humane lawes, then in meditating ẏ diuine Scriptures. And therefore your inueighing at the Arches and other places of iudgement, sheweth you litle vnderstand what you say. Were your Presbyteries or Synodes at their perils to handle and determine so manie & so weightie causes as they are, you woulde reuerence them as much as euer you disgraced them; and see your owne follie in impugning that which cannot be wanted. But what stand I on these things, which experience wil proue to be requisite in a Christian common wealth, better then speech. It sufficeth me that Metropolitanes

tropolitanes were long before the Nicene Council accepted and vsed in the Church of Christ as necessarie persons to assemble the Synodes of eche Prouince vpon all occasions; and to ouersee as well the election, as ordination of Bishops within their charge. This if you graant, necessitie will force you to yeeld them the rest, as it did ỳ Councils & Princes, that were long before our times. If you like not the wisedome and order of the vniuersal and auncient Church of Christ, you must tell vs in your new platforme, who shall call and moderate Prouinciall Synodes, when occasion requireth; or whether your Presbyters shall bee supreme Moderators of all matters, without expecting or regarding any Synodall assemblies or Iudgements.

Synodes we admit, & some to gather and gouerne those assemblies; but to preuent ambition we would haue that priuiledge to goe rounde by course to all the Pastors of euery Prouince.] You may doe well to change Deacons euerie day, Bishops euery weeke, Presbyters euery moneth, and Metropolitanes euery quarter, that the gouernment of the house of God may goe round by course. And surely you misse not much of it. Deacons and Presbyters dure with you for a yeere; Bishops you thinke in the Apostles times were changed euerie weeke; what space, you wil appoint to Metropolitanes, wee yet know not; longer then one Synode I presume you wil haue no man to continue. But what reason or example haue you for it? Examples perhaps as you care for none, so you seeke for none. for if examples might preuaile with you, wee haue the setled and approued order of the primitiue Church against you, that Metropolitanes neuer went by course. Yea the name it selfe doeth inferre as much. for if he be Metropolitane, that is Bishop of the Metropolis or Mother citie; the mother Citie remayning alwaies one and the same, the priuiledge of the Metropolitane could neuer change by course.

To alke you for reason, which leane onelie to your willes and regarde no mens iudgements but your owne, will seeme straunge; yet heare the resolution of one that highly fauoureth your newe founde discipline; who positiuely concludeth, that this circular regiment by course, as it is not able to resist ambition and adulation, so it will breede contempts and factions in the Church of God. His words be: [1] *Dicamus ergo primatum illum*

[1] *Bez. Resp. ad tract. de ministrorum euangelii gradibus fol. 143.*

lum ordinis per mutuæ ſucceſſionis vices, ipſa tandem experiẽtia compertum fuiſſe, non ſatis virium, nec ad ambitioſos Paſtores, nec ad auditores alios quidẽ vanos, alios verò adulatorio ſpiritu præditos compeſcendos habuiſſe, communicata videlicet ſingulis Paſtoribus per vices huius primatus dignitate. Itaque quod ſingulorum ſecundum ſucceſſionem commune fuit, viſum fuit aa vnum, & eum quidem totius Preſbyterij iudicio delectum tranſferre, quod certè reprehendi nec poteſt, nec debet: quum præſertim, vetuſtus hic mos primum Preſbyterum deligendi, in Alexãdrina celeberrima eccleſia iam inde à Marco Euangeliſta eſſet obſeruatus. Alteram cauſam affert Ambroſius, longè maximi momenti, nempe quòd primatu ſic ad ſingulos per vices perueniente, ſingulis Paſtoribus non ſemper ad hanc gubernationem ſuſcipiendam idoneis compertis, ita fieret vt indigni interdum præeſſent, quæ res tum Preſbyterij contemptum ſecum trahebat, tum aditum factionibus aperiebat. Let vs then auouch that this Primacie of order *(going round)* by courſe of mutuall ſucceſſion, was at length by very experience found not to haue force inough to repreſſe ambitious Paſtors, neither vaine and flattering Auditors, whiles euery Paſtour in his courſe enioyed this ſuperioritie. Therefore that which was common to all by ſucceſſion, it ſeemed good to tranſferre to one choſen by the iudgement of the whole Preſbyterie; *the which neither can, nor ought to be reprehended*; eſpecially ſince this ancient maner to chooſe the chiefe of the Preſbyterie was obſerued in the famous Church of Alexandria euen from Marke the Euangeliſt. Another cauſe of greateſt waight without compariſon, doeth Ambroſe alleage, that this Primacie ſo going round to euery one by courſe, ſome Paſtours ſometimes were found vnfit to vndertake this gouernment, and thereby it came to paſſe, that ſuch as were vnwoorthie, oft times ruled the reſt, which brought with it the contempt of the Presbyterie, and opened a gappe vnto factions.

How farre Ambroſe is miſtaken, I haue ſhewed before; hee ſaieth the Presbyters ſucceeded in order, when the place was voyde, but that they chaunged by courſe, hee ſaieth no ſuch thing. It was a plaine ouerſight (I will ſay no woꝛſe) in him that firſt wreſted Ambroſes woꝛdes to that conceite. In the meane time we haue maſter Bezaes full confeſſion, that the going round by courſe to gouerne the Church, doeth maintaine diſorder

disorder and faction, and no whit decrease ambition; and the choosing of one to continue chiefe (*for his life*) began at Alexandria from Marke the Euangelist, (sixe yeeres before Peter and Paul were martyred, and sixe and thirtie before the death of Saint Iohn;) in which there is NOTHING THAT can, or ought to be misliked.

Howe truely hee speaketh, if he should recall, or you refuse his wordes, reason and experience will easily teach vs. For first in this circular change, it is not casuall, but essentiall, that all in their course, be they fit or vnfit, must haue the ruling of the rest. Now if to choose one good amongst many, be a matter of difficultie; howe impossible then is it, that all should be good? And yet by your rolling regiment, all, be they neuer so wicked or vnworthie, must haue as much time and power to neglect and hurt the Church of God, as the well minding and godly Pastours shall haue to assist and helpe the same. Againe, what good can be done by any, when in euerie action, one must beginne, and another proceede, and a third conclude? If an euill man light on the beginning, middle or ending, he may soone marre all. And be the men not euill, except they be like affected and like instructed, when will they agree in iudgement, or tread one in anothers steppes? If any faction arise, I neede not put you in minde what contradicting and reuersing will be offered by your weekely or monethly Gouernours. Who shall dare doe anie thing to a Presbyter or Bishop but he must looke for the like measure, when their course commeth? What can be one weeke made so sure, but it may be the next weeke vndone by him that presently followeth? This is the right way to make a mockerie of the Church of Christ; and to permit it to euerie mans humour and pleasure whiles his time lasteth. If you trust not me, distrust not your selues; It breedeth contempt, and openeth the high way to factions.

As for Ambition, which is an other of the mischiefes that you would amend by your changeable gouernement, you cure that, as he doeth, which to coole the heate of one part of the bodie, setteth all the rest in a burning feuer. To quench the desire of dignitie in one man; you inflame all the Pastours of euerie prouince with the same disease. For you propose the like honor and power for the time vnto all; which we do to one. And so you heale ambition by

making it common, as if patients were the lesse sicke, because others are touched with ỹ same infection. for if one man cannot haue this Metropoliticall preeminence without some note of pride; the rest cã neither expect it, nor enioy it in their courses, but with some taint of the same corruption. fruition and expectation of one & the same thing, are so neere neighbors, that if one be vicious, the other cannot be vertuous. Wherefore, either grant, the superioritie and dignitie of Bishops and Metropolitanes may be christianly supported by one in euerie Presbytery and prouince as we affirme; or else we conclude, it can not be expected and enioyed of all euerie where by course, as you would haue it, but very vnchristianly.

You giue more to your Bishops and Metropolitanes then we do, and that increaseth their pride.] We giue them no power nor honor by Gods Law, but what you must yeeld to your Pastors & presidents, if you wil haue any. And as for Magistrates, we may not limite thẽ on whom they shal lay the execution of their Lawes, nor what honor they shal allow to such as they put in trust, so no part thereof be contrarie to the doctrine of the Scriptures. Agnise first their callings, & then measure their offices by the ancient canons of Christs Church; and if they haue any other or further authoritie then standeth with good reason and the manifest examples of the Primitiue Church, we striue not for it; reseruing alwaies to christian princes their libertie, to vse whose aduise and help they thinke good; and to bestow their fauours where they see cause; without crossing the voice of the holie Ghost, or the wisdome of the Apostolike and Primitiue Church of Christ. for the gouernement of the Church is committed to them, not that they should alter and ouerthrow the maine foundations of Ecclesiasticall Discipline at their pleasures; but that they should carefully and wisely vse it to the benefite of Gods Church, and good of their people, for which they must giue account to the dreadfull Iudge.

It was long after the Apostles times before Prouinces were diuided, and Mother Cities appointed, and therefore Metropolitanes are not so ancient as you make them; as may appeare by the 33. canon called Apostolike, where the chiefe dignitie ouer eche Prouince, is not attributed to any certaine place or Citie.] I stand not precisely for the time, when Mother Cities were first appointed in euerie Prouince; howbeit the general Council of Ephesus saith: [1] Euerie

[1] *Concil. Ephesini decret. post aduentum episcoporum Cyri.*

Prouince

Prouince shal keep his rights vntouched and vnuiolated, which it hath had ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνωθεν, *from the beginning vpward*, according to the custome that hath anciently preuailed; euery Metropolitan hauing libertie to take a copie of *(our)* acts for his owne securitie; for so the wordes, δέοιτο ἐκεῖνος ἐπιστολῶν μιμητὴς γενέσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει ἀσφαλῶν ἕνεκεν τὸ ἴδιον ἀσφαλὲς ἐκλαβεῖν may well be interpreted, though some embrace another sense. Yet if in this point you presse those Canons called Apostolike, I will not reiect them; not that I take to haue bin written by the Apostles, for then they must be part of the Canonicall Scriptures; but that some of them expresse the ancient discipline of the Church, which obtained euen from the Apostles times, (by whomsoeuer they were collected) though many things since be inserted and corrupted in them, and therfore are iustlie refused, further then they agree with the stories of the first times, and the decrees of the eldest Councils.

The Canon which you quote, is this; [1] The Bishops of euerie Nation must know *(or acknowledge)* τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλὴν, him that is first *(or chiefe)* amongst them; and esteeme him as *(their)* head, and attempt no matter of waight without his opinion *(and iudgement)* neither let him doe any thing without al their aduises *(and consents.)* Whereby you would proue, there was a time after the Apostles deaths, when as yet the first place amongst the Bishops of the same Prouince, was not affixed to anie certaine Church or Citie. Grant it were so, though this Canon doe not exactlie proue so much; then yet in euerie nation there was a Primate, before there was a Metropolitane; and consequently the authoritie of one to be chiefe in a prouince is elder then the priuiledge of the Metropolis or mother Citie; which by the witnesse of the Nicene and Ephesine Councils was in their times a verie ancient custome. Nowe what gaine you by this, if there were a chief bishop in euery prouince to assemble & moderate Synodes, before that prerogatiue was fastned to anie place? It is the office not the place that wee seeke for. for so you confesse there were Primates amongst the Apostles Scholers; whether they were chosen for the worthines of their gifts, or for the greatnesse of their Cities, we care not; such there were; and by such were the Synodes of euerie Prouince assembled and guided. When the wonderfull giftes of the holie Ghost failed, for which the first

[1] Canon. Apostolorum 33.

age haply made choice of her Primates, it is not vnlike, but as the next ages following chose the most sufficient men for the most populous Cities; so they were content the Bishops of the most famous Churches in euerie prouince should haue τὴν πρωτοβολίαν, the preeminence amongst their brethren, to call them together and consult them for the common affaires of the whole Church; which the foure first generall Councils with one consent confirmed to euery Church; and commanded to be kept without alteration or diminution, as the ancient rights and customes of the Church euen from the beginning.

[1] Nicæni Concilii ca. 6. & 7.

The Councel of Nice willeth [1] τὰ πρωτοβολία σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, the prerogatiues to remaine to euerie Church; and againe, [2] τῆ μητροπόλει σωζομένου τοῦ ἰδικοῦ ἀξιώματος, reseruing (*alwayes*) to the Mother Citie her proper dignitie. The Councill of Constantinople as Socrates saith, [3] ratified the Nicene faith, and appointed Patriarkes (*or Metropolitanes*) distinguishing their Prouinces. As namely Nectarius the Bishop of Constantinople had allowed him Thracia; Helladius bishop of Cesarea in Cappadocia, Gregorie of Nissa, and Otreius of Melitene had the regiment of Pontus; Aphilochius of Iconium, and Optimus of Antioch in Pisidia tooke the charge of Asia; the like did Timotheus Bishop of Alexandria for Egypt; and Pelagius of Laodicea, and Diodorus of Tarsus for the East Churches, reseruing the prerogatiue of the Church of Antioch, which they deliuered vnto Miletius there present: [4] The Canon that before limited these gouernments being (*alwayes*) obserued. Of the Councill of Ephesus I spake euen now; wherein, when the Bishops of Cyprus complained, that the Church of Antioch began to encroch vpon them, [5] *contra Apostolicos Canones, & definitiones Nicenæ Synodi*, contrary to the Apostles Canons, and the Decrees of the sacred Councill of Nice, and desired that the Synode of Cyprus might enioy their right, as they had done, [6] euen from the beginning euer since the Apostles times; the Fathers reiected and condemned that attempt of the Bishop of Antioch, as a thing [7] repugnant to the Lawes of the Church, and Canons of the Apostles. The great Council of Chalcedon finding fault, that some Bishops, to encrease their power, obtained the Princes Charter to cut one Prouince into twaine, of purpose to make two Metropolitanes, where

[2] Nicæni Concilii ca. 6. & 7.

[3] Socrat. li. 5. ca. 8

[4] Concilii Constantinopolitani 1. ca. 2.

[5] Exemplar suggestionum episcoporum Cypri in Concilio Ephesin.

[6] Sicut initio à temporibus Apostolorum.

[7] Decretum eiusdem Synodi pro Episcopis Cypri.

where before was but one; decreed, that no Bishop should enterprice the like without the losse of his office; and notwithstanding the Imperiall letters already purchased, [1] διλον ὅτι, σωζέσθω τὴ κατ' ἀλήθειαν μητροπόλει τῶν ἰδίων δικαίων, the true (*or ancient*) Mother City should certainely kepe her proper right; and the other newly erected content themselues with the honour of the name. [1] *Concil. Chalcedonens. ca.* 12.

The preeminence then of Mother Cities and Metropolitanes is verie ancient in the Church of God, and if we admit euen your owne construction of that Canon called Apostolike, there were Primates elected in euerie Prouince before there were Metropolitanes; and so the office was found to be needefull in the Church of Christ, when as yet the places and Cities, that shoulde haue that priuiledge, were not appointed nor agreed on.

Some thinke the Metropolitanes function may be deriued from Timothie and Tite, by reason that Tite had in charge the whole Ile of Creete, and Timothie the ouersight not of Ephesus only, but of Asia also. Of Tite Chrysostome saith; [2] This was one of Paules companions, that was approoued. Otherwise Paul would not haue committed vnto him an whole Iland, and the (*triallor*) iudgement of so many Bishops. Of Timothie Theodoret saith; [3] To him diuine Paul committed the charge of Asia. And of them both he saith; [4] *Ita Cretensium Titus & Asianorum Timotheus*, so was Tite the Apostle (*or Bishop*) of Creete, and Timothie of Asia. Indeede Ephesus was a Mother Citie, as appeareth by the first Ephesine Council, but whether it had that prerogatiue by the nobleneſſe of the place, or by succession from Timothie I dare not define. Timothie, as it shoulde seeme by Theodoret was chiefe ouer all Asia, and yet were there sundrie other Cities in Asia besides Ephesus, that had Metropolitanes; as [5] Iconium, [5] Antioch of Pisidia, [6] Cyzicum, [6] Sardis; [6] Rhodos. If any thinke it vnlawfull for one man to haue the care and ouersight of other Bishops, he may be satisfied or refuted by the example of Tite, to whom [7] the whole Iland of Creete was committed, as Chrysostome saith; and the [8] Ilands adioyning, as Ierome writeth; and by Paules owne testimonie, the [9] making of Bishops in many Cities. If therefore any man like these places, I am not against them; but the ancient, eudent, and constant course of the Primitiue Church to haue Primates or Metropolitanes

[2] *Chrysost homil. 1. in epist. ad Tit.*

[3] *Theodoret. praefatio in 1. epist. ad Timoth.*

[4] *Idem in 1. ad Timoth. ca.* 3.

[5] *Socr. lib. 5. ca.* 8.

[6] *Vide subscriptiones Concil. Chalcedonens. actio.* 3.

[7] *Chrysost. vt supr.*

[8] *Hiero. de scriptoribus ecclesiast. in Titum.*

[9] Tit. 1.

Metropolitanes for the calling and guiding of Synodes in euerie prouince; is to me a pregnant and perfect proofe, that this order was either deliuered or allowed by the Apostles and their Schollers; or found so needefull in the first gouernement of the Church, that the whole christian world euer since receiued, and continued the same.

Though the office were tolerable, yet the name of Archbishop is expresly prohibited by the third Council of Carthage, & by the great Council of Africa; and was neuer heard of in the Church till the Council of Chalcedon, which was kept 455. yeeres after Christ. The wordes of both the Councils interdicting all such proude titles, are

[1] Concil. Carthag. 3 ca. 26. & [2] Africa, ca. 6. vel 36.

these; [1] The Bishop of the first seate must not be called ἀρχιερέα ἢ ἱερέων, ἢ ἀρχιερατικὴν ἢ τοιαύτην τινὰ προσηγορίαν, the Prince of Priestes or high Priest, or by any such stile, but only the bishop of the first seate.] If the office be needefull and lawfull, the strife for names shall not long trouble vs. Were I perswaded, that Archbishop had no signification but king and prince of Bishops, the simplicitie and integritie of Christes Church should soone induce me to giue ouer the name; but if it import no more then the wordes, which these Councils like and vse; I see no cause for others to stumble at it.

[2] De Ministrorum euangelii gradibus ca. 24. fol. 170.

The verie Canon lately cited by you, which you [2] grant is ancient, though not Apostolike, calleth the Metropolitane [3] πρωτοκαθεδρίτην, the first (*or chiefest*) and willeth him to be esteemed, [3] ὡς κεφαλὴν, as head amongst the Bishops of the same prouince. The Councils of Carthage the second, ca. 12; the third, ca. 7. 28; the fift, ca. 7. 10; the Mileuitane Council, ca. 21. 22, 24; the Affricane, ca. 40, 43, 44, 65, 73, 87, 88, 92, vse the worde primum for the primate of euery Prouince.

[3] Canon. Apostolorum 34.

Now if ἀρχὶ in composition note the first and chiefe, as well in order and dignitie, as in time and Imperie I see no reason to refuse the name of Archbishop more then of Primate, which worde the Africane Councill so often vseth. If you denie that the compounds of ἀρχὶ do signifie an order amongst fellowes, as well as a power ouer subiects; to omit prophane Writers by which wee might proue it, (Cicero saying, [4] *Qui Archipirata dicitur, nisi aequabiliter prædam dispertiat, aut occidetur à sociis, aut relinquetur*, he that is called Archpirate, except he diuide the prize equally, he shall be slaine or forsaken (*not of his men, but*) of his fellows;)

[4] Cicer. Offic. li. 2.

fellowes;) What thinke you of the word [1] ἀρχάγγελος, Archangels doth it import order and dignitie amongst the Angels, or power and imperie ouer them? if matters in heauen be too high for vs, what say you to the word πατριάρχης Patriarch? were [2] Abraham, Isaac and Iacob; in that they were Patriarchs, Rulers and Lords ouer the Church or chiefe fathers in the Church? The [3] twelue Patriarchs, that were begotten of Iacob, wil you call them the rulers of their Fathers, or chiefe fathers of the twelue tribes? [4] Dauid, shall he be a Patriarch in respect of his kingdome and imperie, or of his Prophetical graces and dignitie? This signification, no doubt the learned Fathers did follow when they suffered and vsed in the Church of God the names of [5] Archbishop, [5] Archimandrite, [5] Archdeacon, not that they made them Lords & Princes ouer Bishops, Monks and Deacons, but rather chiefe amongst thē.

But did the worde ἀρχὴ alwaies import power and authoritie, which you shall neuer proue; must that power be straitwaies so princely and peremptorie, that it may not stand with a bishops calling? Is there no power, nor gouernement annexed to a Bishops office? Christ saith they be set [6] ἐπὶ τῆς διακονίας αὐτοῦ, ouer his familie; Saint Paul calleth them [7] προϊσταμένους ἐν κυρίῳ. Gouernours in the Lord. That is (you will say) in respect of their flocke, not of their fellow Pastours. The Councill of Nice alloweth the Metropolitane [8] τὴν ἐξουσίαν, power and authoritie ouer his Prouince. The Councill of Sardica, where were 300. bishops assembled long before the Africane Councill giueth him the title of ἐξάρχου τῆς ἐπαρχίας, the Ruler of the Prouince: and addeth; [9] λέγω δὲ τῆν ἁγιωτάτην τῆς μητροπόλεως, we meane (*thereby*) the Bishop of the Mother Citie (*or Metropolitane.*) Socrates saith the first councel of Constantinople, [10] πατριάρχας κατέστησεν, appointed Patriarkes; and calleth the charge which they receiued, πατριαρχίαν, a Patriarkdom, [11] Ignatius, [12] Nazianzen and [13] Chrysost. who I think knew the force of their own tongue better then anie mā liuing in our age, be their skil neuer so great, spare not to giue ye name of ἀρχιερεῖς the chiefe Priest, vnto bishops. Nazianz. speaking to the foresaid Councel of Constātinople about the choice of another in his place, as Theodor. reporteth his words said, [14] seeking out a mā praise-worthy & wise that is able to vndertake & wel guide the number of cares (*heere occurrent*) ἀρχιερέα ἀναδείξαι make him Archbish. (*of this place.*) And touching Maximus

[1] 1. Thessal. 4.
[1] *Epistola Iudæ.*
[2] Hebr. 7.
[3] Act. 7.
[4] Act. 2.
[5] *vnde Concilium Chalcedonense.*
[6] Matth. 24.
[7] 1. Thess. 5.
[8] *Concilium Nicenum ca. 6.*
[9] *Concil. Sardicense, ca. 6.*
[10] *Socrat. lib. 5. ca. 8.*
[11] *Ignat. epistola 6. ad Philadelph. & 7. ad Smyrnæos.*
[12] *Nazian. in epitaph. patris.*
[13] *Chrysost. homil. 21. ad populum Antiochenum.*
[14] *Theodor. lib. 5. ca. 8.*

Maximus Theodoret saith, the same Councill depriued him [1] τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς ἀξίας, of the Archiepiscopall dignitie.

[1] Ibidem.

Where you say, that [2] before the Councill of Chalcedon, which was about the yeere of Christ 455. you neuer found any subscription in Synode, of any man named Archbishop; eyther mine eies be not matches, or you are greatly deceiued. For I find not onely that subscription in the generall Councill of Ephesus before the Councill of Chalcedon, but the same Councill in their letters giue that title to the bishops of Rome, Alexandria and Ephesus. In the first session of the Councill it is saide. [3] The Synode assembling in the mother Citie of Ephesus, by the decree of the most religious and Christian kings; the Bishops sitting in the most sacred Church, called by the name of Marie; (first) Cyril of Alexandria supplying the place of Celestinus, τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ καὶ θεοσεβεστάτῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ τῆς ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας, the most sacred and most holie Archbishop of the Church of Rome. If you take this to be the Notaries fault, reade the Mandate which the whole Councill gaue their Legates when they sent them to Constantinople to the Emperours Theodosius and Valentinian for the enlarging of Cyrill and Memnon; and likewise their petition to the two princes for the same matter. [4] We pern it you (say they to their Legates) to promise our communion (to the Bishops of the East) if they will labour with you, εἰς τὸ δοθῆναι ἡμῖν τοὺς ἁγιωτάτους ἀρχιεπισκόπους Κύριλλον καὶ Μέμνονα, that our most sacred Archbishop Cyril and Memnon may be restored vnto vs. In their relation to the Emperours, they giue the like title to Celestinus. [5] This holie and œcumenicall Councill (say they) with which sitteth, ὁ τῆς μεγάλης ἡμῶν ῥώμης ἁγιώτατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κελεστῖνος, the most sacred Archbishop of your great Citie of Rome, Celestinus. And though the Prouinciall Councill of Affrica willed the name of ἔξαρχος to be refrained in their meetings; yet this generall Councill of Ephesus vsually calleth Cyrill and Memnon [6] τοὺς ἐξάρχους τῆς ἁγίας συνόδου, the chiefe Leaders and Rulers of the holie Councill.

[2] De Ministrorum euangelij gradibus ca. 25. fol. 182.

[3] Initium Synodi Ephes. Græcè conscripta.

[4] Mandatum quod Synodus dedit Legatis Constantinopol. proficiscentibus ca. 73.

[5] Relatio Synodi ad Reges missa cũ Legatis ca. 109

[6] Relatio Synodi ad Reges de gestis Orientalium ca. 70.

Of the Chalcedon Councill you did well to make no doubt; the name of Archbishop is so often vsed in the first, second, third, fourth, fift, eight, tenth, foureteenth and sixteenth actions, not only in the subscriptiõs, but euen in the deliberations & decrees of that Councill, that with good conscience it might not be dissembled.

Now

Now if you suppose these three generall Councils of Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon; and all the Greeke Diuines and Fathers there assembled, were so voyde; first of learning, that they knew not the force of the word ἀρχὴ in composition; then of religion, that they would robbe Christ of his proper titles, to increase the pride of men against the trueth of the Scriptures; I must confesse I vtterly dissent from you, the speach is so hard, that I cannot digest it. if you yeeld them but reasonable skill in their owne tongue, and moderate vnderstanding in the principles of faith, I haue my desire. for then not onely the function and office of Metropolitanes and Primates is as ancient and necessarie in the Church of God, as the hauing and guiding of prouincial Synodes, and confirmed vnto them as lawfull by the foure first generall Councils; but their very names & places were allowed and allotted vnto them by the full consent of the Christian world, euen from the beginning, and neuer since denied or doubted till this present age wherein wee liue.

Contention and ambition of Bishops & Primates did much afflict the Primitiue Church, and hinder and disturbe the best Councils, the very Nicene Council not excepted.] Who doeth maruell that amongst so many thousands of Bishops as the whole world yeelded in so many hundred yeeres, there should bee some contentious and ambitious spirites? Or who can perfourme that those very weedes shal not grow as fast amongst Presbyters as euer they did amongst Bishops? Happily in a citie where the Magistrate seuerely represseth the dissention & discord of Pastors, some ten or twelue Presbyters may either be kept in tolerable peace, or presently ouer ruled by the publike state; but come once to the gouernment of the whole worlde, as the fathers of the primitiue Church did, and then tell me, not what contentions and factions, but what conflicts and vproares your parities of Presbyters will breede. Were the Pastours but of England, Fraunce, and Germanie to meete in a free Synode; I wil not aske you when they would agree; but if their tongues be like their pennes there woulde bee more neede of officers to part the fraies, then of Notaries to write the Acts. Where the primitiue Church had one Theophilus and one Dioscorus, we should haue twentie. we may sooner flee their offices then their vices; their affections will remaine, when their functions bee alte-

red.

red. Where all are equal, there is as great danger of pride and contention, as where one is superiour; yea, the priority of one man in euery prouince, as we see confirmed by the practise and experience of the vniuersall Church of Christ since the Apostles times, is sooner resisted and better endured, then the waywardnesse and headinesse of so many Gouernours as you must and would haue in your changeable regiment of Presbyters.

The Lord make vs carefull to keepe the band of peace which he hath left vs; and mindfull to shew that lowlinesse of heart, which hee hath taught vs; that wee ware not so wise in our owne conceits, as to despise all others besides our selues; and so resolute in our priuate perswasions, that we enforce our deuises vpon the Church of God, vnder the name of his holie and heauenlie preceptes: euen so O Lorde, for Christ Iesus sake, Amen.

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

Errata.

In the Epiſtle, pag. 7. lin. 26. in the word κρῖσιν, for, in the word? κρῖσιν, pag. 9. l. *vltima*, chage, for charge.

In the Booke, p. 3. l. 15. th, for, in. p. 4. l. 28. Princes, for Prieſts. p. 10. l. *penult.* part, for parts. p. 38. l. 27. iudicall, for indiciall. *In margine*, Prouerb. 5. for Acts 19. p. 67. l. 25. (as they ſay) for (as you ſay, p. 68. l. *penult.* the Churches, for in the Churches. p. 78. l. 1. to the, for to be, lin. 3. πρεσβυτερίου, and, for πρεσβυτερίου, the degree of a Presbyter, and. p. 104. l. *penultima*, Euangeliſt, for Euangeliſts. p. 122. l. 22. ought, for out. p. 148. l. 17. not erect, for erect not. p. 150. l. 27. of moſt part, for of the moſt part. p. 158. *margine*, πυκνὸν κρημνῶν, for πυκνὸν κρημνὸν. p. 164 l. 28. thee, for the. p. 185. l. 27. *vinculis*, for *viculis*. p. 188. l. 11. at the name of Socrates muſt be the figure of 4. l. 14. uch, for ſuch. l. 20. Talerius, for Valerius. l. 23. Philodelphia, for Philadelphia. p. 193. l. 18. ? for , and l. 19. : for ? and l. 23. put out the double diſtinction, : p. 228. l. 36. out, for cut. p. 237. l. 2, & [1] *conſ.* for & [2] *conſ.* p. 246. l. *penult.* could not be, for could be. p. 252. l. 14. dured no long time, for dured a long time. p. 257. l. 13. χειροτονεῖσθαι, for χειροτονεῖσθαι. p. 259. l. 24. 150. for 1500. p. 274. l. 13. Biſhops, for a Biſhop. l. 14. Pothymus, for Pothynus. p. 281. li. 19. vpholding, for vpholding. p. 286. li. 33. nine, Saint, for nine, Saint. p. 316. l. *vltima*, laie man Presbyter, for, laie man, Presbyter. p. 336. l. 1. in the 7. chapter. p. 358 l. 34. iſhops, for Biſhops. p. 359. li. 12. πρεσβύλεσι, for πρεσβύλεσι. p. 378. l. 31. ἴδιν, for ἴδιν, & 32. κατοίκια, for κρατοίκια. p. 379. l. *vlt.* frō the firſt beginning κ᾽ τὸ πάλαι κρατῆσαι ἴσος, according to the vſe anciently confirmed, euery Metropolitane hauing libertie to take a copie of our actes for his owne ſecuritie.